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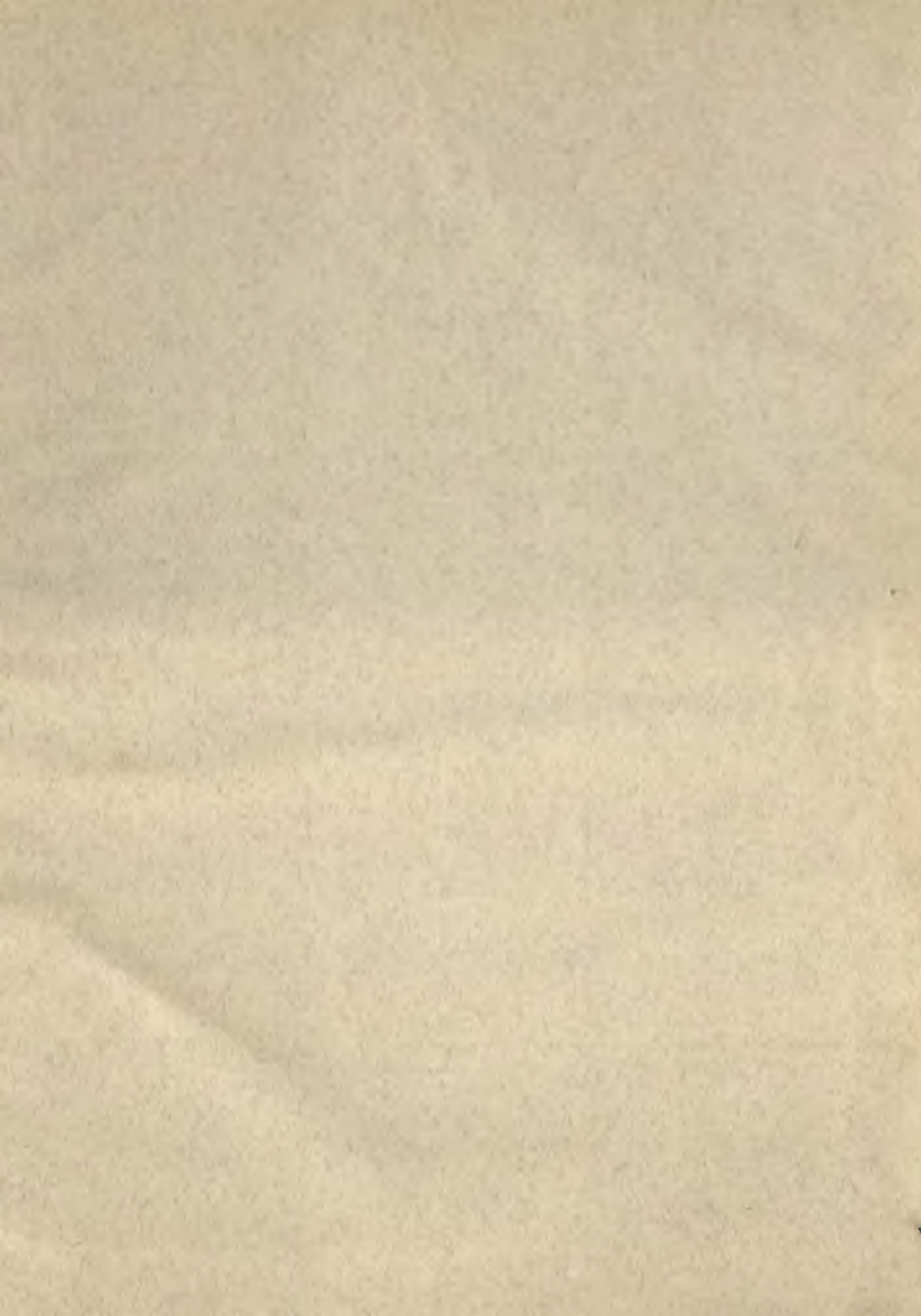


















THE  
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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,  
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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 13, line 11 from the bottom; for Ephesosque, read Ephesoque.
- P. 57, line 26, for Avanya, read Avanya.
- P. 216, line 31, before the word opens, insert published by me in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 240.
- „ note 8, read See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 229.
- P. 218, note 24, read see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 227.
- P. 221, note 42, read See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 227.
- „ note 43, read See *ibid.* p. 223, note 5.
- P. 227, line 8 f. — In connection with the expression *ahita-rdya-sallau*, Professor Kielhorn has drawn my attention to the analogous expression *rdya-sira-sallau*, "a javelin to (pierce) the heads of (hostile) kings," in an inscription at Amritapura in the Kadjur district, Mysore, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Tk. 45, p. 226, line 8. — J. F. F.
- P. 463, plate I, under No. 6, for Sumatinatha, read Padmaprabha; see note 5 on p. 361.
- P. 483 a, line 30, for D.C.L., read L.L.D.







THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

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THE CONNECTION OF ST THOMAS THE APOSTLE WITH INDIA.

BY W. E. PHILIPS.

THE purpose of this note is to bring together the information contained in ancient writings concerning the connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India, and his alleged visit to the court of Gondophares.

### I. — The Acts of St. Thomas.

According to Christian tradition, St. Thomas the Apostle reached the gospel in India and engaged his life there. And it was so mentioned here that even the end of the thirteenth century, if not before, tradition has placed "Uthaisankar" the scene of St. Thomas' martyrdom at Madhavore, Madhavore near Madras. This place was connected with further in.

data 21<sup>to</sup> Dec., says:—"Calaminas natalis beati Thomas Apostoli, qui Parthia, Media, Persia et Hircania Evangelium praeedicavit, qui in Persia, cum suis discipulis in Christianam religionem conversus est. Ille, qui in diebus apostolicis in Persia, deinde primo ad urbem Edessam, deinde Orthonam translatus sunt."

[illegible]



As regards the Greek and Latin versions of these Acts, it may be considered that what Mr. Alexander Walker said about them is the information to his English translation of *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Epistles*, published at Edinburgh in 1876. Writing first of the Greek Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in general, he said:

"These stories came at length to form a sort of Apocryphal cycle. They exist also in a Latin version to be taken from the Acts of the Apostles compiled probably in the sixth century, and many attribute to Athanasius, the first bishop of Alexandria, by whom it was, of course, written in Hebrew."

Afterwards coming to the Acts of St. Thomas, he wrote:—

"The substance of this book is of great antiquity and in its original form it was held in great estimation by the heretics of the first and second centuries. The main heresy which it contained was that the Apostle Thomas baptised, not with water, but with the Holy Spirit. It is mentioned by Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Neophytus, and is condemned in the Decree of Gelasius and in the Synopses of Scripture ascribed to Athanasius, in which it is placed, along with the Acts of Peter, Acts of John, and other books, among the *Antilegomena*. St. Augustine in three passages refers to it in such a way as to show that he did not consider it anything very ancient. Two centuries later Pseudo-Agathangos made a revision of the book, removing the more heretical portions, and adapting it generally to orthodox use. It is thus attributed the authorship of the apostle, as of many other apocryphal Acts to Leonas Chamaeus."

"The Greek text was first edited with copious notes and prolegomena, by Tischendorf in 1853. The text from which the present translation is made is a recension of five MSS. the oldest of the 15th century."

Then as regards The Consummation of Thomas, he wrote:—

"This is a very ancient and interesting book. Pseudo-Athanasius follows it very closely, but in a Greek of some chapters is a translation or commentary has not yet been discovered. The text, edited by Tischendorf for the first time, is from a MS. of the eleventh century."

These extracts, though not a rather old, yet even as regards the Greek text will give a fair idea of the antiquity of the Acts. Mr. Walker wrote before the publication of the Syriac version, and does not seem to have been aware of its existence.

The Syriac version was discovered by the first time by Dr. W. Wright in 1871, in *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Epistles*, Vol. I, London, 1-71. In it, only the Greek and Latin had been available, and Dr. Wright wrote in his preface (Vol. I, p. XII), "we have here for the first time the Acts [of St. Thomas] in a nearly complete form."

The Syriac text edited by Dr. Wright was from a MS. in the British Museum (Add 14645), written 1866. From an examination he dated its composition not later than the 4th century. Mr. F. C. Burkitt, in a discussion, evidence says: "I do not think we shall be far wrong in assuming that it was written before the middle of the 3rd century." (*Essays on the History of the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1883, p. 76.)

Since Dr. Wright published his text, two additional Syriac texts have come to light. These are the MS. in the Sachau collection at Berlin, and the MS. in the Cambridge University Library.

Mr. Burkitt says of the Sachau MS. that it is later than the British Museum one, and has a more recent text. Perhaps it would be better to say a less antiquated text, than a more recent one. He still says also that the Cambridge MS. is a translation of the Sachau one, (*Studies in Sinaitica*, No. IX., London, 1900, Appendix VII.)

We have also some recently discovered fragments which have been edited and translated by Mr. Burkitt in *Studies in Sinaitica*, No. IX. App. VI. and VII., London, 1900. As far as they go,



they generally confirm the British Museum text. The differences in no way affect the story. The interest of these fragments for us consists in the fact that they are at least 400 years older than any other known text. Mr. Burkitt thinks they cannot be later than the beginning of the sixteenth century and may be fifty years earlier.

Since the discovery and publication of the Syriac version, it has, I think, been satisfactorily established that the Acts were originally composed in that language — that the Greek and Latin versions, though less complete, are substantially translations from the Syriac, — and that the Latin is taken from the Greek. (See paper by Mr. F. G. Burkitt, *The Original Language of the Acts of Saint Thomas*, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 1 No. 2, Jan. 1900.)

The Syriac may therefore be regarded as the original, and it is also the fullest version. We had better, therefore, take the story of St. Thomas from it, except the Greek and Latin only where they differ in the details with which we are concerned.

I have not yet been able to refer to the Ethiopic version; but that probably does not matter. Mr. Burkitt says, it "mixed up with the alternative Acts of St. Thomas at Kentera." Now, this "alternative book of Acts, lately discovered and edited by Dr. M. R. James, is a late work, not 'certainly of Greek origin.' (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1900.) Reference may however be made to two works, which contain Ethiopic versions — they are — S. C. Mahon *The Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, and E. A. W. Lodge, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, 2 Vols., London, 1901.

For the Syriac, we will follow Dr. Wright's translation which fills 153 octavo pages. For the Greek and Latin, we may go to Max Bonnet's *Acta Thomae*, published at Leipzig in 1882. This is an excellent work with collations of all known Greek and Latin MSS. and other printed editions. Mr. Burkitt says it is the best edition. (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1900.)

A. Dr. Wright's translation of the Syriac occupies 153 pages. It will be seen that these Acts in their complete form are of a considerable length. Nevertheless, all the particulars we want to take from them can be put down in a small space.

We are not here concerned with the ethical and doctrinal matter with which the Acts especially the Syriac, as they have come down to us, are filled. What we want for our purpose is mainly the record of St. Thomas' movements. We must pay attention to the geography and proper names mentioned, and to such local details and colouring as may serve as evidence of time and place. Keeping these ideas in view I set down only such particulars of the story to which the Acts are evidently to be of use to us. The passages in inverted commas are actual quotations from Dr. Wright's translation.

1. — The Acts are divided into nine parts, of which eight are called "Acts," and the last "The Consummation of Judas Thomas."

2. — The first Act is headed — "The (first) Act of Judas Thomas the Apostle, when He (i. e., apparently our Lord) sold him to the Merchant Habbani, that he might go down and convert India."

3. — This Act begins by telling us that the twelve apostles divided the evangelizing of the world among themselves by lot, and that India fell to St. Thomas, who did not wish to go there.

<sup>1</sup> In the Syriac the book is called *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, i. e. "Judas the Twin." Thomas, according to tradition, was a twin. (Compare John x. 10, xx. 2.) The real name of the apostle St. Thomas was Joses, as the apostle Simon Peter or "the Twin" was called to distinguish him from others bearing the same name. See *Journal of Theological Studies*, London, 1884, p. 141.)

In the story itself the Apostle is commonly called Joses not Thomas, both in the Syriac and in the Greek MSS. as in the old Syriac Gospels and other very ancient Syriac documents. The use of the name Judas, as one of the several minor proofs of the Syriac origin and antiquity of the Acts.







Xenophon) and set out with Sitar. They went with a "driver" in a chariot drawn by cattle. There is nothing to indicate a long journey. So they reach the city of King Mazdai, and the Apostle heals the general's wife and daughter.

15. — The eighth Act. Then follows "*The Eighth Act of Mygdonia and Karish*." The events in this Act take place soon after what has been described in the seventh Act. The additional persons mentioned by name in this Act are:—

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| (a) Mygdonia, a noble lady                           | (f) Tertta, wife of King Mazdai. |
| (b) Karish, her husband, and kinsman of King Mazdai. | (g) Vîrân, son of King Mazdai.   |
| (c) Narkia, "nurse" of Mygdonia.                     | (h) Manachar, wife of Vîrân.     |

It is the conversion of Mygdonia and Tertta that brings about the martyrdom of St. Thomas, as detailed in the final section of the book. Beyond these six names, there is little in the eighth Act to help us.

16. — While in prison, St. Thomas sings, and the first song put in his mouth is recalled. — The hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostle in the country of the Indians. — But the "hymn" which follows this title is the famous hymn of the Soul who went down to Egypt for the One Pearl, which modern scholars have ascribed to the Gnostic Bardaisan.

17. — There follows "The song of praise of Thomas the Apostle." And of this Mr F. C. Burkitt says it is undoubtedly a genuine portion of the Acts. (*Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, p. 68.)

18. — The final section of the work is headed "*The Consummation of Judas Thomas*." The apostle is condemned to death by King Mazdai, and his martyrdom is described. It takes place "outside the city" and "on the mountain." St. Thomas is executed to death by four soldiers.

19. — The story continues: — "And the brethren were weeping all together. And they brought richly garments and many other things, and buried Judas in the sepulchre in which the ancient kings were buried."

20. — Finally we are told that the bones of the apostle were taken away secretly by one of the brethren to the "West," and that this happened during the lifetime of King Mazdai and Sitar.

Summing up, briefly, the story of St. Thomas' connection with India as told in these Acts, which are generally supposed to be a work written for the purpose of spreading Gnostic teaching. Certain it is that their interest is, chiefly doctrinal, and very little historical. It is possible, however, that, in the form of a religious romance, they contain some genuine details of the history of St. Thomas. It seems certain that they originated in a region of the Euphrates valley, which, as we shall see farther on, was by early tradition associated with St. Thomas. The Acts would therefore, seem very likely to contain some fragments of genuine history that would the case had their origin had been Greek or Latin.

In conclusion, I believe, to regard the Greek and Latin versions as really speaking, abridgments and expurgated editions of the same. There is, however, no doubt that the Syriac, as we now have it, has been very largely re-quoted, and that the Greek and Latin, as a whole, gave us a better idea of the Syriac work as it originally stood, than the more bulky Syriac version now extant.

But the doctrinal aspects of the Acts do not affect the use we have to make of them, and if we treat them as a historical record, the following appear to be the only suggestive points we are able to extract:—

### 1. — Movements of St. Thomas

(a) Note first the heading of the first Act. — "That he went *down* and converted India."

(b) St. Thomas went by sea to the city of Sandaruk. The Syriac implies that he started from the South Country. The Greek and one of the two Latin versions printed by Mar Bonnet imply



that he started from Jerusalem. That would involve a preliminary journey by land. The other Latin version says Habban came to Caesarea by ship and met the apostle there, and together they went by sea all the way.

Instead of Sandaruk, the Greek has Andrapolis. The first Latin version does not name the city, but says the journey was made within three months (instead of the usual three years), and that they arrived "in Indiam ceteroream" and "ingressi sunt primum Indiam ceteroream." The other version names "Andrapolis," and says the apostle got there from Caesarea in seven days "per mare et prosperis ventis." The heading of the second Act seems to imply that Sandaruk was not in what was considered India proper at the time of the writer.

(c) St. Thomas next "entered into the realm of India and went to the court of Gudenaphar the King of India." The Greek says "when he came into the coasts of India" he went to the King of Persia. The first Latin version has "ad alteram Indiam partes persicorum," and that the apostle "in orientem Indiam pervenit." The other names King Gudenaphar's city as Elotham, Hienoforum, or Hyroforum, and speaks of a mountain Gazus.

(d) St. Thomas preached "throughout all India." This might imply a number of years. The Greek has the same; the first Latin version has nothing to the point, the other says "profectus est . . . ad Indiam superiorem."

(e) St. Thomas goes to a city of King Mazda, where he is put to death, outside the city on a mountain. The name of the city is not given in the Syriac, Greek, or Latin Acts. Calanada is the name in some old Syriac writings. We shall refer to them all onwards.

(f) In the above indications of place we may add that the body of St. Thomas was afterwards carried away to the West. The Greek says to Mesopotamia; the Latin, to Emesa or Edessa.

These particulars do not help us to say definite ideas of place.

I do not know if any one has attempted to locate the seaport city Sandaruk or Andrapolis. If we take the Latin to guide us, we should, I suppose, locate it on the coast west of the Indus; and that would be the meaning of "India ceteroream."

It is unfortunate that the name of the place from which Habban came cannot be deciphered in the Syriac text. It would help us to locate King Gudenaphar, a most important point.

The statement in the Syriac that the relics of the apostles were carried away to the "West," is worth remark. As we shall see further on the fact that the relics were taken from India to Western parts on sources of information better than those Acts.

## 2. — Proper Names.

A table of all the proper names that occur in the Acts is given on the opposite page. Mr. Burkitt points out that most of the names in the Syriac text are not Syriac, but old Persian. Kūrēsh (Cyrene) is in the Sachau MS. (Giles and Karsh in the British Museum MS.). Mazda, Vizān, Mannebar, are all, he says, good old Persian names. Mazda was the name of the well-known satrap of Babylon known to the Greeks as Megabars, who died 328 B. C. Sandaruk reminds him of a similar word at the beginning of the essentially Syriac *Romance of Julian*, a work assigned by Wright to the 6th century. (See *Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1884, p. 101.)

Mykonos or Magdonia is another name for Nisibis. Haloun has a Semitic look. (*Early Christianity and the Roman Empire*, p. 34 and 72, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1900.) The fact that Kūrēsh (Cyrene) has become in the Greek Νάπωνος, instead of Κύρος, suggests the possibility of a Semitic translation, and seems to be one of the many minor indications that the original was Syriac.

The Persian names, so far as they prove anything, seem to exclude the idea that the scene of St. Thomas' death was in South India.



Proper names contained in the Syriac Acts of St. Thomas, and the corresponding names in Greek and Latin versions.

	Syriac.	Greek.	Latin.	
1	Habbān.	Ἀββάνης.	Abban. Abbenea.	Arabic, Habbān. See Dr. Wright's translation, p. 146, footnote. The merchant sent from India by King Gudnaphar to bring him an artificer.
2	Gūdnaphar. Gundaphar	Γουνδαφάρος. Γουνδαφάρου. Γουνταφάρου.	Gundafarus. Gundafarus.	"The King of India" (Syriac) " <i>Basileus tōs Indaiō</i> (Greek) " <i>Rex Indiarum</i> ," " <i>Rex Indorum</i> " (Latin).
3	Sandarūk. Samsaruk.	Ἀνδράναλος.	Andranapolis. Andranabols. Andronopolis. Adrianopolis.	City of an unnamed king and a seaport.
4	Gad.	Γὰδ.	Gad.	Brother of King Gūdnaphar. "Gad" seems to have been the name of a Babylonian deity in the time of Ismaiah (say 8th century B. C.). See Is. lxxv, 11-14 V., margin.
5	Mazdai.	Μαζδαῖος. Μαζδαῖος.	Mazdeus. Mesdeus. Mygdeus.	A king in India ("India superior," according to some Latin versions).
6	Sifur.	Σίφωρ. Σιφάρ. Σιφόρος. Σιφωρας. Σιμφωρας.	Saphor. Saphyy. Sapor. Siforus. Saphor. Siforatus. Sinforus. Sinfarus. Symphorus.	The General of King Mazdai.
7	Xanthippus.	Χανθίππιν.	...	Deacon of St. Thomas. Not named in the Latin.
8	Karish (Brit. Mus.) Kūrēsh (Sachau).	Καρῖσιος.	Clarissus. Carissus. Karissus. Carissus. Carissus.	Kinsman of King Mazdai. Kūrēsh is the Syriac for Cyrus.
9	Mygdonia.	Μυγδορία.	Mygdonia. Mygdonia.	Wife of Karish.
10	Narkia.	Ναρκία. Ναρκία.	Narkia. Marelia.	Nurse of Mygdonia.
11	Tertia.	Τερτία. Τερτιανή. Τερτιανή.	Tertia. Tertia. Tertia.	Wife of King Mazdai.
12	Vizān.	Ὀυζαννης. Ὀυζαννης. Ὀυζαννης. Ὀυζαννης.	Zizanus. Zizanus. Zizanus. Ouzanus.	Son of King Mazdai.
13	Manashar.	Μανασάρ. Αντισάρ. Σμανασάρ. Σισαρά.	Manasara. Manasara.	Wife of Vizān.







## II. — Writers of the first six centuries of the Christian era who make mention of the apostleship of St. Thomas.

The following writers of the first six centuries of the Christian era make mention of the apostleship of St. Thomas:—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1.—The author of the Syriac work, entitled "The Doctrine of the Apostles;" perhaps 2nd century. | 8.—St. Gregory Nazianzen; died 389 or 390.             |
| 2.—Heracleon; probably 170 to 180.  | 9.—St. Gregory of Nyssa; died about 394.               |
| 3.—The writer of "The Clementine Recognitions;" perhaps as early as 200 to 220.                 | 10.—St. Ambrose; died about 397.                       |
| 4.—Clement of Alexandria; died about 250.   | 11.—St. Asterius; died about 400.                      |
| 5.—Origen; died about 254.  | 12.—St. John Chrysostom; died 407.                     |
| 6.—Eusebius; died about 340.  | 13.—Rufinus; died 410.                                 |
| 7.—St. Ephraem the Syrian; died about 378.  | 14.—St. Gaudentius; died probably between 410 and 427. |
|   | 15.—St. Jerome; died 420.                              |
|   | 16.—St. Paulinus of Nola; died 431.                    |
|   | 17.—Basilius; about 443.                               |
|   | 18.—Socrates; about 445.                               |
|   | 19.—St. Gregory of Tours; died 594.                    |

There are probably other writers who might be quoted, especially among those who wrote in Syriac, but I have not been able to trace them. For the purpose of this paper, it is not necessary to go beyond the sixth century.

The necessary quotations from the writers and writings above named will now be given.

1. — The ancient Syriac work, entitled "The Doctrine of the Apostles." (Written perhaps in the 2nd century.) Extracts:—

"And after the death of the Apostles there were Elders and Rulers in the churches, and whomsoever the Apostles had commended to them and they had received from them, they taught to the multitude all the time of their lives. They again at their deaths also committed and delivered to their disciples after them everything which they had received from the Apostles, also what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of Rome, and John from Ephesus, and Mark from the great Alexandria, and Andrew from Phrygia, and Luke from Macedonia, and Judas Thomas from India, that the epistles of an Apostle might be received and read in the churches, in every place, like those Triumphs of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read, that by this the Apostles might be known . . . ."

"India and all its countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was Crown and Ruler in the church which he built there, and ministered there."

These translations are taken from W. Cureton *Ancient Syriac Documents* London, 1864. pp. 82, 83.

2. — Heracleon, a teacher, who wrote in the 2nd century probably about 170 to 180. Clement of Alexandria in his "Stromata" (Miscellaneous), book 4, chapter 9, headed "Christ's sayings regarding martyrdom," after quoting Luke xi. 12, writes as follows:

"In explanation of this passage, Heracleon the teacher a pupil of the school of Valentinus says expressly, 'that there is a confession by faith and confession, and one with the voice. The confession that is made by the voice and where the utterance is what the most reckon the holy confession. Not so many and hypocrites also can confess with this confession. But neither will this utterance be feared to be spoken universally for all the saved have confessed with the confession made with the voice and departed. Of whom are Matthew Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others. And confession by the lips is not universal, but partial . . . ."











John was a 21 December. De tempore quo Eusebius tantum thesaurum accepit, nihil apud antiquos legitur, Basiliensis autem ad a. 236 ait, in certum esse famam, hoc anno translationem accepisse. E autem anni non indicat nec eam hucusque invenire potui.

8.—St. Gregory Nianianon, born in Cappadocia about 329 bishop 372, died 386 or 390 Homily 21 against the Arians: extract from chap. II:—

What! were not the apostles strangers to the many nations and countries among which they were divided that the gospel might be spread everywhere? . . . . . Ours, too, that Judaea was the country of Peter what had Paul in common with the gentiles, Luke with Achaia Andrew with Egera, John with Ephesus, Thomas with India, Mark with Italy?"

The Greek text is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 36, Paris, 1858, col. 227.

9.—St. Gregory of Nyssa, born about 331 bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia about 372, died soon after 394. In Epist. 13 he writes:—

"Mesopotamiae incolae, tumela inter ipsos ditionis Satraparum existerent, ubi latuissent Thomam cursum dignum esse censuerunt, quem alio loco praedicantem. Ita et Titus in Cretenis, et Hierosolymis, ubi latuissent episcopus qui elegit, usque Cappadocias, centum annis illam quae passionem tempore divinitatem Domini fecerat."

This Latin translation of the Greek text is from B. Cudriot *Histoire Générale des Antiques Sacrées et Ecclésiastiques*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1880, p. 254.

10.—St. Ambrose; born 340, bishop of Milan 374, died 397. "In Psalmum XLV. enarratio: extract from chap. 31 (vers. 10):—

"Autores belli usque ad fines terrae arcum contulerunt et confringunt arma et scuta comburunt signa. Et vixit antiquum Romanum d'flunderetur imperium, non acum regnum urbium reges adversum se pael abantur, sed etiam ipsi Romae bella frequenter civilibus alternantur. . . . .  
"Quid factum est ut tanto bellorum civium Juno Augusti Romanum desereretur imperium et in praecelsa intentis sedata sunt. Hoc autem eo profectum ut recto per totum orbem apostoli mitti cernerent, dicente Dominus Jesus. Praedicate omnes gentes (Matth. xxvi. 13.) His quidem etiam interitibus barbaris sunt in regna pascuerunt, ut Thomas India, Mattheus Persia."

Migne's *Patrologia*, Vol. 14, Paris, 1845, cols. 1142-3.

11.—St. Asterius, archbishop of Amasea in Pontus died about 400. This Greek writer bears testimony to the fact of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, but does not specify any locality. In Homily 19, Eulogy of the holy martyrs, he says:—

"And see how many you fashion out in the one martyr; John the Baptist, James who was called the brother of the Lord, Peter, Paul, Thomas; I name those as chiefs of the martyrs."

The original is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 40, Paris, 1863, cols. 325-6.

12.—St. John Chrysostom, born 317, archbishop of Constantinople 397, died 407. Translation of a passage from Homily 26 on the Epistle to the Hebrews:—

"But I do not think that the bones of Moses himself lie in a foreign land. And as to those of Anna, of David, of Joseph, and of many apostles, we do not even know where they are. The graves of Peter and Paul and John and Thomas are indeed known (ὅσους αὐτοὺς), but of the others, though they are so many, nothing is known."

The original text is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 63, Paris, 1862, col. 170.











1	2nd cent?	Syrus "Doctrine of the Apostles"	St Thomas wrote letters from "India." He evangelised "India" and countries bordering on it.
2	a. 170	Heraclon ... ..	St. Thomas died a natural death.
3	c. 210?	Clement de Recognitions.	St. Thomas evangelised the Parthians.
4	220	Clement of Alexandria	St. Thomas died a natural death.
5	251	Origen	St. Thomas evangelised the Parthians.
6	340	Eusebius ... ..	Do. do. do.
7	378	St. Ephraem	St. Thomas was martyred in "India." His relics were part at Edessa, part in India.
8	389	St. Gregory Nazianzen	St. Thomas evangelised India.
9	394	St. Gregory of Nyssa	St. Thomas evangelised Mesopotamia.
10	397	St. Ambrose	St. Thomas was martyred.
11	400	St. Asterius	St. Thomas was martyred.
12	407	St. John Chrysostom	The locality of the grave of St. Thomas was known to him.
13	410	Rufinus	St. Thomas evangelised Parthia. His relics were at Edessa.
14	410	St. Claudianus	St. Thomas was martyred in India. Some of his relics were at Bracara.
15	430	St. Jerome	St. Thomas was in India.
16	431	St. Paulinus of Nola	St. Thomas was allotted India.
17	443	Sozomen	He mentions the famous church of St. Thomas at Edessa, and perhaps implies that his relics were there.
18	a. 445	Sozomen	Do. do. do.
19	594	St. Gregory of Tours	St. Thomas was martyred in India; his relics were translated to Edessa, and there was then existing a famous church in India, at the place where the body of the apostle was first buried.

The early evidence is then that St. Thomas evangelised Parthia, and, apart from the Syrian "Doctrine of the Apostles," there does not seem to be any mention of "India" in connection with St. Thomas till we get to St. Ephraem (378), and St. Gregory Nazianzen (389), the two living in adjacent countries. The "Doctrine of the Apostles" would be more important if we could fix its date from expressions used in it, it is thought to be of the 2nd century; but Lipsius says towards the end of the 4th cent., which would bring it into the time of St. Ephraem. See articles in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography, etc.*, Vol. 1, London, 1877.

It will be noticed that in none of these ancient writings is there any mention whatever of the name of the place at which St. Thomas was martyred, — Calamitas, as it appears in later and perhaps unauthentic writings. Of some of these it is necessary now to give some account

(To be continued.)











illustrations of the ten Avatāras of Vishnu (nine of which have letters in both Roman and Nagari characters), and five plates, four of which describe the Nagari alphabet (*Elementa Linguae Hindicae*)\* while the fifth gives the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* in Latin, but written (incorrectly enough) in the Nagari character. The *Pater Noster* begins as follows.—*वासिद् (sic) मोस्तिद् की एल इम सिमिन्.*†

In 1678 John Ogilby, Cosmographer published in London — *Asia, the First Part. Being an Accurate Description of Persia, and the Several Provinces thereof. The East Empire of the Great Mogol, and other Parts of India, and their several Kingdoms and Regions. With the Denominations and Descriptions of the Cities, Towns, and Places of Remark therein contained. The various Customs, Habits, Religion, and Languages of the Inhabitants. Their Political Governments, and way of Commerce. Also the Plants and Animals peculiar to each Country. Collected and translated from the most authentic Authors and augmented with later Observations, illustrated with notes and adorned with peculiar Maps, and proper Sculptures.* On pp. 59, 60 he deals with the Persian language and its three dialects, Xirazy, Rostazy, and Harmazy. On p. 129 he takes up the subject of the Malay language. He says, 'as to what concerneth the Language of the Indians. It onely differs in genera from the Moors and the Mahumetans, but they have also several different Dialects amongst themselves. Amongst all their languages, there is none which spreads it self more than the Malayan.' He then proceeds to give a vocabulary of Malayan. He next rather wavers on this point, for (p. 134) he first quotes Pietro Della Valle to show that the same speech is used everywhere, but the written characters differ. Next, he explains on Kircher's not Pietro Della Valle's† authority that the word 'Naglier' is used as the name both of a language and of a character. He then goes on, 'According to Mr Edward Terry [see above] the Yagur Tongue of Indostan hath great Affinity with the Persian and Arabic Tongues: but is pleasanter and easier to pronounce. It is a very fluent Language, expressing many things in few Words. They write and read like l's viz. from the Left to the Right Hand' (This last remark shows that some alphabet akin to Nagari, and not the Persian one is referred to.) The language of the Nobility and Courts, and of all public businesses and writings is Persian, but 'Yagur Mahumetans speak Turkish, but not so eloquently as the natural born Turks. Learned Persons, and Mahumetan Priests, speak the Arabic. But no Language extends further, and is of greater Use than the Malayan. . . . The Netherlands East India Company have lately printed a Dictionary of the Common Discourse in that Tongue as also the New Testament and other Books in the same language. Moreover, the Holland Masters in their several Factories in India, teach the Malayan Tongue, not only in their Churches, but Schools also.'‡

In the same year we have Fryer's much more accurate statement about Indian languages already quoted.

In 1678 there appeared at Amsterdam the first volume of Henricus van Rheede tot Draakenstein's *Herbarium Indicum Malabaricum adornatum per H. v. R. t. D.* The introduction contains seven lines of Sanskrit, dated, in the Nagari character. The date corresponds to 1676 A. D.

In Berlin in the year 1680, Andreas Muller, under the pseudonym of Thomas Ludcken, produced a collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer under the title of *Gratia Oratorium. S. s. Oratorium*

\* A little is taken from Professor Zacharias's article above referred to. The representation of *chēś* by *चेश* (chēś) is interesting. The Italian pronunciation of the word is represented by *चेश* (chēś) in Beligatti's work mentioned below.

† See O. Dapper's *Asia* (published in Dutch in 1672, German Translation, Nürnberg, 1681) in a passage which he by has evidently translated in the above quotation. Professor Zacharias however states (l. c. p. 37.) that so far as he has been able to discover Kircher does not mention Nagher at all. I have not seen Dapper's work, but Ogilby certainly borrowed largely from it.

‡ I am sorry that I can give no clue as to the Dutch works mentioned. Perhaps some of my readers can. Ogilby appears to have confused India Proper with the Dutch Settlements in Further India, where, of course, Malay was the *Lingua Franca*.

§ See Professor Macdonell, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 386. The work appeared from 1673 to 1703 in twelve volumes.



*dominicae Versiones praefer authenticam saeculorum, etque longe emendatior quam antea, et a probatissimis Auctoribus potius quam prioribus Collectionibus, jamque singulis gentibus Linguae sui Characteribus, adeoque magnam Partem ex Aere ad Institutionem a Barthelemy Hager traditam editamque a Thoma Ludewico, Solig. March. Berolin. ac Officina Haugiana Anno 1680.*<sup>12</sup> The Dutchman Hager mentioned herein as the engraver is also a pseudonym for Muller himself. In this collection Roth's *Pater Noster* was reprinted as being actually Sanskrit, and not a mere transcription of the Latin original.

In 1694 there appeared a work on Chess by Thomas Hyde, entitled *Historia Shahidudu*.<sup>13</sup> On pp. 132-137 he gives twelve different Sanskrit words for 'elephant' engraved in Nagari characters.

So far we have dealt only with general notices or with the accounts of the characters in which Hindōstani is written. With the commencement of the 18th century we find the first attempts at giving serious accounts of the language itself. According to Anandakasi in his preface to Bengatti's *Alphabetum Bramharum* (see below), a Capuchin monk named Franciscus M. Turonensis completed at Surat, in the year 1704, a manuscript *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae*, in two parts, of between four and five hundred double-columned pages each. In Anandakasi's time it was still preserved in the library of the Propaganda in Rome, but when I searched for it there some twelve years ago it could not be found.

We now come to the first Hindōstani grammar. John Joshua Kotelar (also written Kotlar, Keshlar, or Keshior) was a Lutheran by religion, born at Elbingen in Prussia. He was accredited to Shah 'Āzam Bahadur Shah (1708-1712) and Jahāndār Shāh (1712) as Dutch envoy. In 1711 he was the Dutch East India Company's Director of Trade at Surat. He passed through Āgrā both going to and coming from Lahore (and Deh), but there does not seem to be any evidence whatever that he ever lived there, though the Dutch Company had a Factory in that city subordinate to Surat. The mission arrived near Lahore on the 10th December 1711, returned to Deh with Jahāndār Shāh, and finally started from that place on the 14th October 1712, reaching Āgrā on the 30th October. From Āgrā they returned to Surat. In 1716 Kotelar had been three years Director for the Dutch Company at Surat. He was then appointed their envoy to Persia, and left Batavia in July 1716, having been thirty years in the Dutch Service or in the East Indies. He passed fever at Gombayn on the Persian Gulf on his return from Isfahan, after having been two days under arrest, because he would not order a Dutch ship to set under the Persian Governor's orders against some Arab traders.<sup>14</sup> He wrote a grammar and a vocabulary of the 'Lingua Indostanica,' which were published by David Miß, in 1743, in his *Miscellanea Orientalia* (see below). We may assume that they were composed about the year 1715.

In the same year there appeared another collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer. Its author was John Chamberlayne. It was published at Amsterdam, and had a preface by David Wilkes, who also contributed many of the specimens. Its full title was *Oratio dominica in diversis omnium fere Gentium Linguis vera et propria cujusque Linguae Characteribus expressa, una cum Dissertationibus nonnullis de Linguarum Origine, eisque ipsarum Permutationibus. Editore Joh. Chamberlayno Anglo-Britanno, Regiae Societatis Londinensis Socio. Amstelodami, typis et auct. et David Wilkes, 1715.* For our present purpose, it is sufficient to remark, with reference to this celebrated work, that it reproduces Roth's *Pater Noster*, but without making Muller's error in imagining it to be Sanskrit.

Maturin Veysière LaCroze was born at Nantes in 1661. In 1667 he became librarian to the Elector at Ber in and died in that city in 1739. As librarian he kept up a voluminous correspondence on linguistic subjects with the learned men of his time, including David Wilkes, John Chamberlayne, Ziegenbalg, and T. S. Bayer. This was published after his death under the title of *Thesaurus*

<sup>12</sup> Adelung, *Mithridates*, Vol. I, pp. 854 and ff.

<sup>13</sup> See Professor Macdonell, *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 136, Note 2. Another similar work by the same author appeared in the same year, entitled *Historia Nerdistan*. See Prof. Zachariasen in *J. O. J.*, XV, quoted above.

<sup>14</sup> See G. A. Grierson, *Proceedings*, A. S. B., May, 1895. Cf. Adelung, *Mithridates*, Vol. I, p. 192.







*apne hantun—kion m'jaktie apite kutung war amkon Ye-rah hantko se wain was,che—!e h hantko  
yajakur is borongas Tesser ho patay me aworwar i emporer hantman Ammon*

In the year following the publication of Kitchner's Grammar appeared that of the celebrated missionary Schlegel whose name has been already mentioned more than once. The title is *Verses plus Remarques sur le Dictionnaire Perse-Arabe de M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique de France*. In this volume Haidjaghis comments on the justly celebrated *Recherches de M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique de France* (Paris 1745). Schlegel was aware of the existence of Kitchner's Grammar, and mentioned it in his preface. Schlegel's Grammar is in Latin. His list of words are given in the Perso-Arabic character with transcription. The Noun (class for *Declaratives*) is also explained. He ignores the plural of the compound letters and (as his own is formed) of all separate ones. He is aware of the singular as 1st form of the personal pronouns, but in consequence of the use of new words, the plural forms of transitive verbs.

[illegible]

Our new society is *Tenney's Fishes of St. Petersburg, in Russia and the Far East of Asia*. By John Bell, Cambridge 17th. (New York, Longmans, 1896.) It contains 12 of the work and given the *Numbers of a column*.

Of more importance is the *Aspasiastan Prashastan* now in the *Asiatic Researches*, 1791. This Sanskrit inscription was first discovered by a Catholic Missionary named Cassin. It is furnished with a version by John van Oosterhout, Amstardam (Amsterd.) In its preface there is a very accurate account of the then existing knowledge regarding Indian languages. It describes Sanskrit, *संस्कृत*, correctly as the language of the



learned, and next refers to the 'बस्ता बानी' or 'Basta Bani' or common tongue which is found in the University of 'Kasi or Benares.' It then goes on to enumerate the other principal alphabets of India which except 'Nagri, Nagri Soratensis, or Bazarbaia', do not immediately concern us. Of more particular interest is his mention of a *Lesson Langue Indostanienne* which was composed by a Capuchin Missionary of Surat named Francis M. Tarabensis, in the year 1764, the manuscript of which was then in the Propaganda Library in Rome, and which Amaduzzi describes at considerable length. He also mentions a manuscript dialogue (in Hindustani) between a Christian and a Native of India regarding the truth of religion, which was dedicated to the Raja of Benia, in the present district of Champaran, by Joseph M. Viagnanensis and Bengatti, the author of the work we are now describing. The *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* is of importance as being the first book (so far as I am aware, in which the vernacular words are printed in therown character in movable types. But not only are the Deva-nagari letters represented by types but even the Kuthi ones receive the same honour. Bengatti calls the Deva-nagari character the 'Alphabetum expressum in litteris Universitatis Kas,' and after covering over a hundred pages with a minute description of its use (including the compound consonants) he gives on, on page 110 to deal with the 'Alphabetum populare Indostanicum vulgo Nagri.' This is, he says, used by us, the natives for famous letters and country books and for all subjects whether religious or profane which can be written in the 'बास्ता बीनी bhasta bani or vulgar tongue.'<sup>16</sup> He then gives a good description of the Kuthi alphabet using movable types also here. The book concludes with an account of the numerals and with reading exercises. These last are transliterations of the Latin *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* into Deva-nagari followed by translations of the Invocation of the Trinity, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed into Hindustani in the same character. Taking it altogether, the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* is, for its time, a wonderfully good piece of work.

With the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* the first stage of Hindustani bibliography may be considered to be completed. Hudley's grammar appeared in 1772, and was quickly followed by a number of other and better ones, such as the Portuguese *Grammatica Indostana* (1778 far in advance of Hudley), Volckmar's numerous works (commencing 1782), and Leveillé's grammar (1801). These would be found in due, each described in its proper place. Leveillé's work concerns more than a mere entry on account of the extraordinary adventures of its author. This remarkable man gives an account of his life in the preface of his book, from which we get to that he began his Indian career (apparently as a translator) in the year 1785 at Madras. After a stay there of two years he migrated to Calcutta, where he met with a Pandit who taught him Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindustani (or, as he called it, the Indian mixed dialect). His next attempt was to translate two English plays into Bengali, and one of these was performed publicly with great applause (according to its author) in 1790 and again in the following year. According to Leveillé,<sup>17</sup> he then became theatrical manager to the Great Mogul, and finally returned to England after a stay of more than twenty years in the East. In London he published his grammar, and made the acquaintance of Wernsdorff, the Russian Ambassador, who sent him to Russia. He was employed in the Russian Foreign Office and was given a large sum of money towards founding a Sanskrit press. I have no knowledge of any other works from his pen. It is to be hoped, for the sake of his patrons, that his knowledge of Sanskrit and Bengali was greater than that of Hindustani which he displays in his grammar. Not only is his system of transliteration *karahayava* (now written) deplorably incorrect, but so is the whole account of the grammatical structure of the language. The concluding words of his preface show that he was not conscious of its imperfectness, and at the same time throw a curious light on the morality of Europeans in India at his time. 'The India-

<sup>16</sup> Bengatti's representation of this expression is more accurate than Amaduzzi's but even his transliteration here breaks down.

<sup>17</sup> *Madras*, vol. 2, p. 135. According to the same authority he was by birth an Ukraine peasant, and, on account of his marvellous talents, was taken up by Prince Ruzumovsky who sent him to Italy where he became proficient in all the sciences. He then migrated to Paris and London where he took service under a Lord who went to India as Governor.



words in this work are . . . so well ascertained as to leave no doubt, but the European learner, with a little assistance of a Pandit or Moonshie, nay, even of a *Hesse-sahib*, cannot fail in a short time to obtain a knowledge of their [the natives'] idioms, and to master the Indian dialects with incredible facility.'

Finally we may briefly refer to a few belated works of the early period of inquiries into Indian languages, which appeared after Hindustāni had begun to be seriously studied in Calcutta. In 1782 Ivarna Abel published in Copenhagen *Symphona Symphona, sive undecim Linguarum Orientalium Ingress exhibita Concordia Tamilicæ videlicet, Granthamicæ, Telugicæ, Sanscritamicæ, Marathicæ, Bhojaputricæ, Canaricæ, Hindostanicæ, Cincanicæ, Gularuticæ et Peguanicæ non characteristicæ, quibus ad æquationem Harmonia adjecta est Latine*. It is a comparative vocabulary of fifty-three words in these seven languages. The words include parts of the body, heaven, sun, etc., certain animals, house, water, sea, tree, the personal pronouns and numerals.

In 1791 there was published in Rome an anonymous work, with a preface by Paulus a S. Hieronymus, entitled *Alphabeta Indica, id est Granthamicum seu Sanscritamicum-Malaharicum, Indostanicum sive Vnarense, Naganicum vulgare, et Talenganicum*. It is a collection of these four alphabets, all in movable types.

Johann Christoph Adelung's *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe funfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten* may be taken as the link between the old philology and the new. A philologist so eminent as this great writer could not fail to adorn whatever linguistic subject he touched, and, for its time, this work is a marvel of erudition and masterly arrangement. As far as Indian languages go, it sums up all (little it must be confessed) that was known about them at the end of the 18th century. In it 'Mongolisch-Indostanisch oder Maratshi' (i. e. Urdu) (Vol. I pp. 183 and ff.) and 'Hind oder Hoch-Indostanisch, d. h. Nagari' (pp. 116 and ff.) are jointly described as the 'Allgemeine Sprachen in Indostan'. Its 'Hind oder Hoch-Indostanisch' is meant the various 'Hindi' dialects spoken between Mathurā and Patna, but as an example is given the Lord's Prayer in badly-spelt Sanskrit. It is contributed by Benktze, whose name apparently prevents him from distinguishing between *dh* and *p*. For instance, he spells *dhyanam* 'pocnam'. Vol. IV of the work consists of additions and corrections, and of a supplement by J. S. Vater. Further information regarding Hindustāni will be found on pp. 64-65, 63, 64, 65, 66 of Hindustāni to Romans, and 486 of that volume.

#### SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT EARLY DATES.

A.D.	
1600.	EMPEROR AKBAR reigning.
	English East India Company incorporated.
1602.	Dutch East India Company founded.
1605.	EMPEROR JAHANGIR comes to the throne.
1615.	Embassy of Sir T. Roe. English factory established at Surat.
1616.	Earliest recorded mention of the Indostan language (spoken by Tom Curyate).
1620.	Jesuits' College founded at Agra. English establish an Agency there.
1623-24.	Pietro Della Valle in India.
1628.	EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN comes to the throne.
1630.	1. Compilation of the Surat Dictionary of Persian, Hindustāni, English, and Portuguese.
1640.	English factory established at Hugli.
1652.	Heinrich Roth joins Jesuit College at Agra.



1655. Terry's *Voyage in East India* published. Terry accompanied Sir T. Roe (1615).
1658. EMPEROR AURANZËB comes to the throne.
1661. Bombay transferred to the English crown.
1663. Pietro Della Valle's *Indian Travels* published.
1664. Heinrich Roth visits Rome and meets Kircher.
1667. Kircher's *China Illustrata*. LaCroze a printed Librarian at Berlin.
1672. J. Fryer's *Travels in East India and Persia* commenced and continued to 1681 published 1698.
1672. O. Dapper's *Asia* published in Dutch.
1673. J. Ogilby's *Asia*.
1678. Hendrick van Rheede van Brakenstein's *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* commenced to issue.
1680. Andreas Møller's *Oratio Gratulationum*.
1681. O. Dapper's *Asia* (German Translation) published at Nuremberg.
1694. Thomas Hyde's *Historia Shahisudai*.
1696. Charnoock founds Fort William in Calcutta.
1698. J. Fryer's *Travels in East India and Persia* published. See 1672.
1704. Franciscus M. Puccinatti completes his *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae*.
1708. EMPEROR BAHADUR SHAH comes to the throne.
1711. Ketscher's embassy.
1712. EMPEROR JAHSIDAR SHAH comes to the throne.
1713. EMPEROR FARUKH-SYAH comes to the throne.
1715. Ketscher's Grammar. The *Gratic Indica* of Chamberlayne and Wilkins.
1719. EMPEROR MUGHAMAD SHAH comes to the throne.
- 1720-29. Bayer's investigations.
1739. Death of Lal roze. See 1667. Invasion of India by Nādir Shāh.
1743. Mull's *Disertationes Selectae*. Publication of Ketscher's Grammar. Manuel da Assumpção publishes a Bengali Grammar and Vocabulary at Lisbon.
1744. Schultze's *Grammatica Hindostanica*.
- 1745-56. Schultze's Bible translations.
1748. EMPEROR AHMAD SHAH comes to the throne. Fritz's *Sprachmeister* published.
1754. EMPEROR 'ĀLAMOLĪ II. comes to the throne.
1757. Battle of Plassey.
1759. EMPEROR SHAH 'ĀLAM II. comes to the throne.
1761. *Alphabetum Brammanum*, &c. Third battle of Panipat. Defeat of the Marāṭhas by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.
1772. WARREN HASTINGS GOVERNOR OF BENGAL. Hodley's Grammar published.
1773. Fergusson's *Hindostani Dictionary* published.
1778. *Grammatica Indostana* published at Lisbon.
1782. Ivarus Abel's *Symphona Symphona*.



1786. MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS GOVERNOR GENERAL.
1787. Gilchrist begins publishing.
1788. *The Indian Vocabulary* published in London.
1790. *Harris's Dictionary of English and Hindostany*.
1791. *Alphabets Indica* published at Rome.
1793. SIR JOHN SHORE GOVERNOR GENERAL. William Carey lands at Calcutta.
1793. LORD MORRISTON (MARQUIS OF WELLBLESLEY) GOVERNOR GENERAL.
1800. *Roberts' Indian Glossary*.
1801. Lebedeff's Grammar. Carey's first Bengali New Testament printed.
1805. MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS SECOND TIME GOVERNOR GENERAL. W. Hunter's translation of the New Testament into Hindostani. Done with the aid of Muhammad Fikrat and other learned natives.
1806. Publication of first volume of Adeling's *Mathcolates*. Henry Martyn arrives in India, and commences translation of New Testament.
1807. EARL OF MINTO GOVERNOR GENERAL.
1810. Henry Martyn's 1st translation of New Testament, the basis of all subsequent versions, completed in manuscript with the aid of Muhammad Fikrat.
1811. Carey publishes a Hindi New Testament.
1812. Fire & burning to Press. Henry Martyn's version of the New Testament destroyed before issue.
1813. EARL OF MINTO (MARQUIS OF HASTINGS) GOVERNOR GENERAL. Carey publishes the Pentateuch in Hindi.
1814. Henry Martyn's translation of the New Testament into Hindostani issued. Carey publishes New Testament in Hindi.

(To be continued.)

## SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART

For some time past I have been engaged in getting for the Hakluyt Society an anonymous manuscript account of the Coast of the Bay of Bengal and the countries on the southward bearing date 1669-1670. The MS., which is incomplete and signed only by the initials T. B., has been used by Yule in his *Diary of Sir William Hedges*, by Murray in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and others, and is usually quoted as "T. B. Asia, etc.," and that designation is sufficient for the present purpose.

In the course of editing the MS. I have extracted all the Anglo-Indian terms the writer has used, as they are of considerable value to students. In several cases the author gives us the earliest known uses of words now familiar, in others he carries us back further than does Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* in historical references to words, and in yet other cases he helps us with intermediate forms, and his often careful explanations of the meanings of the geographical and other terms he uses are most valuable. He supplements Yule over and over again with terms not in *Hobson-Jobson*.



In choosing a generic form for the title of each word illustrated below, I have followed Yule's form whenever there was one and in cases where words are not in Yule, I have used that form which is most familiar to myself and I presume to other contemporary students.

I have also quoted Wheeler's *Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records of Madras for 1679-81*, as *N. and E.* to illustrate the text. It is a pity that it is not a better book for students, and the same may be said of Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, V 1 I, also occasionally quoted. Crawford's *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* has also been sometimes brought into requisition to illustrate passages. Finally, I have frequently referred to previous notes of my own in this *Journal*, illustrating some of the words used in the text of the MS.

#### ABASSIN

Fol. 53. The Abassin of Poram 7 to one Pagod or 006 08s 00d.

Not in Yule.

[A Bill of Exchange accepted by Mr Vincent (Chief at Hugly) for Rupees 15,000, payable in Abassins, at this place at 8½ Annas of a Rupee for an Abassin, ordered to be returned, Mr Vincent's money from Persia proving to be Mahmuddys which are 16 per cent. worse than Abassins. Madras, 15th March 1680, *N. and E.* p. 12. Mr. Vincent subsequently agreed to accept the difference between the 'Mahmuddys' and the Abassins, p. 31.]

#### ACHAR.

Fol. 82. [The Portugals make, Several Sorts of Achar, as Mangoe, Jamboe, Lemon, &c. very good and Cheape.

See Yule, s. v. Achar: salt or acid relish, pickle.

#### ACHEEN.

Fol. 138. not for that they came in without leave but as She was an Enemy of theirs an Achinor . . . Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> Malay inhabitants . . . stood up for y<sup>e</sup> Achiniers.

Fol. 143. [Queda] but nothing nigh to y<sup>e</sup> Splendour State and riches of Achin.

Fol. 157. The City Achin is Vpon y<sup>e</sup> North End of y<sup>e</sup> great Land Sumatra . . . the City Achin is y<sup>e</sup> Metropolitan of y<sup>e</sup> Whole . . . famous as it is y<sup>e</sup> place of residence of there Virgin Queene.

Fol. 159. pay a much Sleskerer Louage to y<sup>e</sup> Crowne of Achin then formerly they have done Achin is now and hath a Considerable time been Governed by a Queen, even Since y<sup>e</sup> time that the Jueroet and Pious Kinge James of happy memorie Swayed y<sup>e</sup> Scepter of great Brittainne France and Ireland.

Fol. 169. Anno Dom 1674; the Old Queen of Achin died . . . I was then in Achin when She died . . . y<sup>e</sup> marriage of y<sup>e</sup> female Sect was to cut the haire of there heads.

See Yule, s. v. Achien whose European quotations, however, stop with the 16th century

[Advice received from Metelapatam of the arrival of the Interloping ship 'Commerce from Achien. 20th Dec. 1680, *N. and E.* p. 42.]

#### AGRA.

Fol. 62. Agra, the Metropolitan of y<sup>e</sup> Empire.

Fol. 65. Much fly age news arrived att Agra and Dely.

Fol. 67. and the tribute this great Ciesar cold get. Hence was a Short answer y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> treasure was as safe in Dacca as in his owne Exchequer in Agra or Dely.

Not in Yule.



## ALLIGATOR.

Fol. 87. where they serve for a Prey to y<sup>e</sup> ravenous Alligator.

Fol. 153 4. This River of Quada . . . , not a little filled with y<sup>e</sup> deformed creatures commonly called Alligators, they resemble a Crocodile . . . I have Shot Severall Alligators of 6 7 8 9. foot longe, and killed them, by Observinge to hitt them Exactly Under one of y<sup>e</sup> fore paws . . . I have often Seen a brace of bullets rebound upon y<sup>e</sup> Sides of a large Alligator . . . here followeth the forme of one of these Deformed Creatures [illustration of a Crocodile].

See Yule, s. v. Alligator.

## ANDRAGHIRA.

Fol. 169. There are Severall Rajas Vpon Sumatra . . . Especially those of . . . Androgero.

Not in Yule.

[This place is Indragiri, to the North-East of Sumatra. It is a place often mentioned in old books, usually under the form which heads this note. See article "Indragiri" in Crawford's *Dictionary of Indian Archipelago*.]

## ARAKAN.

Fol. 38. The Kings of Golcondah hath Severall Shipa, y<sup>e</sup> trade yearly to Arackan.

Fol. 61. between Point Palmera . . . and y<sup>e</sup> Arackan Shore.

Fol. 64. he Sendeth to the Kings of Arackan (a neighbouring kingdom to Bengala) cravunge his Assistance and Enterainment there, w<sup>ch</sup> was readily granted, & not more readily then accepted, the Arackan King Sends a parcel of Gyljars viz Gullys well fitted and manned w<sup>th</sup> Arackaners and frangues.

Fol. 65. But Since it was truly made appeare y<sup>t</sup> he was soe basely Marthered in Aruckan.

Fol. 89. [The Brachmans] infinitely inhabit this kingdom (Bengala), but most Especially on y<sup>e</sup> back Side thereof viz towards Arackan.

Fol. 92. beange Lincrous of the Arackaners w<sup>th</sup> there Gyljars.

Fol. 97. see wild Elephants in these Kingdoms, although y<sup>e</sup> Kingdoms of Arackan is well stored with them, and is but a neighbouring countrey to y<sup>e</sup> of Bengala.

See Yule, s. v. Arakan.

## ARBOL TRISTE.

Fol. 29. Vpon y<sup>e</sup> top of Mount St Thomas groweth naturally a Very remarkable tree larger then most maherry trees be, w<sup>ch</sup> is called Arbor triste, viz y<sup>e</sup> Sorrowfull tree, and is it properly soe called it seemeth not to flower all y<sup>e</sup> day longe. yet from Sun setting to Sun rising it is exceeding full of white blossoms. These fragrant and beautifull, but soe Sooner in but broad day light but all y<sup>e</sup> blossoms fall to y<sup>e</sup> ground and soe wither, and y<sup>e</sup> Very leaves shut themselves, and seems to be in a very lamentable posture, and further more y<sup>e</sup> next evening it appears as flourishing as before, and thus not Once but every day and night throughout y<sup>e</sup> years.

See Yule, s. v. Arbol Triste, who has only one quotation for 1682.

## ARECA.

Fol. 20. make merry with Beteleo Areca.

Fol. 45. often chawinge Beteles Areca w<sup>ch</sup> they call Pume.

Fol. 135. all the fruits this countrey [Janselore] affordeth is . . . Beteleo Areca.



Fol. 162. and there are Sell before him Store of Beteloe **Areca** to eat.

Fol. 163. The Beteloe **Areca** : is here [Archie] in great plenty . . . they cutt y<sup>e</sup> **Areca** nut into very thin Shells . . . thus will they almost all day longe chew beteloe **Areca**.

Fol. 164. **Areca** (viz<sup>t</sup> commonly called beteloe Nut)

See Yule, s. v. **Areca**, the betel nut. These quotations are valuable.

#### ARMAGON.

Fol. 18. in the Pagod of **Armagon**, Several lines Engraven in y<sup>e</sup> marble.

Fol. 31 **Armagon** Some 23 miles Northward of Pallool was Once y<sup>e</sup> Residence of an English Governour and his Councell but was many years agoe broke off, y<sup>e</sup> English Company findinge that Fort St. Georges could well Supply them w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Commodities of this Coast.

Not in Yule. *Vide ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 347.

#### ARRACK

Fol. 39. That Strange East India Liquor called **Arrack**, is made and Sold in great abundance by y<sup>e</sup> Gentines here, but not by y<sup>e</sup> Mahometans.

Fol. 40 **Arrack** is a liquor distilled Severall ways, as Some out of y<sup>e</sup> graine called Rice, another Sort from y<sup>e</sup> Jagaree . . . no other Sort there is y<sup>e</sup> [is] distilled from Neep toudy . . . but y<sup>e</sup> weakest of these is much Stronger then any Wine of y<sup>e</sup> Grape.

See Yule, s. v. **Arrack**. [These quotations are useful. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 391.]

[A billd. **Arrack** to the garrison. 30th Dec. 1680. N. and E. p. 43.]

#### ASSAM

Fol. 66. now he [Emir Jemla] is noe Sonner Settled in this Kingdome, but begins a warre w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ruzja of Achaun, a Stronge and Potent Neighbouring Prince . . . they lost . . . the Kingdome of **Achaun**.

See Yule, s. v. **Assam**.

#### BALTA

Fol. 146. y<sup>e</sup> English Merchant presenteth him w<sup>th</sup> a present not Valueinge less then 100 pounds Sterlinge in good **baftos**.

Fol. 167. The Chief Commodities brought hither from Suratt<sup>e</sup> are Some Sorts of Callicones viz<sup>t</sup> **Baftos** white and blew w<sup>th</sup> gold heads and borders,

Fol. 162. Here y<sup>e</sup> Orongkay must be presented with one piece of **Baftos** to y<sup>e</sup> Value of 200000.

Fol. 173. in y<sup>e</sup> night and ripped open a baul of fine blew **baftos**, and thereout he tooke 7 pieces.

See Yule, s. v. **Balta**. [These quotations are valuable. See *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 337.]

#### BAHAR.

Fol. 132. Cupine : 8 of w<sup>ch</sup> are one baharre weight (of lancelone) or 420 English pound weight. In any considerable quantitie of goods Sold together w<sup>ch</sup> agree for soe many Baharre.

Fol. 134. wee alsoe trucke for tinne, att y<sup>e</sup> rate of 23 dollars p<sup>r</sup> baharre ready moneye, and 40 upon trucke for our Goods.

See Yule, s. v. **Bahar**.



## BALASORE.

*Fol. 59.* Brought over land to them to their factories in **Ballasoro** in y<sup>e</sup> bay of Benga<sup>n</sup>.

*Fol. 60.* [Cattack five days Journey from **Ballasoro** . . . . .  
I remember in y<sup>e</sup> years 1674 - when I lived in the towne of **Ballasoro**, (y<sup>e</sup> one y Sea Port in y<sup>e</sup> Bay of Bengala).

*Fol. 73.* when they know the Sh<sup>ips</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> Roade of **Ballasoro** stayed on y to lade these goods.

*Fol. 78.* The Danish Nation were formerly well Settled in this Kingdom, there Cause factory in **Ballasoro**.

*Fol. 79.* This Commodore, as they called him, at his arrivall in y<sup>e</sup> Roade of **Ballasoro**.

*Fol. 81.* y<sup>e</sup> [Danish] Commodore and 4 or 5 factors shall reside in **Ballasoro**, untill a better Understanding was made between y<sup>e</sup> King of Denmarke & their Nabob.

See Yule, s. v. **Ballasoro**.

## BAMBOO.

*Fol. 43.* with a large **Bamboo** of about 15 or 16 foot longe, crossed in y<sup>e</sup> middle for y<sup>e</sup> convenience of sittinge Vpright.

*Fol. 82.* [The Portugals make] Several Sorts of Achar, as Mangoe **Bamboo**, Lemon &c.

*Fol. 133.* in many places where y<sup>e</sup> Woods and **Bamboos** grow very thicke.

*Fol. 136.* Upon the Isand [Jamboune] in many places) grow abundance of **Bamboos** . . . . . there be 2 Sorts of them called y<sup>e</sup> hee bamboos and she bamboos y<sup>e</sup> first hath little or none of the same in them, is very Ponderous, & of an Exceedinge Strength. The she bamboo of which there are more plenty are very hollow and light

*Fol. 147.* good Store of victuals, as plantains, younge **bamboos** and y<sup>e</sup> like.

*Fol. 160.* Their buildings in this General are but of a very meane Sort built of **bamboo**.

*Fol. 171.* There be many of them [cripples] in this City [Achin] . . . . . see ingenious that they can goe very well with Crutches, have go a joyn of a large **bamboo** fitted for each legge.

See Yule, s. v. **Bamboo**. [The quotation for male and female bamboos is valuable.]

## BAMBOO (A MEASURE).

*Fol. 152.* Their Weights and measures [in Quada] are y<sup>e</sup> Same w<sup>th</sup> them of Achin. Only there they measure by y<sup>e</sup> bamboo and here by y<sup>e</sup> Cuntango. One Cuntango cont<sup>ns</sup> Exact y 2 Achin Bamboos.

*Not in Yule.* [The joint of a bamboo was one of the units of Malay and Javanese measures.]

## BANDEL.

*Fol. 182.* they [the Portugals] have a very large towne about one English mile above [to South of] y<sup>e</sup> English factory, it is called the **Bandel**.

See Yule, s. v. **Bandel**. It is near Hoogly.

## BANG.

*Fol. 39.* but they find means to besett themselves Enough w<sup>th</sup> **Bangha** and Oungah.

*Fol. 40.* **Bangha**, there See admirable herbe growth in many places of this Coast as alsoe in Benga<sup>n</sup> . . . . . wee w<sup>th</sup> needs drinke Every man his pint of **Bangha** w<sup>th</sup> wee purchased in y<sup>e</sup> Bazar for y<sup>e</sup> value of 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> English.

See Yule, s. v. **Bang**.



## BANGARUE.

Fol. 141. Save 2 that made there. Escape to Bangarue and thence to Queda.

Fol. 153. about 3 or 4. Prows they have y<sup>e</sup> belonge to Queda. y<sup>e</sup> constantly trade to Bangarue: Janselone: and Pera, some few to Achin.

Not in Yale. [A town and estuary on the Western Coast of the Malay Peninsula.]

## BANQUALA.

Fol. 131. I my Selfe have knowne it to be y<sup>e</sup> Malayers themselves that dwel there, lastly in Banquala. . . . There are 3 Sea Ports upon this Island, Janselone, viz. Banquala.

Fol. 132. The Custome is here as soone as any Ship or Vessel doth anchor in y<sup>e</sup> Road, it w<sup>ch</sup> is generally y<sup>e</sup> Roads of Banquala.

Fol. 134. y<sup>e</sup> Stabandar of Banquala w<sup>ch</sup> 3 pieces Idem.

Fol. 137. the Ship Vnde to lye at anchor for y<sup>e</sup> most part in y<sup>e</sup> Roads of Banquala viz. on y<sup>e</sup> West Side y<sup>e</sup> Island within Very Safe Roaden most handlocked.

Fol. 138. The Merchants &c. inhabitants of Banquala. . . . as long as they were under y<sup>e</sup> Rads of Janselone's protection and in their Kingd.

Fol. 140. was kindly entertained. . . . Especially by some of y<sup>e</sup> Old Shalmsays and Merchants in Banquala.

Not in Yale. [Janselone is Jank Ceylon, an island off the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula.]

## BANTAM.

Fol. 142. but he rather wish they were Served soe in Bantam.

See Yale, s. v. Bantam. It has no quotation for the 17th century.

## BANYAN.

Fol. 18. There is another Sort of these Islanders. . . . These are called Banjans.

Fol. 23. When any man of y<sup>e</sup> Banjan or Gentoo Sect give up y<sup>e</sup> Island.

Fol. 66. y<sup>e</sup> richest of Gentoo and Banjan Merchants of w<sup>ch</sup> this Part of y<sup>e</sup> Kingdom hath great Numbers.

Fol. 70. the Seat for most rich Merchants of Gentoo and Banjans. . . . all w<sup>ch</sup> Juncture of time a great Banjan Merchant called Chan Chan.

See Yale, s. v. Banjan.

## BAY OF BENGAL.

Fol. 59. Point Palmeria y<sup>e</sup> Entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Bay of Bengala.

Fol. 61. the Sea or Gulph of Bengala. viz. between Point Palmeria (the Entrance thereof) and the Arackan Shore y<sup>e</sup> whole Extent of y<sup>e</sup> Bay beinge about 300 Eng<sup>l</sup> miles Over.

Fol. 60. the towne of Balasore (y<sup>e</sup> onely Sea Port in y<sup>e</sup> Bay of Bengala).

Not in Yale. [Valuable as showing exact y<sup>e</sup> what was known in the 17th century as the Bay of Bengal, the limits being so very much more restricted than is now the case.]

## BAZAAR.

Fol. 45. w<sup>ch</sup> were purchased in y<sup>e</sup> Bazar for y<sup>e</sup> Value of 6<sup>l</sup> Engl<sup>sh</sup>.

Fol. 49. Matchapatan. . . . beinge a great market place and indeed y<sup>e</sup> Great Bazar. . . . may then with freedom goe to any Bazar and there Vend in Full gae.



Fol 74. a very large **Bazar** or market place . . . . daily to be bought and sold in the public **Bazar**, commonly called y<sup>e</sup> great **Bazar**.

Fol 92. **Cosumbazar** . . . . whence it received this name **Cossum** signifie age y<sup>e</sup> husband or Chief and **Bazar** a Market.

Fol 174. all that piece of land . . . . near y<sup>e</sup> great **Bazar** [at Achin] is a great deal higher and not at all **Overdowns**.

See Yule, s. v. **Bazar**. [It may be news to many that the third a n 'bazar' is a comparatively modern introduction, the old spelling 'bazar' being the correct one from a points of view.]

#### BENGAPORE.

Fol 14. also y<sup>e</sup> Kingdoms of **Visapooro** and **Galeenlah**

Fol 41. Southward of **Porto Novo**, with appertaining to y<sup>e</sup> **Vizaporo** King.

Not in Yule. [It is noteworthy that in the time of the writer the Kingdom of **Bijapur** was **Vizapur** as I, B. probably heard it pronounced, it extend right across the Peninsula to **Porto Novo** on the East Coast.]

#### BENDARI.

Fol 141. he immediately turned out of Office most of y<sup>e</sup> **Seamers** both **Councillors** **Secretaries** **Shalabares** **Bandaroes** & men of Antient Standing, and chose men of a y<sup>e</sup> **Country** both for Estates and public good and very well approved of by y<sup>e</sup> people.

Not in Yule. [The **Bendari** was a degree of nobility among the Malays.]

#### BENGAL.

Fol 61. **Bengala**. It is one y<sup>e</sup> largest and most Potent Kingdoms of Hindostan.

Fol 79. He found 5 Sails of **Bengala** Ships in y<sup>e</sup> roads.

Fol 84. The **Bengala's** (viz. y<sup>e</sup> **Indians** a people of y<sup>e</sup> Country).

Fol 90. Even so far as **Paras** wh. . . . y<sup>e</sup> years [ ] I went from **Bengala's** (the)

See Yule, s. v. **Bengal**. [See ante, Vol. XXX. p. 347.]

#### BENJAMIN.

Fol 178. from y<sup>e</sup> West Coast of this Island [Sumatra] store of very Excellent **Benjamin**.

See Yule, s. v. **Benjamin**, **Benzoin** (incense).

#### BETEL.

Fol 20. make merry with **Beteloe** Area to need or the like according as there abundance can afford.

Fol 40. the cl. wings **Beteloe** Area with they call **Paras**

Fol 135. all the front of the country [Jansel] off which is . . . . **Beteloe** Area

Fol 162. there are still before him Store of **Beteloe** Area to eat and tobacco to Chew

Fol 163. The **Beteloe** Area is here of a fine a great plenty . . . . and thus eat one **Beteloe** leaf or two now and then as they are in business . . . . and this will they eat at any large town **Beteloe** Area . . . . and pass off a little of y<sup>e</sup> green rice, eat with **beteloe**. The leaf is y<sup>e</sup> **beteloe**, a broad leaf not very much unlike to an Ivy leaf, only somewhat thicker and somewhat resemble y<sup>e</sup> Vine.

Fol 164. Area, (viz. commonly called **beteloe** Nut) with a few upon a very closely straight and slender tree . . . . It is a very hard wood, and much valued by many in India to make lances and pikes On.



Fol. 167. now is a Great Co. l betelees box as bigge as one of [the, Earucha can well  
 care (in his army) brought downe and placed before them.

[The Great Washer was then Tasherid and Beetle distributed. April 18th, 1672  
 Beetle natts 15 16 of a fann. per annuam (Tamil, or 20,000 Lantz. 3rd June, 1680. *N and E*  
 pp. 18 and 22.]

See Yale, s. r. betel. [The whole of the quotations are valuable for the history of betel  
 and the betel-nut, which are two separate things.]

#### BETTEELA.

Fol. 56. On the Gungam Coast] great Store of Calicos are made here most Especially  
 betteels (w<sup>ch</sup> wee call Muslin).

See Yale, s. r. Betteela.

[Beteelaes, Itede. 22<sup>d</sup> April 1680. Beteelaes of 50 *carols*. Beteelaes of 40 *carols*  
 1<sup>st</sup>th April. Oringall Beteelaes. 19th June. Gacunda Beteelaes, Di. known to be white  
 1<sup>st</sup>th June. *N and E* pp. 17, 18, 24, 25.]

#### BIZOAR.

Fol. 158. From y<sup>e</sup> W<sup>est</sup> Coast of the Ja and . . . very good Berar Stone.

See Yale, s. r. Bizar. [In the text "Berar" is miswritten for Bazar. See ante,  
 Vol. XXVII. p. 356.]

#### BHOORA.

Fol. 100. A Boora, being a Very Heavy light boat, rowinge w<sup>th</sup> 20 or 30 Owars. These  
 carry Salt, pepper and other Goods (from Hug y) downe warra, and Some trade to Uacca w<sup>th</sup>  
 Salt, they also Serve for tow boats for y<sup>e</sup> Ships bound n<sup>or</sup>th, or downe y<sup>e</sup> River.

See Yale, s. r. Boorah.

#### BIMLIPATAM.

Fol. 56. being a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in . . . Bimlipatam.  
 Not in Yale. *Vide ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 348.

#### BISNAGAR.

Fol. 50. conquered this Kingdom [Golcondah] then called by y<sup>e</sup> name of Bisnagar.  
 Not in Yale. [Bisnagar stands for Vijayanagar through Portuguese Bisnaga.]

#### BLACK PAGODA.

Fol. 50. y<sup>e</sup> Black Pagod Some 20 miles below [to North of] y<sup>e</sup> Pagod Ju<sup>e</sup> Geri net  
 Not in Yale. [It is a well-known mariner's mark on the Orissa Coast. *Ide ante*,  
 Vol. XXX. p. 348.]

#### BOLANGO.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achm] affordeth Severall Excellent good frutes, Naturally  
 . Bolangos.

Not in Yale. I do not know what fruit this can be unless it be *lansum*, one form of which  
 is known as langesah in Malay. See Crawford, *Dictionary of the Malay Archipelago*.

#### BORNEO.

Fol. 153. 6 or 8 great Prowes yearly from Borneo.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe . . . arrive in this Port [Achm] from . . .  
 Borneo.



Fol 108 The Borneo and Macassar Praws for y<sup>e</sup> most part brings . . . some Diamonds and Saph<sup>r</sup>s, y<sup>e</sup> Diamonds of Lantook (upon Borneo) are accounted y<sup>e</sup> best in y<sup>e</sup> World.

See Yale, s. v. Borneo. [The quotations are valuable for the form of the word.]

## BRACES, TRE.

Fol 74 The River is soe named from y<sup>e</sup> great towne of Hugly Situated Vpon y<sup>e</sup> banks of it neere 150 miles up from y<sup>e</sup> Braces or Shoals that lye at y<sup>e</sup> Entrance thereof.

Not in Yale, though it should have been. [Vide ante, Vol. XXX p. 552.]

## BRAHMIN.

Fol 7 It is now Severely forbidden by theire Brachmans.

Fol 9 the Brachmans are theire Priests, but I am Sure and without all controversie very Diabolicall Ones.

Fol 83 I saw another Gentile woman burnt about 6 miles above Hugly w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> pleasantest I ever saw, y<sup>e</sup> Woman wold not at all deny to burne . . . whereupon the Brachmans gave Order for y<sup>e</sup> fire to burne very furiously . . . but when she was according to theire Expectation to have leaped into the fire she refused it, whereupon y<sup>e</sup> Brachmans were very yeare to take hold of her, but y<sup>e</sup> first y<sup>e</sup> hand hands on her Shu laid as Sure hand is upon him, and throw herselfe headlonge into y<sup>e</sup> fire and y<sup>e</sup> Brachman w<sup>ch</sup> ner, where they both perished in a moment.

Fol 89 The Brachmans of this Kingdome [Bengala] are great Students in y<sup>e</sup> Magick art . . . They are people very much drested by y<sup>e</sup> Moormans well as y<sup>e</sup> Idolaters . . . They are Reputed to be very wise Philosophers and doe really and w<sup>th</sup> great Zeale Study y<sup>e</sup> P<sup>r</sup>ingorenn Philosophy . . . they are said to be great Astronomers . . . and are called (very proper y) Gymnosophists . . . theire ready and admirable discourse not Onely to all Europeans and Christians in generall . . . Many of these Gymnosophists are dispersed into most Vi<sup>l</sup>lages in y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome.

Fol 93, Not farre above y<sup>e</sup> towne of Cassumbazar doe inhabit many of y<sup>e</sup> Earnest and devout Id<sup>l</sup>atrous Priests (called Brachmans) who are much revered all Awa over

See Yale, s. v. Brahmin. [The writer has followed the usual spelling of the time. N and E. for 1679-80 has Braminy on pp. 27, 33, 85.]

## BUCKETT

Fol. 131. There are 3 Sea Ports Vpon this Island [Janselone] viz<sup>t</sup> . . . Buckett.

Not in Yale [Buckett stands for Bukit in Junk Ceylon.]

## BUDGEROW.

Fol 81 their new Commanders Cap<sup>t</sup> Watkins came Vp to Hugly in y<sup>e</sup> Sloop, thence took Budgaroe for Dacca.

Fol 89 A Budgaroe Or Pleasure boat whereon y<sup>e</sup> English and Dutch Chiefe & Councill goe in State Vpon y<sup>e</sup> water.

See Yale, s. v. Budgerow. [The quotations are useful.]

## BUFFALO.

Fol 32 At Sorts of Provisione are here [Pettipolee] to be had in very great Plenty, and at very Reasonable rates, viz<sup>t</sup> Cows, Buffaloes.

Fol 151 At Sorts of Provisione are here [Queda] in Plenty Enough viz<sup>t</sup> . . . Cows, buffaloes . . . y<sup>e</sup> manne is very plenty of Wild beastes, viz<sup>t</sup> . . . Buffaloes The Buffolo is here both wild and tame . . . they have Seen a Wild buffolo to Resistant w<sup>th</sup> a Very large Tiger and worst him, The Buffolo is not much Valued to a Cow or Bull.



Fol. 169. and w<sup>h</sup> to us is most delightable is y<sup>e</sup> warre Elephants . . . grapple w<sup>th</sup> thore teeth and strikeinge with al their force w<sup>th</sup> thore trunks y<sup>e</sup> Buffoloe and light w<sup>th</sup> each other.

See Yule, s. v. Buffalo.

#### BUNCUB.

Fol. 46 this is called a **bunko**, and by the Portugals a **Cherocota**.

See Yule, s. v. Buncub. [This is the earliest quoted instance of this word.]

#### BURRIE.

Fol. 94. 3 Cowries is the **burrie** or 20 Cowries. 4 **burries** make 1 Pone or 80 Cowries.

Not in Yule. [The word is *banaf*.]

#### CABUL.

Fol. 62. to the Eldest Dara he gave **Cabul** and **Multan**.

See Yule, s. v. Cabul. [The quotation is useful for the history of the word.]

#### CAPILA.

Fol. 97 the 4 commodities of these countries are transported hither by **Capila**.

See Yule, s. v. Capila.

#### CALABASH.

Fol. 135 Save y<sup>e</sup> wild **Calabashes** &c. that grow in y<sup>e</sup> Woods [of Janselone] an Excellent food for y<sup>e</sup> Wild Monkeys.

Not in Yule, which is odd. [The writer means pumpkins by the term.]

(To be continued.)

### EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 508.)

1795. — No. X

Fort William 23rd March 1795.

The following Letter was received on the 11th Instant. from Major Kyd, and a copy of it has been transmitted to the Honble Court of Directors in the Dart Packet, with a Copy of the Appendix to which it refers.

To the Honble Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General & Council.

Honble Sir — In Conformity to your instruction conveyed in your Letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> April last accompanying Extracts of your proceedings in Council of the same date I proceeded from the Andamans to Prince of Wales's Island in August last, on the Sea Horse Brig, and during two Months, employed myself with all the assiduity in my power to obtain information upon the various objects you were pleased to point out for my investigation, the result of which I will proceed to state in as few words as the subject will admit, but I fear that the idle practice I have had in Statements of this kind will not enable me to place every thing in so clear a point of view as the subject requires.

The principal object of my visit to Prince of Wales's Island was not originally to ascertain the points of enmity that you were pleased afterwards to direct me in, many of which were of a temporary



nature as shortly to enable me to clear up strong doubts that had arisen in my mind respecting the comparative advantages of the Infant Settlement at the Andamans, as a Port of refitment and refreshment for the natives of Great Britain, with those of Prince of Wales's Island, which I surveyed and reported upon to Government soon after it was settled in the year 1787.

It may not be improper before I enter on a discussion of this important point, to take a short View of what has been done by Government heretofore, for the Establishment of a Port of refitment for our Fleets to the Eastward of Cape Point, in order to prevent in future the great loss of the most valuable period of the year for Naval operations, which has heretofore been sustained by the Fleets being obliged to make a long Voyage to Bombay to repair. It was an object which Administration justly considered of the utmost national consequence, it mainly tending in a material degree to the safety and permanency of the British Dominions in this Country.

The first Plan I believe that was taken notice of was Mr Lacam's, at new Harbour in the Mouth of the Ganges proposed in the year 1774 or 1775, but after much Argument on both sides, and the most careful and the fairest Investigation, demonstratively proved to be totally impracticable. There can be no doubt however that the Proprietor of this Plan enthusiastically believed that it would be attended with success and as there are many great Advantages attending such a situation that none other can boast of it is not astonishing that such an inviting prospect misled his judgment especially when it is known that many Maritime people of high reputation were of Opinion at the time that Ships of the Line could be brought into the Straights through Mr Lacam's Channel with safety. But admitting this really to be the case there is great reason to beieve that the unhealthiness of the lower parts of Bengal, would always be an insuperable objection to the Establishment of a Marine Port in the Mouth of the Ganges.

The next Plan that was proposed was the Settlement at Prince of Wales's Island, which at first seemed principally of a Commercial nature. For when Lord Cornwallis arrived here in 1786 it was not absolutely known to Government whether the Harbour and situation were calculated for a Fleet of Ships of War, and to establish these points His Lordship in Council did me the honour of employing me in the year 1787.

In the report I gave to Government, I touched on the various Harbours that could be taken possession of in the Bay of Bengal and to the Eastward, estimating their Advantages as accurately as I could from the Information I had then obtained and from this report I have great reason to believe that instructions were formed for Capt Moresom of the Royal Navy, who was sent to India in the Ariel Sloop of War for the express purpose of Surveying these Harbours.

He was however put under the Orders of Commodore Cornwallis, who it would appear had been entrusted with the Superintendance of this Commission, and was during the time that he commanded his Majesty's Squadron in India took the greatest pains to inform himself respecting the various Harbours, He visited most of them himself and examined them with the greatest attention.

In the year 1788 Government gave directions for the Survey of the Andamane Islands which was undertaken with two Vessels, under the direction of Lieutenant Blair of the Bombay Marine, and completed in two Seasons in a manner that does much Credit to that Officer.

Several good Harbours were found on the East side of the great Andaman, but particularly one near the South end, which Capt Blair thought perfectly well calculated for the purpose and he reported it accordingly to Government.

He was then directed to form a small Settlement at that place and in the year 1789 I was visited by Commodore Cornwallis whom I had the honour of accompanying there as well as to Nancowry Harbour at the Nicobars Islands, in Possession of the Danes, which Excellent Harbour I Surveyed by the Commodore's desire.



In the beginning of the next year, the remaining part of the East Coast of the Andamans was carefully examined by Lieutenant Blair and myself, and three Vessels, several very good Harbours were discovered but especially one near the North end and then called North East Harbour, which Commodore Cornwallis examined, about the end of the same year, and he gave it as a War Port a decided preference to all the other Harbours as I had examined. The Supreme Council, in consequence of the Commodore's opinion determined to form a Settlement at the North East Harbour, now Port Cornwallis and I was appointed Superintendent there in 1792.

Captain Blair was sent in charge of four small Vessels with Settlers and stores, under instructions to move everything from the old Harbour to Port Cornwallis where we are now settled, and this was completely effected early in 1793.

In the Report and before Government by Captain Blair, every information was given respecting the Soil, Climate, and natural productions of the Island then could be obtained during the short time we were there. These must have been known to Commodore Cornwallis who had also visited Prince of Wales's Island, and being well acquainted with the exact state of it, he must well have considered the whole of the Subject before he gave his Opinion upon it.

I think it very proper to observe that I never at any period found occasion to alter the Opinion I had formed of the comparative Advantages of the Andamans and Prince of Wales's Island as delivered in my aforementioned Report of the last page. It was from the desire of establishing the truth or falsity of this opinion, upon the firmest grounds that of Experience, that I was induced to undertake the charge of the new Settlement, as well as to visit Prince of Wales's Island, a second time to observe its progress during a period of the eight preceding years. I now with confidence present to present the reflections that I have made on both Situations, having alone truth in view and a sincere desire of being of as much use to the public as is in my power, by giving reasons to encourage Government to adopt and pursue with vigour the Plan that appears to me the most reasonable and to deviate from that which may ultimately lead to disappointment.

#### Andamans.

Although the Governor General in Council has already in his possession the Reports of Captain Blair, where the Geography, Soil, Produce and Climate of the Andaman Islands are touched on, and also a Paper sent before the Board by the late Lieutenant Colonel Kyd, bringing into one point of view the various information, respecting them, which he carefully collected from Captain Blair and myself (i.e. Major Kyd) it may not be improper to render a fuller account of them, more especially as we have found the Climate very exceedingly from what it was at first represented, and this is a circumstance to be much attended to in estimating its value as a Settlement for an Arsenal and War Harbour.

The Andaman Islands comprehending what is called the Great and little Andamans, extend from North Latitude  $10^{\circ} 31'$  to  $13^{\circ} 49'$  lying nearly in a North and South direction between the  $92^{\circ}$  and  $93^{\circ}$  Degrees of Longitude East of Greenwich. They are part of a continued range of Islands extending from Cape Negrais, to Achson Head, including the Proporia, Coos, Carnabara, and the great and little Nicobars, the whole being a Chain of Islands between which there is reason to believe that there is a continuation of Soundings, entirely covering the Eastern part of the Bay of Bengal, and known by the Ancient Geographers by the name of the Fortunate Islands, and which are described by them as being all inhabited by Cannibals. This Opinion corresponds also, with that derived by Tradition from the Hindoos of Indostan.

The Andaman Islands are at no part broader than twenty Miles and the Great Andaman in particular is deeply indented on both sides, by extensive Bays and Inlets, two of which have been found to run entirely across, one at the Southern part Navigable for the largest Vessels and another about the middle of the Island that which Vessels of small burthen may pass, and there is reason to believe that on a more Minute Survey other smaller passages will be found.



On both sides, but particularly in the Eastern, there are many detached Islands so that was here a tendency to form a large number of Islands in a range of Islands the most extensive of which were the little or Southern Andaman, being a small or strong mass, or a moderate height of about forty miles in length by breadth.

The general aspect of the land seems to be all dense Hills and Plains wholly covered with Trees of immense Size, and covered with almost impenetrable brushwood that no path, not a possible foot track, is discernible, if the native population of this part of the island or whether the former are extinct or otherwise, but by our expedition at Chatham Island, [in the modern Port Cornwallis] where we are now established, the tropical climate is at present not so oppressive as about our settlements. Many parts, however, which in former original state, were not so very exceeding high and steep, were found not to be so, and we found many places capable of being brought into cultivation.

There is a general rich Soil of near a foot depth in many parts, and others less — A few small loam soils are created by the alluvium, in a long series of years, of the Lavesal River, the River of the underwood into the natural Earth, which appears seldom to be of a reddish tinge, which grey mixed with small, soft Stones and some grey stones in the Top Vegetation, of excellent quality, and I had made to removal from natural causes, will soon be produced these common advantages of new Cultivated Earth, but I believe it has been found that the depth of Soil in all Countries that have been cleared of Forests and underwood, has a tendency to diminish gradually and that in a certain term of Years it has a tendency to be even the carrying of Soil and the growth of the new soil, as is the case in the West Indies.

Of the Climate peculiar to the Andamans a Residence of two years, during which an exact Journal of the Weather has been kept and the fall of water accurately ascertained by a Rain Gauge, as well as from some Journals and accounts given by European Officers during the two previous years that it was there, affords ground to speak with some confidence. From these it appears that in the whole year four Months only can be denominated of fair Weather, Viz. February, January, February, and March though part of the Months of April and November may perhaps be so properly called, but the latter of the Season, during this period the Weather is very the Air is cool and pure, and far a situation between the Tropics, Temperate. It must however be observed that the Months of March and April are less so than might be expected on a spot surrounded by a trade, and situated by so large a portion of Sea, as the Bay of Bengal.

Towards the end of March, and throughout the Month of April, Faronhees Thermometer in the shade from eight in the morning till Sunset, stand at about 60 degrees Fahrenheit; the middle of the day considerably above 90° and sometimes as high as 100° about the middle of April the Rain begins to fall, but it would seem from a interval of dry weather experienced in the first part of the Month of May that the actual ending of the Monsoon season is concluded about the taking place before the 15th or 20th of the Month, which nearly answers to the period of its commencing at the Malabar Coast in the same parallel of Latitude. From this time till the end of November when it only gradually ceases, it continues to blow with the same violence and to exert the greatest violence attended with constant hard Wind and incessant squalls. There are however some short intervals of fair Weather, when the Climate is extremely pleasant and temperate but even in the winter may with truth be said that, at the Annamites the weather is generally tempestuous for Seven Months.

Then it appears that the year is divided into two Seasons, the Wet and the Dry — the former preponderating nearly the proportion of four to the latter two. The West Monsoon arrives here or soon follows the commencement of the Rain season — the end of September or October, when the North East Monsoon takes place, bringing back from the Continent the latter Current.







It will be clear from what the Surgeons Report contains, and any body that has their Observation turned particularly towards the Climate of the Andamans, more than to any tropical Climate (subject to great heat and humidity) are to be observed that, as the cause of Many of our Cases is that supposed to proceed from the Miasmata of the Atmosphere but from the excessive quantity of exhalations to reach every individual exposed, that the situation was, in the end, become healthy as from the nature of the surface of the ground water cannot lay an hour, after the most violent Rains.

To our quiet Settlement there are numerous convenient articles to be procured at the Andamans. As for example as yet, we have not seen any thing more valuable or more common, there is a great abundance of Timbers of material use, and sufficiently adapted for the construction of buildings, and other purposes of use. Stones of all kinds are abundant and the beaches, in some places, are covered with a soft and very tractable free Stone which if it resists the Weather as we have reason to believe it will, becomes an Article of great utility and consequence.

Good Lime is to be burnt in any Quantity from White Coral that all the Shores are covered with. The Bamboo, or such general name I mean, is to be found in great plenty, and of a good kind. We have therefore under our hands all materials both for permanent and temporary Buildings—Glass excepted, and as a substitute for thatching we have been obliged to make use of the leaves of the Ground Rattan, which for a little while serves admirably well, but they are not lasting and are procured with a great deal of trouble,—with respect to our natural productions, which may contribute eventually to the public benefit time and not a small period of it can satisfy us as to the country, a spare of ground for pasture, or the raising of cotton, sugar, or Indigo, or any other Article of cultivation that the Soil and climate may be calculated for, has been found from the experience we have had in clearing the small piece we occupied, a Work of the greatest labour from the enormous size of the Trees many of them being from 15 to 20 feet in circumference.

It is to be observed also, that in a single spot of the whole Andamans has yet been discovered that such a variety nearly in the manner, to the very trunk of the Tree, which seems to preserve the excellence of the Soil and the powerful vegetation derived from the heat and great Moisture of the Climate, and indeed in the small spot we have cleared, we have found all the variety of Fruit Trees, cornel from Bengal, the Canary Vegetables, and some small experiments of Sugar Cane, Indigo, Rice and other grains, thrive wonderfully well.

Of the Natives it is not necessary to say much as their Existence, or non-existence will have very little influence on the plan of justice. Never yet has any part of the human race been discovered in a more degraded or Savage state. They are Negroes of a very different nature, knowing or preserving none of the Arts of civilized Life, ranging in a naked state along the Sea Shore, from whence they seem principally to derive their subsistence in gathering shell fish, from the extensive reefs, that the whole Coast are covered with, or shooting fish with Bow and Arrow at which they are very expert. They are also very good swimmers, and from the Sea get a supply of wild fowls, which they paint and extremely preserve in their wretched huts, they must however then eat them than almost all wild fowls there are many and with a species of swine, but are the only four footed Animals we have discovered on the Islands.

As it has pretended to be generally admitted that they are Cannibals, it is only here necessary to say that, although we have not had any proof against it, yet many circumstances have occurred to make us imagine that it is not the case, but we have had repeated proofs that they are almost hostile to all strangers, never failing to attack the Crew of any vessel that may land when they think they are Masters and to be able to defend that vessel from the crews of many Vessels that must have been wrecked on these Islands have perished by their savage hands, so that it is so great a truth that the natives are in every particular a very dangerous and cruel people.



I will not say more of the Harbour of Port Cornwallis, of which the Board have so exacting a Survey and Description by Capt. Bhat than that it is sufficiently capacious for the largest Ships, east or Westward and across and from the experience of two years, during which time we have had several Ships from all Quarters, it appears to give safe Shelter to Ships at all Seasons. From the inspection of the Plan it is also evident that several moles of Fortification more or less extensive, may be advanced for the defence of the Settlement and an inferior fleet that might take Shelter there depending on the season that is taken up but, as this is not an object that can come immediately into Consideration I shall hope that I have said enough of the situation to admit of a comparison to be drawn between it and Prince of Wales Island to which I will now beg to draw your attention.

#### Prince of Wales Island.

It were very unnecessary for me now to give any particular description of that Settlement or its Harbour, as the part of the Report I delivered into Government, in the year 1787 has been published. As I never it has not appear to me that it has ever at all taken notice of or attended to by the Court or Directors, I must be obliged that it has been by some chance overlooked or that the Opinions there delivered have not been extended of sufficient weight to induce a determination or so important a point I have therefore subjoined to this a Copy of that Report in addition to which I have only to add that I have again carefully examined and surveyed the Harbour, that I find the entrance to it over a Mud flat which had been reported dangerous for large Ships perfectly safe having upon it depth enough at low Water Spring Tides, for the largest Ships of the Royal Navy, that I find the Inner Harbour and the Poolamputt a safe and spacious Basin, where the largest Ships can be transported with the utmost safety in one tide, even with their Guns on board, that on the Islands adjacent, there is space enough for Store Houses and a Marine Yard sufficiently extensive, and that Water would be conducted with great ease, to which the largest Ships can be brought to anchor their Guns and Stores previous to any repair, and that this Inner Harbour Spot for a Marine Yard has the additional advantage of being easily Fortified at little cost.

I find that the Island which when I surveyed it in 1787 was nearly as impenetrable a Forest as the Andamans is already cleared and cultivated to the extent of at least Twenty five square Miles, that abundance of excellent Tropical Fruits and other Vegetables, common in India, are produced there, that the Climate is temperate and healthy and like every other situation in the Straits of Malacca extremely free from Gales of wind and violent Weather of any kind, it being out of the full range of either of the Monsoons but participating in a small degree of both that there is a considerable Population consisting of illustrious Chinese and natives of the Coast of Coromandel, — that a large town has been built and that there are Shops and Markets filled with every Article of refreshment or supply that a Fleet can be in want of, — that a very extensive Commerce is established both through the Medium of ships navigated by Europeans and Firms from the Neighbouring Countries even as far to the Eastward as the Chinksee and that under proper Regulations and Regulations it appears capable of increase to a very great extent. In fine I have sensibly realized here the assertions of the late respectable Superintendent, in the following Extract of a Letter to the Governor General in Council four years ago.

I enumerate all the benefits which may be obtained from the Possession of Prince of Wales Island and cannot but be sensible that from interested motives, I am endeavouring to deceive your Lordship with Appearances I therefore return to the Advantages which are visible and undoubted collected under the following Heads—

- 1st. A Harbour with good Anchorage secure from bad Weather, and capable of containing any number of Vessels,
- 2d. An Island well watered of excellent Soil capable of sustaining Fifty thousand People and affording good necessary materials for their Service and Security.







Its communication with Bengal in particular is not so rapid and certain as could be wished, considering that it is from thence alone that a large Fleet of Ships of War can be supplied with the great Articles of Provisions and Stores, that is to say those for Sea consumption.

Its position pretty deep in the Straits of Malacca renders it liable to Calms in the South West Monsoon, so that Ships often find it difficult or tedious to approach or leave it.

From the constant serenity of the Weather, in the Straits of Malacca and the safety of the Coasts, and from the Refreshments and assistance to be obtained by Amateurs easily made with the Malay Princes an Enemies Fleet has considerable Advantage and receives encouragement to project attacks on the Island, not to mention that, if the Enemy happened to be the Dutch, it is too near the Chief Seat of their Force and Power, and unless it be kept always in strength it might be able to assault, at the breaking out of the War, before it could be reinforced.

From its situation near the Equator, the climate, probably as is the case in general, is too hot, and tending to admit of the Speedy recovery of European constitutions affected by long sickness and an excess of Dysentery in particular have been found obstinate there.

### Andamans Advantages.

I shall now however proceed to estimate the advantages and disadvantages of the Andamans.

It has an excellent Harbour, well supplied with water and wood and possesses a Soil that with perseverance will doubtless, be productive, of all the Fruits Vegetables and Grain common to India, and probably in very high perfection. Its situation is Central for a quick communication to all the Possessions of the Company, and, from its Vicinity to the seat of the National Government in India it admits of the quickest communication of advice, also of the transportation of troops and Stores as well as of the innumerable Succours derivable from the Sea and Riebes of Bengal throughout the course of the year, its communication being nearly alike expeditious in both Monsoons.

It stands unrivalled in its position, as a Naval Arsenal, in the facility of Communication with Aracan and Pegu, affording the so much prized Teak Timber for Ship building, which unfortunately is the principal Article that the Government of Ava will admit of being exported, but if the present attempts of Government to render the intercourse unrestrained, so as to admit of the Exportation of Articles of Provisions Cattle and live Stock of all kinds that those Countries abound in, would succeed would prove a great benefit to the Settlement in its infant state.

It derives some advantages in defence from the temperateness of its Climate, and the dangers to Coast in discouraging the attempts of an Enemy who can have no Ports in its vicinity where they can procure the least assistance or refreshment or from advances Advantages that Prince of Wales and none other of the Company's Settlements possesses.

There are all the benefits that occur to me as belonging to the position of the Andamans and some of them when the matter is considered, on a great scale are certainly important, I should be happy more if the disadvantages did not outweigh them they appear to me as follows.

The Climate has been described, from its excessive moisture during so great a part of the year and which may prove sufficiently healthy to those acclimated to it, would probably be not so to strangers, and particularly to the Crews of Ships of War, worn out by long Service, and in such Cases, generally visited by the Scurvy and Dysentery, to which a moist atmosphere is obnoxious.

The Weather for the greatest part of the year very tempestuous and irregular the Islands during the South West Monsoon being generally enveloped and obscured by distracted Clouds and on the Coasts there have been found so many dangerous Coral Shoals many of which may be yet discovered, that it must always be approached with much caution especially by Ships disabled in their progress as might be the case after an Action in the South West Monsoon. It is to be feared therefore that accidents would frequently happen and here the barbarity of the natives must be



considered as a lamentable inconvenience, as there is little hope that even in a very long period of Years, our communication with them would produce much change in the manners of any, excepting those in the neighbourhood of the Settlement.

The abovementioned Severity of the Weather points out the Necessity of having all the buildings of Masonry, even the habitations of the poorest [? meanest] labourers, mere temporary Houses (such as are in common use in Bengal) yielding but an insufficient protection against the Violence of the Rainy Months.

The whole Settlement must for a time be supplied with Provisions from Bengal or some foreign Port (except the raising of a few Culinary Vegetables, it cannot be expected that ground will be cleared to much extent in several Years, even for the purpose of converting it into Pasture, for the support of the necessary live Stock, much less for the Culture of grain in Quantity, equal to the Subsistence of the Settlement.

The Establishment of Vessels therefore to keep up a constant and certain supply, were extensive Works to be carried on, and a consequent increase to the Establishment of Labourers to take place would be a very heavy expense, every work must be done by labourers from Bengal, upon increased pay, with Provisions gratis, and as, even with those indulgences, it is found difficult to induce them to go, there is not much hope that we shall be able to strike them off and when to this is added that, for above half of the year, very little work, without doors can be done, labour becomes exorbitantly high indeed; and the completion of Fortifications, or other buildings must be proportionably slow, tedious and burthensome.

No assistance is to be expected from Voluntary Settlers (i. e. Adventurers) either Europeans or Natives of Bengal, or other parts of India, Men whose dependance for a livelihood, is on their own Industry, and who seek it in a foreign Country, are usually induced, by one or other of the following causes existing in it; Natural productions more plentiful or more valuable than in other places — Superior excellence of the Inhabitants in the useful Arts, or valuable Manufacturers, or peculiar Advantages from its situation as a European [? mark] of Traffick with other Countries. Unfortunately the Andamans do not hold out any of these incitements in the smallest degree.

### Prince of Wales Island Comparatively

I have now, I think stated all the various circumstances, relative to the two situations, as Harbours for our Service that may enable you to draw a Comparison and Establish a preference upon solid grounds, with all the accuracy, and impartiality in my power, and thus on the idea that it will not answer the end of Government to retain both from the enormous expense that the keeping up two such Establishments would create. In forming this Judgement which will depend upon the weight that is put upon the several Advantages or Defects as stated, which the enlarged views of Government can alone estimate.

I hope, however that I shall not be thought to go too far when I declare that, in my own restricted scope of the subject, I have a full conviction that Prince of Wales Island, all circumstances considered, is infinitely preferable to the Andamans, and that, in fact it provides every thing that Government can want for a Port of Retreat and Refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain, to the Eastward of Cape Comorin. To this conclusion I have been led by a long and tedious investigation and much personal labour and exposure to the inclemency of the Weather, during a series of Years. The facts as stated are all from my own observation, and if I have erred it has been a consequence of want of capacity or Judgement as I have had every opportunity of information that could be afforded me on the subject.















- Dardd; ann. 1020: *s. v.* Ceylon, 133, ii.  
 Daragha; ann. 1220: *s. v.* Daróga, 230, i.  
 Darwan; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Durwaan, 256, ii.  
 Darwān; *s. v.* Durwaan, 256, ii; ann. 1781: *s. v.*  
 Durwaan, 256, ii.  
 Darwāza band hai; *s. v.* Durwāza-band, 793, ii.  
 Daryā; 330, i, footnote.  
 Daryā-shikast; *s. v.* Derrishast, 236, ii.  
 Daryavush; ann. 486: *s. v.* Arvan, 27, i.  
 Dastard; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Daffard, 389, ii.  
 Darzi; *s. v.* Dizes, 246, i, twice.  
 Dās; *s. v.* Dussara, 256, ii.  
 Dascham; *s. v.* Dossara, 256, ii.  
 Daschmas; *s. v.* Daraut, 309, i.  
 Dasāra; *s. v.* Darsat, 309, i.  
 Daschra; *s. v.* Dussara, 256, ii.  
 Daslawa; *s. v.* Dussara, 256, ii.  
 Dasa; ann. 1800: *s. v.* Darsa-dasa, 237, ii.  
 Dasa; *s. v.* Dossara, 256, ii.  
 Dassara; *s. v.* Dussara, 256, ii.  
 Dasi; *s. v.* Numerical Affixes, 253, i.  
 Dastak; *s. v.* Dastuck, 267, ii.  
 Dastóbar; *s. v.* Dastoor, 257, i.  
 Dastoor; ann. 1795: *s. v.* Dastoor, 257, ii.  
 Daster; ann. 1599: *s. v.* Saint John's, 391, i, twice.  
 Dastūr; *s. v.* Dastoor, 257, i, *s. v.* Dastoor, 257, i.  
 Dastūrī; *s. v.* Dastoor, 257, i.  
 Das Vagdas; ann. 1708: *s. v.* India of the Portuguese, 333, i, twice.  
 Datchin; *s. v.* 280, ii, twice, 788, ii.  
 Datil; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Tamarind, 680, ii.  
 Datkin-Piccol; *s. v.* Datchin, 788, ii.  
 Datura; *s. v.* 281, i, 3 times, 788, ii, *s. v.*  
 Majoon, 411, i; ann. 1563: *s. v.* 281, i; ann.  
 1608-10 (twice), 1810 and 1874 (twice): *s. v.*  
 231, ii.  
 Datura alba; *s. v.* Datura, 231, i.  
 Datura fastuosa; *s. v.* Datura, 231, i.  
 Datura Stramonium; *s. v.* Datura, 231, i.  
 Datura, Yulow; *s. v.* 231, ii.  
 Datyro; ann. 1578: *s. v.* Datura, 231, i.  
 Dādi Behrās; *s. v.* Bora, 80, i.  
 Dades; ann. 1578: *s. v.* Dady, 225, ii.  
 Daul; *s. v.* Dowle, 251, i.  
 Daulā; *s. v.* Dowle, 251, i.  
 Daulatabad; ann. 1335: *s. v.* Coucan, 189, ii.  
 Daulatabād; ann. 1340: *s. v.* Dawk, 232, i.  
 Daulatabād; *s. v.* El'ora, 261, ii; ann. 1343: *s. v.* Bandicoot, 44, i, *s. v.* Orora, 214, i; ann. 1554: *s. v.* Beirameo, 61, i.  
 Daulatabad; ann. 1684: *s. v.* El'ora, 262, i.  
 Daulatpūr; *s. v.* Ferázee, 267, i.  
 Dauf; *s. v.* Dour, 798, i.  
 Daufā; *s. v.* Doura, 798, i.  
 Dauradon; ann. 1610: *s. v.* Bonito, 70, i.  
 Dauphā; *s. v.* Dogra, 793, i.  
 Dauphā; *s. v.* Doura, 793, i.  
 Dauring; ann. 1853: *s. v.* Dour, 793, i.  
 Daurka; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Dwarka, 257, ii.  
 Dauphā; *s. v.* Doura, 793, i.  
 Day; *s. v.* Dhow, 243, i.  
 Dāva; *s. v.* Dhow, 243, i.  
 Daw; ann. 1844: *s. v.* Dhow, 791, i.  
 Dāwah; ann. 1340: *s. v.* Dawk, 232, i, 4 times.  
 Dāwān; *s. v.* Daul, 248, i.  
 Dāwar; ann. 1150: *s. v.* Ghuzai, 284, i.  
 Dāwāt; ann. 1335: *s. v.* Telugu, 604, ii.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE ANGLO-DUTCH ATTACK ON  
BOMBAY IN 1621.

In the second edition (1891) of his *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, Sir George Birdwood printed three previously unpublished accounts, derived from ships' logs now preserved in that Office, of a joint attack made by a number of Dutch and English vessels on Bombay, then an insignificant Portuguese settlement, in October, 1622. Little resistance was experienced, and after a short bombardment, the allied forces landed their men, and plundered and burnt the castle and town. Having done all the damage they could,

the men were re-embarked, and the two fleets sailed away to do more mischief to the Portuguese elsewhere.

To these three narratives we can now add a fourth, derived from a collection of papers in the British Museum known as *Eyerton 2066*. At f. 107 of this volume is a letter addressed to the East India Company, under date of January 8, 1627-28, by James Slade, master of the *Discovery*. In the course of this letter, he mentions the interesting fact that the factors at Surat had had several consultations about the acquisition of a fortified station to serve as







## NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. P. FLEET, L.C.S. (RETD.), FR D., C.I.E.

The paces mentioned in the apurana plates, belonging to the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which purport to register a grant made by Dharmadatta II. of Valabhi in A.D. 478.

THIS is the No. 32 of the series of plates of the *XXX* plates were obtained.

Na churuka Nandimachuka, *the Kantaragranin bôdhatam vishaya.*

It is situated about 2 miles from Dakapura, and is the  
the only place where the river is navigable. It is situated  
about 1 mile from the town of Dakapura  
of Mithanôr District, and is the only place  
Dombivli in the Western Malwa division of Central India.

[illegible]

originals United plates, which has been quoted in Vol. XXXI above, p. 117

\* Sans. Vol. XX, above, p. 101, and Gupta Inschr. p. 79, note 1.

\* See Vol. XI, above, p. 108 and 109.

\* Vol. XII above, p. 185, plate 6.5, line 6 f.



have been issued in A. D. 1800.

Parābhagaka is, as he shewed, the 'Parsons' of the Indian At.

except Kuntē, to which the name K.

referring to the territorial appellation  
records, instead of offering any translation of it either way.

The name of the

instead of preparing the lithograph  
cannot be finally d

Vol. XVI above, p. 100.

Vol. X above, p. 277

I do not know, for  
that he had

Manu,  
record, and partly because it







and that they have all disappeared in the course of time. They may have  
and the sea.

The record is to be located here, between the 1st of the 1st and the 2nd of the 2nd.

The pieces mentioned in the specimen U. 100 p. 10 which put up to have been  
issued in A. D. 478.

The piece N. 23 is a genuine record, by Dr. Barker, in V. 10 p. 214 ff. It has been edited, as a genuine record, by Dr. Barker, in V. 10 p. 214 ff. From the information given by him, we know that the  
1875 by the Rev. J. Taylor at Umôta in the Karm district of Gopar. The place is on the west bank of the river Mâh, about ten miles  
Bôrad, the headquarters of the Bôrad tribe of the Karm  
real connection with that locality.

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a half miles east-south-east-a-quarter-south from Kāmrē, Phalahavadra is the 'Moti Phalod' of the two maps, about one mile on the south-east of 'Nagod,' 'Vihāpa' is the 'Vihan' of the Atlas sheet, and the 'Vihan' of the Trigonometrical sheet, one mile and a half west-north-west from 'Nagod,' and Dabithali is the 'Dethli' of the two maps, one mile on the north of 'Nagod.' The maps do not present any name corresponding exactly to that of Vaghauri. Immediately on the east of 'Nagod,' they place a village the name of which is given as 'Kothwara' in the Atlas sheet, and as 'Kothwara' in the Trigonometrical sheet. And Dr. Bühler considered it "not in probable that this name is a mistake for Vaghavara, caused by the resemblance of the syllables *ruth* and *vagh*," written with tejnari characters," and he added "Vaghavara might be the representative of Vaghauri." That may be the case. Or, possibly, the name of Vaghauri may be partially preserved in that of the 'Waghecha Kadod' and 'Wagachha Kadod' of the maps, about two miles further towards the east from 'Nagod.' However, the identification of the other three surrounding villages makes quite certain the identification of Nigala with 'Nagod.'

The places mentioned in the spurious Bagumra plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 493.

This record is No. 34 in the list of Spurious Records given by me in Vol. XXV. above, p. 214 ff. It has been edited, as a genuine record, by Dr. Bühler in Vol. XVII. above, p. 183 ff., with a facsimile lithograph. And the list of the references given by him, in his introductory remarks, shows that the original plates were found, in 1881, along with some others, in excavating temporary kitchens for a large walking feast at Bagumra in the Papamā subdivision of the Nasari division of the Haroda territory in Cutch, Bombay Presidency. The record claims a grant of the village of Bagumra itself. And it therefore, does belong to the locality where it was obtained.

The record purports, like the spurious Umēta plates, to have been issued, — *vijaya-vikshapat Bharukachobha prāvāra-bhaskāt* (read *vāsakāt*), — "from the victorious contention situated before the gates of Bharukachobha," that is of Broach. And it claims that, on a specified day in the month Yashtha meaning Jyēshtha or Jyāishtha), Saka Samvat 115 (exp. 5) falling in May A. D. 493, the Gujara prince Dauda II. granted to a Brahman for the maintenance of the *bute*, *charu*, *ramantra*, *apūshita*, *janchamahayajna*, and other (unspecified) rites, a village (*grāma*) named Tatha-Umbarā, lying (*antahpātā*) in some territorial division regarding which reference may be made to the next paragraph but one.

The alleged grantee is described as the Bhutta Gōvinda, son of the Bhutta Mahādharma.<sup>22</sup> As in the spurious Umēta plates, dealt with above, the alleged father is described as dwelling (*udatraya*) at Kanyakubja, that is, Kanauj, and as being a member of the community of (*chaturvedins*) of that place. But the other details differ, and he is further described as belonging to the Kaushika gotra, and as being a student of the Chhandōga (school of the Samatōda). And it would seem, therefore, that the grant of Tatha-Umbarā was not claimed for a brother of the person to whom the grant of Nigala is said to have been made.

The village of Tatha-Umbarā, claimed by these plates, is described in line 17 of the text as:— *Tatha-Umbarābhara-dvāda-antahpātā-Tatha-Umbarā grāmā*. And here there is certainly a reference to a territorial division of some kind or another. Dr. Bühler proposed to render these words as meaning that the village was "situated in the *dihādical* or district of Tatha-Umbarā," finding in them a word *drāha* or *dihāha* which, he suggested, might possibly be a corruption of *dadhāha*, and might be intended to indicate that the *dhara* consisted of twelve villages.<sup>23</sup> To this, however there is the objection that any such word ought to have been placed before the word *dihāra*, and the text ought to have run — *Tatha-Umbarā-dvāda-dhār-antahpāt*, &c. On the other hand, the syllables

<sup>22</sup> Vol. XVII. above, p. 184, note 6.

<sup>23</sup> The construction of the passages specifying the alleged grantee and his father is similar to that used in the corresponding passage in the spurious Umēta plates, which has been quoted in Vol. XXV. above, p. 337.

<sup>24</sup> See Vol. XVII. above, p. 183 ff., and note 8.



vats[as] are strongly suggestive of some reference to a place which is mentioned as *hastan* in the Bagumra plates of A. D. 615 and as *Valas* in one of the Bagumra records of A. D. 915, and which is the modern *Wansa* of the maps, five miles south-east by east from Bagumra.<sup>20</sup> Not to the supposition that the writer of the record intended to mention a *Vasva dhāra* and to place *Tatha-Umbra* in it, there is the objection that there ought not to have been any mention of *Tatha-Umbra* at the beginning of the passage, and the text ought to have run — *Vasva dhār-antahpāt-Tatha-Umbra-grāma*. I am somewhat inclined to think that the text is faulty between *dhāra* and *antahpāt*, and that what was really intended may have been — *Tatha-Umbra-antahpāt-vasva antahpāt* *Tatha-Umbra-grāma*, — 'the village of *Tatha-Umbra* lying on the *Tatha-Umbra dhāravāhana*.' It is, however, impossible to decide matters at present, what may really have been meant.

In specifying the boundaries of *Tatha-Umbra*, the record places on the east a village (*grāma*) the name of which is plainly preserved, not as *Lakshithana* as given in the published text but as *Dashilathana* for *Dashilathana*.<sup>21</sup> On the south it places a village named *Ishi*. On the west it places a village named *Sankiya*. And, on the north it places a village named *Jaravadra*.

This record also has been localized by Dr. Bühner.<sup>22</sup> *Tatha-Umbra* is the real *in* Bagumra itself, in the *Palhana* subdivision of the *Nasari* division of the *Baroda* territory; it is to be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, 2 E (1888) (lat.  $21^{\circ} 8'$  long.  $73^{\circ} 3'$  about four miles north by east from *Palhana*, and four and a half miles south by east from *Kanur*; the position of which has been specified on page 82 above. *Dashilathana* is the '*Dastan*' of the same map, and the '*Dastan*' of the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of *Baroda*, about two miles east north-east from Bagumra.<sup>23</sup> As indicated by Dr. Bühner the Trigonometrical sheet shows '*Iai* (old site),' assuming to be the *Ishi* of the record, about two miles south-south-east from Bagumra and half a mile to the north-east of a place which it marks as *Tápur* (old site).<sup>24</sup> And also as indicated by him, *Sankiya* is the '*Sanki*' of the Atlas sheet, and the '*Sanki*' of the Trigonometrical sheet, one mile to the north-west of Bagumra, and *Jaravadra* is a village, about one mile and a half to the north of Bagumra, the name of which is given as '*Jolwa*' in both the maps. To this, I have to add that the name of the latter place is given in the *Postal Directory* of the *Baroda* Circle (1879) as '*Jorwa*,' with a misreading of *l*, and that the existence of the variant of the name borne out by the Sanskrit name preserved in the present record though that name would more correctly represent a modern *Jaral*.

On the prefix *bag* in the modern name Bagumra, I have suggested an explanation in Vol. XXXI above p. 397 f. Dr. Bühner was misled to look upon the prefix *tatha*, attached to the beginning of the village in the present record as possibly a corruption of the Sanskrit *tatha* and the Prakrit *titha*. I am more disposed to connect it with the name of a neighbouring village which is shown as '*Tankethia*' in the Atlas sheet and as *Tantethia* in the Trigonometrical sheet. The name of this

<sup>20</sup> See Vol. XXXI above p. 397.

<sup>21</sup> Compare for instance the reason the *Karnataka* *Antiquary* in line 21 of the *Surat* plates of A. D. 612 and in line 38 of the *Nasari* plates of A. D. 700 — see the *Annals* of the Seventeenth Century, Congress pp. 395, 233.

<sup>22</sup> An inspection of the lithograph will show at once that the first *antahpāt* is certainly not the initial *u*, which we have very plainly twice in *antahpāt* in the preceding line and again in *antahpāt* in line 8 and in *antahpāt* in line 22, and that it can only be the dental *u* of *antahpāt* the *antahpāt*. There can hardly be any doubt that, in the second component of the name, a long *u* has erroneously been omitted; there are various cases of that omission in this record. For instance immediately after this word there is *grāma* or *grāma* by mistake for *grāma*, and *dhāra* is a frequent ending of place-names in Gujarat.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. XIII above, p. 144 a.

<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to understand how Dr. Bühner having the Trigonometrical sheet apparently in his own hands came to overlook the existence of '*Dastan*' and so failed to detect the right reading of the name in line 18 of the text. Assuming *Lakshithana*, he proposed to find not the place itself but a name which it came in 'probably a new settlement founded by the inhabitants of *Lakshithana* when the site to the east of Bagumra was abandoned.' In the *Chartre* of the Survey sheet about two and a half miles west-by-north from Bagumra.

<sup>25</sup> '*Iai*' and *Tápur* are not shown in the Atlas sheet.

<sup>26</sup> Vol. XVII above, p. 184 b.







the *Ahichchhatra* mentioned here is the place called 'O-hi-chi-ta-do by Hsien Tsung<sup>37</sup> which General Sir A. Cunningham localised, by means of an old fort site known as *Ahichhatra*, but also called *Ādikōṭ* in connection with a local legend about a king named *Adiraja*, near Ratnagar in the Bareilly district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oude.<sup>38</sup>

In specifying the boundaries of *Rāivam*, the record places on the east a village (*grāma*) named *Varanera*, for *Varanāra*. On the south, it places a river (*nadi*) named *Varanāra*. On the west, it places a village the name of which it gives as *Santhavādaka*, perhaps by mistake for *Santhavāka* with the long *ā* in the antepenultimate syllable. And, on the north, it places a village named *Araluach*.

It was easily recognised that the mention of the territorial division called the *Akulāvara viśaya* localises this record somewhere near the modern *Ānklāshwar*, the head-quarters of the *Ānklāshwar* taluka of the Dorch district. This town is shown as 'Ankleshwar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), in lat. 21° 37', long. 73° 2'. It is on the south of the *Narbadā*, and about four miles south of the town of *Bromch* which is on the north bank of that river. The following remarks may here be made in respect of the territory formerly attached to *Ānklāshwar*. The territorial division is mentioned by the earlier name of the *Akrāśvara viśaya* in the *Kura plates* of A. D. 629,<sup>39</sup> and, no doubt, in also the *Kura plates* of A. D. 634, where, however, the published lithograph fails to show the vowel *u* and presents the name as *Akrāśvara*.<sup>40</sup> And the name of the town is presented as *Ainkulāvara* for *Ānklāshvara*, in the *Begumra plates* of doubtful authenticity, which purport to have been issued in A. D. 688.<sup>41</sup> It would seem that it was not long before A. D. 629 that a territory was attached to and named after, the town of *Akrāśvara* *Ānklāshwar*, for, the *Senner Kalla plates* of the *Mahādāyanta* and *Mahādāya Samantaprasāda*, dated in the (Kalachuri or Chāli) year 292 (expired), with details falling in A. D. 541,<sup>42</sup> place a village named *Sānavā*, which is plainly either the 'Sundā-Kala' or the 'Sundā-Kharal' of the Atlas sheet, about fourteen miles south-west from *Ānklāshwar*, in a territory to which they give the name of *Antar-Narmadā viśaya*, meaning, most probably, the country on both sides of the lower part of the *Narbadā*, rather than simply the country on the south of that river.

So much, regarding the general locality to which the record belongs, was evident. But it remained for Dr. Buhner to identify the village claimed by it. He concluded<sup>43</sup> that the record must be taken as presenting the name of that village as *Rāivam*.<sup>44</sup> He identified the place with a village, about twelve and a half miles south-west-by-west from *Ānklāshwar*, which is shown as 'Rayamal' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), and as 'Rayamal' in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 18 (1878), of Gujarat, and the name of which he wrote as *RAYAMAL*, with the long *ā* in all three syllables. And he explained that its name must have been derived from *Rāivakamala*, meaning 'the field of *Rāvaka* (in Sanskrit, *Rajivaka*)' or perhaps 'the lotus (*adya*) field' and that the form *Rāivam* must have been an abbreviation of the form *Rāivakamala*, with an omission of the second component of the name as in the case of *Wāma* for *Bhāmasena*. It then became the 'Wainer' and 'Wāiner' of the maps, the village-site of which is about one mile and a half towards the north-east from the village site of *Rāyamal* and that the river *Varanāra*, on the

<sup>37</sup> *Beal's Szechuan*, Vol. I, p. 301.

<sup>38</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 255 ff.; and *Ann. Geo.* p. 259 ff., and see the map at p. 327.

<sup>39</sup> Vol. XIII above, p. 84, line 33, and see the lithograph attached to Prof. Dawson's article in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. I, p. 247 ff. I am quoting, however, from a facsimile lithograph, prepared under my own direction from the original plate but not yet published.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90, line 33, and see the lithograph attached to Prof. Dawson's article.

<sup>41</sup> Vol. XIII above, p. 67, plate n. 2, line 7, and see the corrected transcript on p. 68.

<sup>42</sup> *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XX, p. 211 ff.

<sup>43</sup> See Vol. XVII above, p. 195, note 37.

<sup>44</sup> Dr. Bhattacharya, reading this name as *Bhichchharam*, said that it "appears to be the modern *Maheed*," see *Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X, p. 24. I cannot, however, find any such place as *Maheed*.



south of Bāyam, which Dr. Bannister had said, seems to be the 'Wand Kharee,' is a small river or large tributary, being tributary on the south of Bāyam, the name of which, not entered in the maps, was noticed by Dr. Butler 'Wand Khari.' And Dr. Lohr called it Araluam, or the north of the camp with the 'Alwa' of the maps, the village here, which is about two miles (no north of the village) of Bāyam. As was indicated by Dr. Butler the maps do not show, in this locality, any name answering to the *Santhavakaka* or *Sanhauakaka* of the record, on the west of Bāyam. 6. Two miles towards the north-west from Rānāmal they show a village 'Sayam,' 'Sayam.' But he considered this to be "probably a new settlement."

The places mentioned in the spurious Madiyantar plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 838.

I have given the preceding figures as a preliminary to a full exposure of the spurious nature of the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian records. I do not purpose dealing at present with the spurious records. My object is the same way. Before they can be any more than mere facts, we must have accurate and certain editions of at any rate some of them. I say some, however, it is because even as far as possible, by accident, I have found the places mentioned in them. And it is convenient to give here a note on one of them from that point of view.

This fungus is No. 47 in the List of *Sporium* Records given by me in Vol. XXX at page 214 H. It has been collected by Mr. Bawa in Vol. XV at page 172 H. And from his remarks we know that the original plates were found at Mudiyandū, in the Malavalli taluka of the Kolar district, Mysore.

The record claims that, on a specified day in the month Kartika in the Vimbha samvatsara, Naka Samsat 261 (current), falling on October, A. D. 1398 or 1411, twenty three years of his reign, an alleged Hindu king Srivishayacharya Mahaveva Nandivarman, whose first *brahman* is presented in lines 53 and 54, also the name of the *Vadavalabha*, granted to twenty five Brahmanas a village (*grama*) named **Mudyanur** in the **Hodali** **visbhaya**.

It states that, when he made the original grant, Nalavarman was at a town named **Avanayapura**. And in the passage specifying the boundaries of Mudiyasār, mention is made, amongst a variety of columns of the following places, easily ascertainable from tradition, on the east, (the village name) **Kuladipa**,<sup>2</sup> somewhere on the south and west, a village named **Ulagrama**, and **Ulagrama** of **Kottamangala**; somewhere to the north of these a large water, **Kojattar**; and there again, **Kuladipa**, somewhere towards the south-east from **Kojattar**. As was pointed out to Mr. Rameswaram, in regard, also, to the latter place, that a river, and that it may be the same as the **Avanay**, may be taken as a guide in the matter, by showing exactly where the river **Avanay** comes in, and ending of another place, and of some interest which is mentioned in the same paragraph.

The Avanyaspara village was formerly known as **Avani**, in the Mallapada branch of the Kaveri river. It is known as 'Awnoo' in the Atlas of India No. 78 (1901) and as 'Avani' in the Atlas of India No. 17 (1899), and as 'Avani' in the Atlas of India No. 78 (1901).

[illegible]

66 Names and other details are put forward in the light of only four of them

a<sup>7</sup> The original seems to have the short *i* in the third syllable of this name in all the four places in which it is mentioned.

in Vol. IV, above, p 134 p 1712



N.W. (1901) in which it states in lat. 15° 11' N. long. 78° 23' E. five and a half miles north-west from Mulubagil. Of two other records at Avani, one of the north-eastern A.D. records the place as *Avany-avasthāna*, "the resting, standing or dwelling place, Avani," and the other of later date mentions it as *Avanya*.

Hodali is no longer in 'Wodly' of the Atlas (1881) or in the 'Hodali' of the Madras Survey sheet No. 17 (1897) and is also Avani after the name of the Survey sheet. It is about 21 miles long 74 miles wide, almost entirely east of the Survey sheet. It is the Atlas folio sheet, which is really the original sheet of 1828, and is not a 1901 sheet, apparently composed of nothing but an extension of the old map. Wodly is sometimes as a fortified village and is shown in a map of 1828 as a place as Avani and Mulubagil. It was an important place then than now. At the same time, it is the Wodly, which is mentioned before. It may be also, that a village, which was named with the quarter-sheet sheets, that neighborhood, and was a village, which was named with the quarter-sheet sheets, places. This suggests either that the original sheet was not a perfect and accurate or also that many of the place names have been changed in the course of the century.

The name of *Madayanur* is not shown in the Atlas folio sheet, but it is shown in the Survey sheet No. 171 and in the Atlas quarter-sheet as 'Madayanur,' with a, not in the first syllable — as a village, which is north-west from Mulubagil and is about a half mile south-west from Mulubagil. The village is mentioned as *Madayanur* in the Atlas folio sheet. In one of the maps, it is printed as *Chidagrama*, which is the name in the second syllable, and it is also the Kanarese *modi* has the same meaning with the suffix *chid*. The name in the first syllable, the name, the name, is left left in the name, the name, after the name. But the name of the village was probably derived from that of a temple and *Mad*.

Of the other names, *Kuladipa* is the modern 'Kolderi' of the Survey sheet No. 170 and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, and it is three miles towards the east from Mulubagil. *Kottamangala* is the 'Kottomangala,' with a, not in the name, and it is in the Survey sheet No. 171, and of the Atlas quarter-sheet four and a half miles to the west of Mulubagil and is a village by east from Mulubagil. *Uttigram* is probably the 'Wootnor' of the Atlas folio sheet and the 'Uttar,' probably the name of *Uttanur*, of the Survey sheet No. 171 and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, two miles to the west of Mulubagil. But it is the 'Wootnor' of the Atlas folio sheet and the 'Uttanur' of the Survey sheet No. 171 and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, about eight miles to the west of Mulubagil. *Kolattur* is the 'Kolatur' of the Survey sheet No. 170 and of the Atlas quarter-sheet, and a half mile to the north-west from Mulubagil.

The usage speaking the boundaries of Mulubagil north-east also, and locates a mountain on the south-east of that village, a hill, the name of which is in the 30.31 of the text has been named as *Kanaka-niravata*, and has been supposed to be a translation of some Sanskrit name like *Sankaravata*, which would mean 'prophetic.' From the impressions which I receive from the original plates for no translation of which I was not able to find, I find that the name given in the text is distinctly *Kantakadvarasparvata*. The word *Kantakadvara* is the exact Sanskrit translation of the Kanarese *Mulbagil*, *Mulubagilu*, 'door gate.' And we thus see that the name of the town was at a very early date as *Mulubagil* in Mr. R. S. Hyatt and Carey, Vol. II (1876) in the appendix with a list of names of places in Kanarese characters as well as in old and new script — a very useful work, which has been omitted in the revised edition of that work, — and that the statement mentioned on page 120 of that book and repeated in *Hyatt and Carey*, Vol. II (1897), p. 143, that the name is 'more proper' *Mudatara* eastern gate, so called from being situated at the eastern part from the town and of Mysore to the temple of Tirupati, is erroneous. The *Kantakadvarasparvata* is evidently the hill 30.31 feet high with a fort on it, which the maps show much to the north-west of the town of Mulubagil.



It may be added that some of the names presented in this record are not unique. There is a 'Mangyaur' in the Satyamangalam taluka of Coimbatore, and another in the Kalasur taluka, and another in the Trunkur taluka, of South Arcot. There is a 'Hulasy, or 'Hauli, in the Malavalli taluka of the Mysore District. There is a 'Kottamangalam' in the Trunkur taluka of South Arcot, and a 'Kottam' in the Murar taluka of the Kolar District. 'Kottam' is a name of frequent occurrence. And there are, or were, at least two or three other places named Kottamangala in Mysore.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDI, INCLUDING HINDŪSTĀNĪ

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 25.)

In the following lists I have taken special care to include everything written by Garcin de Tassy. In this respect I have to acknowledge the assistance which has been kindly rendered to me by Monsieur J. Vignon. With his help I trust that I have been able to offer a not unworthy tribute to the memory of the great French scholar:—

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- Lees, W. Nassau, — See Thompson, J. T.
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- Muhammad Haasan (Qatīl), — See Inghā Allāh Khan.
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- Rainaud, — See Garnin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore.
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(To be continued.)

REPORTS MADE DURING THE PROGRESS OF EXCAVATIONS AT PAINA  
BY BABU P. C. MITTARJI.

(Continued from Vol. XXXI, p. 498.)

## REPORT No. III. — FEBRUARY, 1897.

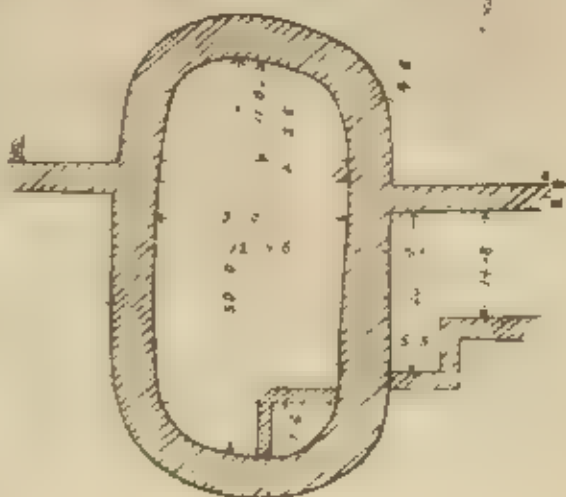
In February 1897 the important results obtained were the discovery of (1) a low-level stupa, 15 ft. in diam., at Nauratanpur; (2) ghats, - three retaining walls and flights of steps leading to the sacred lake Sahan just north of the tomb of Wazir Ali Khan; (3), several large pieces of the **Asoka** pillar, and some wads on the north and west of the tomb, and south of the Kalla Talao; and (4) some ruins, probably a *ghāra* about 12 feet below the high mound, which, a just west of the **Chaman Talao**.



## I.

Finding that the high bank near Nauratanpur was cleared of its crops, I recommenced excavations. It was here that one of the most important discoveries at Patnaoputra was brought to light. It appeared to be a Buddhist temple, oval in plan, with subsidiary buildings at the two sides. The thickness of the main wall is about 5 feet, while the length and breadth of the chamber are 60 and 19 feet respectively. The northern apse appears to have been the shrine, for a partition wall is traceable still. The side-walls were opened. The importance of this structure will be known to students of Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, in which the author, in discussing the forms of the Kārlī and similar caves, could not, as a matter of proof, trace their origin. But, remembering the fact that it was Asoka, who, making the Buddhist faith as the State religion, covered the whole of India with religious monuments, the Nauratanpur temple (Fig. 1) most probably supplied the plan of the four cave-temples cut in the living rock in the Deccan and Central India. A little south of the excavations are two stone architectures, which must have belonged to this temple.

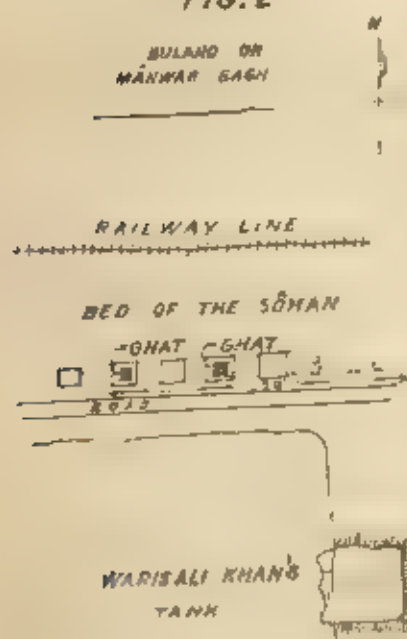
FIG. 1



## II.

The second important discovery made was a line of ghāts with ~~running~~ walls just north of Wariśālī Khan's Tank, and on the south bank of the old bed of the Sôhan or one of its channels (Fig. 2). In digging into the fields of a brickfield, just south of the railway line, I discovered a line of ancient wall, about 10 feet below the present level of the ground. It runs almost parallel to the road (just south of it), and the railway line on the north. I traced about 400 feet of it on the east and west. The ghāts do not appear to have been continuous, but are at short distances, each bounded by walls. Both the walls and the steps are an interesting study: the walls have ~~better~~ on the south face, as much on the river side, while the steps are made up of horizontal and vertical layers of bricks, which are usually very large, finely grained and well burnt. Near the steps is black soil, below and beyond which is the stratum of the sand of the Sôhan, rather large in grain and yellowish in colour. Here some very interesting questions present themselves for solution:—when was this series of ghāts built? And when did the Sôhan cease to flow here, since above the stratum of sand there is an accumulation of ordinary earth, about 12 feet in depth? And at what rate per century was the level of the ground here raised?

FIG. 2



## III.

About 500 yards east of the above site, and on the north of the railway line, is a high hill called the Buland or Manwar Bagh (Fig. 3), where, in digging wells, the villagers found large blocks of sal-wood some years ago—which may turn out to be the beams of the ~~temple~~ mentioned by Megasthenes. I dug here in two places. The method of erecting of the ~~temple~~ sal beams

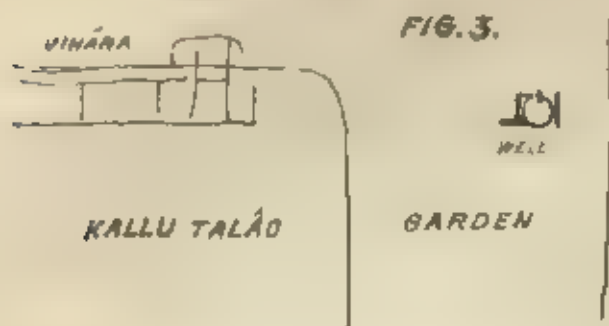


was peculiar. One near Bahadurpur was examined last year by the Sahibgore, and it was found to

stand on two others, crossing each other at right angles, thus :



In the case of the two large ones I found a wall of a house of brickwork, on which the building searched for was most probably standing.



## IV.

In the garden just west of the Kallu Talao I discovered some walls, but a wall of which the foundation might be a continuation of that of the Vinara. I went to get on the south of the tank. But as the proprietor of the garden would not allow me to go further, I was unable to verify my supposition and to examine the rooms already traceable there (Fig. 3).

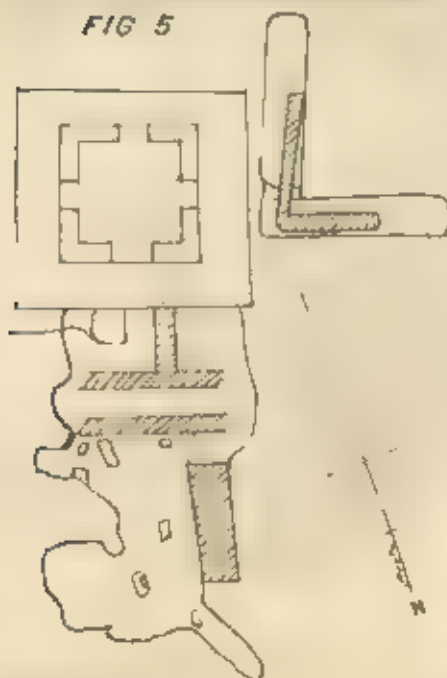
## V.

On the south of the tank and just within the wall of the tank I found some walls and



FIG. 5. A plan view diagram showing a rectangular structure labeled 'WELL' on the right. A curved line labeled 'GARDEN' is on the right. A small square structure is labeled 'WELL'.

FIG. 5



one large one. Anoka pillar, though the side of the latter's foundation, which I searched for, was not traced. Finding one of the walls going north and south, I followed it along its eastern side and went just underneath the centre, and then found that the wall had been removed when the tomb was built about 500 years ago: Nothing else was discovered. On the north of the tomb some walls were also traced. But the important finds here were innumerable fragments of the Anoka pillar, to discover which I had been excavating on one of the pillars, high, about 2 feet 6 inches in breadth. These relics are invariably found about 10 feet below the present surface of the field. This 10 feet stratum of soil is thickly composed of rubble-bricks and earth, below which is a layer of brickwork, about 2 feet thick, and on the top Anoka pillars are never found. While the larger pieces are found, the smaller ones are very small, 3 or 4 feet and in a few places the brickwork is composed chiefly of clay of red color. And noting the fact that the larger fragments show a flaking off of the surface and highly polished surface I began to think that the Anoka pillar was destroyed by fire. It seemed to me that the story of the destruction of the pillar in the light of the finds is explainable. — First, dry leaves, and other combustibles were probably piled around the great column to a considerable height and set on fire; — certainly a most stupid and expensive way of destruction, perhaps resorted to probably by Raja Sasana Dev of Karna Savarna in the 10th century A.D. The fire would cause the destruction of the pillar by first shattering the surface and then the body, and a smaller bits of fragments might have been burnt down to lime. Later on the tomb was covered over a great area by wind and sea, and when King Purandara Varma, the last of Anoka's race, restored the Buddhist religion and monuments his father had built, he found

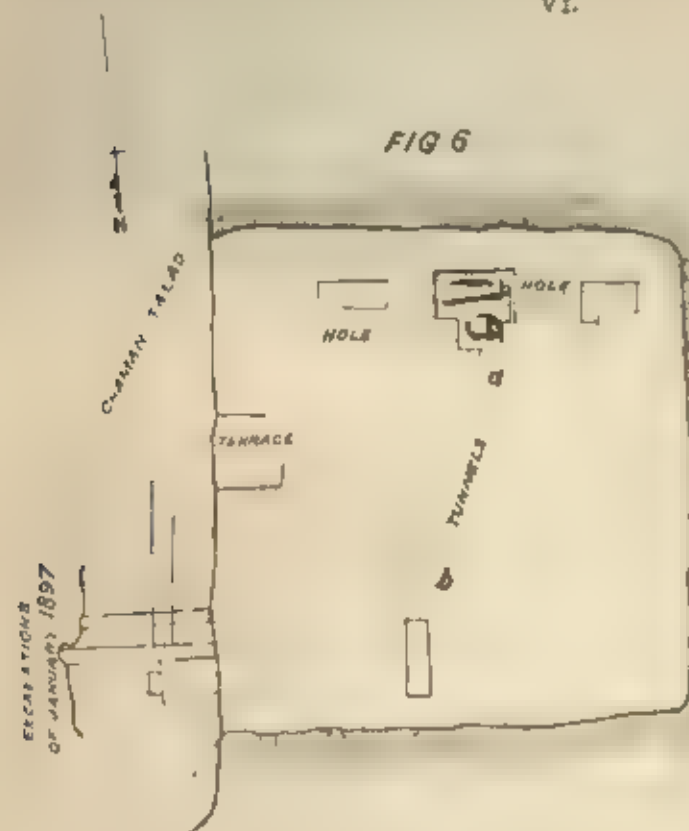
the last of Anoka's race, restored the Buddhist religion and monuments his father had built, he found



the ground above to form the *chakra*, the foundation was so when I left it. When Hsuen Tsang visited Pataliputra, the red soil in the north was again a decay. And during the period of Mahabodhi, the work of the *chakra* was completed so that above the *chakra* and a thick stratum of rubble bricks, a pit 10 feet in depth was filled.

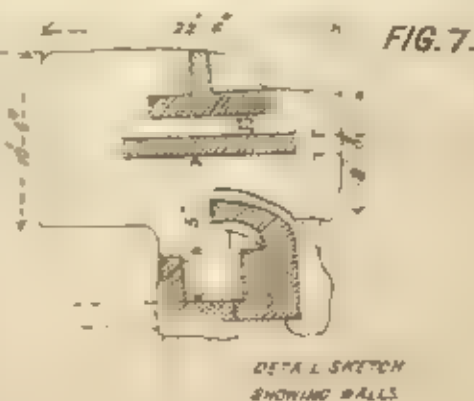
It is rather surprising that at Patna several hundreds of fragments of the Asoka pillar have been found, but no inscribed piece has yet been discovered. And since the Chinese traveler mentions only one pillar at Nalanda, the pillar of Asoka about 1 1/2 more than half a mile south of the city is the only one that has been found, and not described as inscribed, and not known in any kind without the pillar of which I examined fragments ever had any inscriptions. Where was the Nalanda? If it was the pillar of which Nalanda constructed his town, then the site Nalanda must be somewhere near Bâgipâr, south of the railway station.

## VI.



The path would not west of the Chaman Talao carried on northward. Dr. Waddell had directed me to go down as far as I could, this site being the likely one to yield important results as to the monuments of Nanda and Chandragupta. So I dug deep both on the north and on the south, about 10 feet down, and, going down about 3 feet further, sprung two tunnels, so as to meet each other at the midmost point (Fig. 6). In excavating I found, in the middle pit on the south side, some walls, drains, and holes (Fig. 6). The holes appear to have been made by some vandals of old, who, springing wells and tracing the then existing walls, took out all the bricks they could lay hands on, just as they are now doing at Bihâr, Bâkra,—Bésad (ancient Vaisâli) and other places.

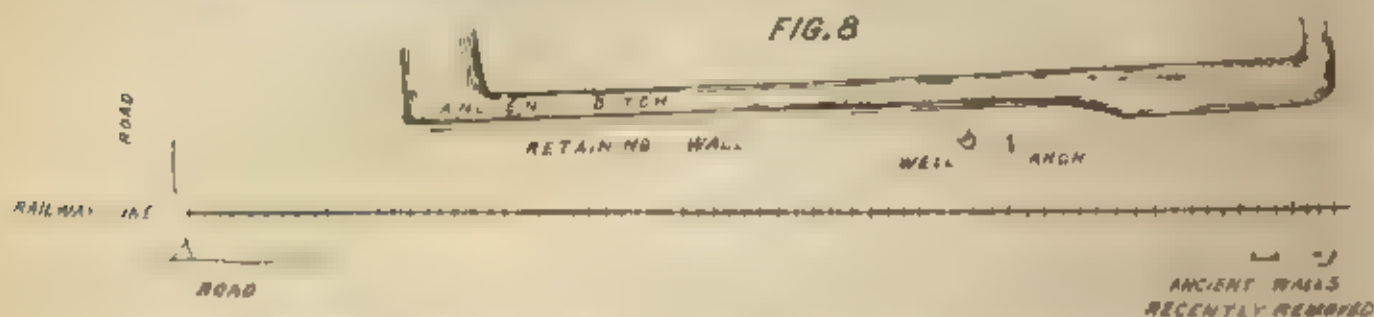
The walls did not really run parallel to each other. There was a line of niches with a door on the north side of the southern wall. The third wall appeared to be circular, on the north of which there was a niche. The circular wall had also a drain on its outer face. Beyond the niche I drove a tunnel towards the north, to meet the other coming from the south. At first a terrace was found, about 10 feet below the level of the mound; I then went 3 feet further down, but beyond the usual rubble and some unimportant terra-cotta work, nothing was discovered. In the northern pit I went down about 12 feet, and then commenced the tunnelling. Here also a terrace and a wall were traced (Fig. 6, and for details, Fig. 7).





## vii

About 500 yards north-east of the Kollu Taido, and just north of the railway line I discovered some remains of ancient structures of what was evidently a small village or hamlet. It consisted of a house, and behind it a very long wall, now 120 yards long east to west, terminating in another wall. This sketch, Fig. 8), done from memory will show the character—



The road then turns towards the north leading to a narrow pass, a gorge, a path, north of which is a small temple, sacred to Sita Devi, and here a few houses were located. And just in the west of this is a rather more important village in that of an important town. We are approached a large wall the face of which is attached to a wall in a great hall, belonging to a Buddhist temple, which is a great place where the people of the town of the local Museum. The large wall is said to have been built in the 13th century, and it is very interesting.

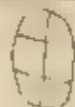
## VIII.

In the west of the village of K. regular and in the forest I detected some narrow foot ways to a  
product of the growth which should be secured and traced in order to answer the question of the  
buildings they indicate.

## IX

I found that the temple at Nauratanpôr, which I *glorified*, the Wari'Ali Khan's Tomb, are much more *decorated* than at first I thought. The temple should have been *built* in a *few* stages *constructed* in a, the main *temple* was *built* in a *few* stages.

partition-walls, north to south, and east to west, than elsewhere in India.



The gulls and the laughing gulls I observed up to more than 400 feet and were the *phalaropes* are pretty and are not short distance, being back of the returning gull, which is seen in the air over the space between the gulls. The second was a *phalarope* as seen in the air over the water of the river and was seen in the air over the water of the river. A *phalarope* plan (it is a) which is a *phalarope* -

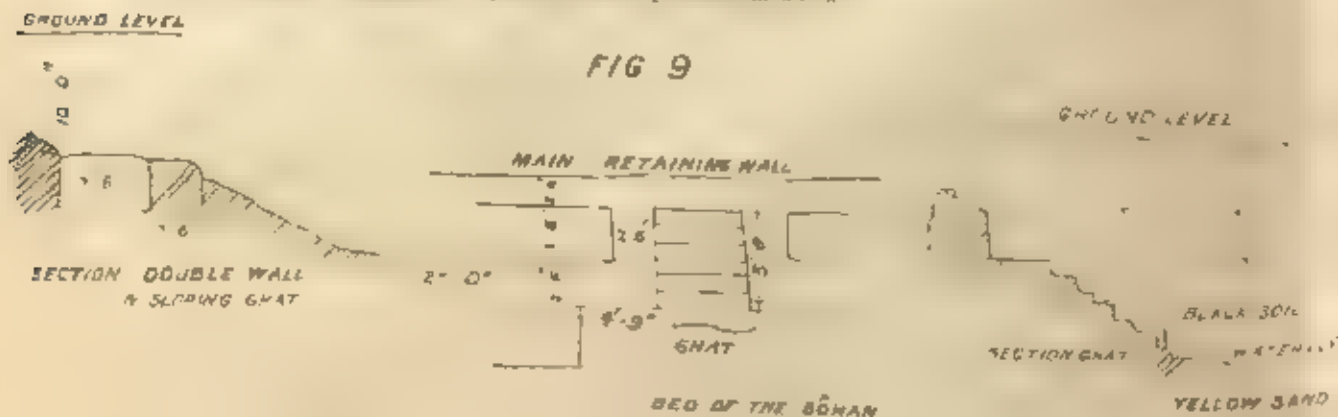


FIG 9



EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 44.)

1795.—No. XI.

Fort William 30th March 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir,—I beg leave to be pleased to inform the Honourable the Governor General in Council, that the Brig Dispatch arrived from Port Cornwallis yesterday which place she left on the 27<sup>th</sup> Instant.

I have the pleasure to report you that the Sea Horse Brig and a remarkable prize vessel from Andamans and I was to sail for the same on the 28<sup>th</sup> Instant. Lieutenant Ramsay has transmitted the Accounts of the Settlement, for the last three Months which I now send you, to enable him to pay up all the Boarding money. The drawn or Government Bills of Exchange, Account for the accompanying List for Cash paid to the Treasury there. I have to observe that the Account Current he only gives of 11 for 10,000 Rupees by the two last Vessels that were despatched on the foregoing part of the Cash, I am to draw for the use of the Settlement will be sent by the first Vessel out to sea and will be given up to the next three Months Account.

I have the honor &c

(Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans

Calcutta 25th March 1795.

Ordered that the List of Bills received from Major Kyd, be presented to the Accountant General, and that an Extract from his Letter relative to the accounts at the Andamans be sent with the Accounts now to the Military Account General for his Report upon them.

1795.—No. XII.

Fort William 8th May 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans.

Superintendent at the Andamans 24th May To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government

Sir,—I request you will be pleased to acquaint the Honourable the Governor General in Council that the Cornwallis Snow is to remain to sail for the Andamans with Provisions and Stores, and that I wish for his permission to dispatch her. I also beg leave to acquaint the Board that it will be necessary to send by her Ten Thousand Rupees in Gold Coin for the payment of the Establishment for March and April last and request that an Order on the Treasury may be granted for that Amount.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans.

Calcutta, 8th May 1795.

Agreed that the Snow Cornwallis be Dispatched with the Provisions and Stores embarked on that Vessel to the Andamans, and that an order on the Treasury be granted in favor of the Superintendent for the amount, as requested, issuable half in Gold Mohurs, and half in Pieces of four Rupees.



## 1795. — No. XIII.

Fort William 22d. June 1795.

**Read a Letter from the Military Auditor General.**

Military Auditor General 17th June To the Honble. Sir John Shore Port Governor General in Council, Military Department.

Sir, By the returns transmitted to the Military Board by the Commandary of Provisions at the Andamans it appears that Grain and Provisions to a considerable Amount furnished by the Government Storekeeper in Port William have been issued to the Convicts at Port Cornwallis and as the expense of provisions to the Convicts is by the 11th Article assigned to the Civil Department I request that if the Board should be of the opinion you will be pleased to authorize me to draw a Bill of Exchange on the Civil Department for the sum of £1000 and to be paid to the Military Board.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) John Murray, Colonel & Military Auditor General

Military Auditor Genl's Office

17th June 1795.

Agreed to the transfer abovementioned, and ordered that the Military Auditor General be requinted accordingly.

## 1795. — No. XIV.

Fort William 22d. June 1795.

**Read a Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans**

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government

Sir, I request you will be so good as to acquaint the Honble. the Governor General in Council that as the Mission in now fully established it is my wish to send the Dispatch Brig to the Andamans with Stock and private Articles of Supplies that might be wanted there, I have been prevented from preparing to dispatch her before, from the danger there would have been to no ship in the Andamans being so long as the Weather at the discharge of the Mission.

I beg also to request that you get the want of the Services of the Sea Horse Brig to be sent on to send a supply of Grain for the use of the Settlement and as at this Season, the Grain probably be procured in the Andamans, I beg I may be permitted to agree with the Commandary of the Andamans to convey by the Sea Horse Brig to Port Cornwallis which I will endeavour to do at as easy a rate as possible.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans.

Calcutta 22d. June 1795

Ordered that the Dispatch Brig be sent to the Andamans as proposed by the Superintendent, — further that he be authorized to procure freight on any Vessels going to the Eastward, for five or Six Hundred Bags of Grain, required at Port Cornwallis.

## 1795. — No. XV.

Fort William 6th July 1795.

**Read a Memorial of Captain Copestakes.**

To the Honble. John Shore Port Governor General in Council. The Honble. Memorial of Stephen Copestakes of the Snow Druid. Humbly Sheweth That in the Month of [ ] your Memorialist Vessel the Snow Druid was freighted by Government to carry Sundry Articles of Store and



**Eighty Convicts** for the use of the Settlement at the Andamans. That ship arrived there on the 22nd January last and that a few days afterwards a small Schooner Arrived there from Bassoon with a French Man on board who had many Papers in his possession belonging to English Vessels, as well as several Draughts of the Andamans, on which Account it was the Wish of the Acting Superintendent to send him to Calcutta but at that time there was no person upon the Island Capable of Navigating the Vessel he was to be sent to. Application was therefore made to your Memorialist for his Chief Officer and another Person to send in Charge of the Vessel with your Memorialist on Account of the extreme Expense of the Passage from an entire Wish to further the Public Service connected with all of his Vessel was the Weakly Manard. The Detention of that ship was agreed should be about 25 Days or a Month as by that time it was fully expected the Passage would occur. But the Manard having declined what they thought of their your Memorialist thought it advisable to proceed to Pinang rather than waiting an Officer, leaving the Markets at that place might after for the future a longer detention which was Acted by the consequence at least 20 per cent by which your Memorialist suffered considerably and which would have been avoided could he have Sailed from the Andamans at a reasonable time.

He therefore leaves his case while taken into consideration and that I ever meet out of the great Humanity which I am bound to be a sufferer from his having so readily complied with the Wishes of the Society to me, and that they will make it some small way or the Detention of his Vessel as they may deem adequate.

And your Memorialist as in duty bound Shall ever Pray

(Signed) B. Copestakes Master and Owner of the Snow Druid.

Calcutta 8th July 1795.

Ordered that a Copy of the Memorial from Captain Copestakes be sent to Major Kyd and the Lieutenant of the Fort referred to in the Report and open upon it.

1795. — No. XVI.

Fort William 15th July 1795.

The following Letter was received from the Honble. Board, from Major Kyd Superintendent at the Andamans, and possession was given the Lieutenant Lawrence, the Senior Officer of the Snow Corporation's and in the Charge of her, and that he should be allowed to entertain a second Officer, and 11 Men and Wages should be sufficiently as were from the amount of 1400000 to be paid to the Company. Major Kyd was also requested that the Commanding Officer to return to the Andamans with the company — and the Marine board were directed to press the Commanding Officer for Provisions and Pay for the Vessel. An Order in the Treasury was likewise directed to be issued in his favour for 1500000 to be remitted to the Andamans.

Major Kyd 10th July.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir — I request your Honble. to acquaint the Honble. Board of the General Council that the Commanding Officer has returned from the Andamans having at Fort Cornwallis on the 25th of last Month — I am sorry to hear from the other Commanding Officer there that the Settlement at the Andamans is in a great degree with a Severe Sickness to the Settlers and that the Governing Officer of the Cornwallis has proposed to Mr. Meadows first Officer of the Nautilus Brig.

Mr. Wood one of the Surgeons has been passenger on the Cornwallis having been Ordered to leave the Settlement on Account of Severe Sickness. As he has for two years past been Subject frequent attacks of Fever, he requests to be removed from that Station and hopes the Board will be pleased to appoint him to do duty as an Assistant Surgeon in Bengal.



I am also sorry to acquaint you that **Lieut. Wales** Commander of the **Cornwall** was attacked with the Fever of the Climate and is now dangerously ill — as there can be little hope that he would be able to go to Sea for a considerable time, I have to request that the **Vessel** may be put in Charge of **Lieutenant Lawrence** the Senior Officer who is exceedingly well qualified, and that he be permitted to employ a Second Officer, if **Lieutenant Wales** is in a state to take Charge again.

It is my wish to dispatch the **Cornwall** home at 5 with Stores and Provisions for which I request to have the Boards permission, and I will engage the **Marine Band** may be directed to pass the usual Orders for Provisions and Pay with as little delay as possible. After paying I send you the Accounts of the Settlement brought up to the last day lost with a list of debts of **Lieutenant Ramsay** for Cash received at the Treasury there as you will observe there is but a very small Balance of Cash — but it will be necessary to send 10000 Rupees in specie on the **Cornwall** all in Gold and half in Silver for which I request an order on the Treasury may be issued.

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendent Andamans.

Calcutta 10th July 1795.

1795. — No. XVII.

Fort William 7th August 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans

**Colin Shakespear Esqr.** Sub Secretary

Sir — I have received your Letter of the 1st Instant accompanying a memorial from **Captain Copestake** claiming a compensation for the detention of the **Druid** at the Andamans, with the **Honble Governor General** in Council desires me to report on it.

I have to acquaint you for the information of the Board that I have examined carefully all the circumstances and that although on the Memorial the loss said to be sustained appears to me a little exaggerated yet that certainly the Owners of the **Druid**, have a right to some remuneration. I find that the **Vessel**, absolutely remained a Month at Port Cornwall by agreement with the Officer Commanding there in expectation of the return of the Officer and People who offered to navigate the **Lacboard Schooner** to Calcutta. It appears that **Captain Copestake** concurred with great readiness in this measure, though of great public importance and which might eventually have been so. I think the Owners of the **Druid** have fairly a Claim on Government for one Month sailing Charges of the **Vessel**, which I learn is about 1,500 Rupees and with this sum I have reason to think they will be content.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fort William 31st July 1795.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**, Supt. Andamans.

Agreed that a Compensation be made the Owners of the **Druid** as proposed by **Major Kyd** and that a Treasury order be issued.

1795. — No. XVIII

Fort William 21st September 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans.

Superintendent at the Andamans 12th September. To **Edward Bay Esq** Secretary to the Government.

Sir — I have to request you will be pleased to acquaint the **Honble the Governor General** in Council that both on a Public and private Account it is my wish that the **Nautilus Brig** should be discharged from the Andamans Establishment, on a Public Account because I do not think the



Service she can do as a Transport is proportioned to the Pay she is to the Government and not to a private Account, because I find that her Sailing Charges have been consistently more than what I represented to would cost the Government, and which in consequence was allowed me. When I advised the Admiralty of offering her to Government it was at a period when a more proper Vessel could not be spared or procured for the service of the Andamans. I however think that in the present reduced state of the Settlement, the *Competition* *Ship* and *the House* *Brig* was suffice to supply it with Provisions and Stores, with a necessity of rigging a Vessel for the transporting of Grain which is infinitely the cheapest way of supplying the Settlement with that Article. Altho' the *Nautilus* from her small size is not fit for a Transport, yet from her great speed as an exceeding fast Sailer I think she is particularly well suited for a Dispatch Vessel to any of the Company's Possessions on this side the Cape of Good Hope and by the use of it in this way I should be very glad that Government will purchase her for this purpose and shall be content to receive the lowest Value that may be put upon her by any process that her or Men. I am chiefly wishing that she may be disposed of in this way as it may be the means of keeping Mr. Timms her Commander in an employment for which he is exceedingly well qualified, and that he deserves well of the public for his services as Chief Officer and actually as Commander of the *Nautilus* with the Squadron under Commodore Mitchell.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,  
Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans.

12th September 1795.

Agreed according to the Recommendation of the Superintendent at the Andamans, that the Naval Board be discharged from that Recommendation, and that the Marine Board be desired to issue the necessary Directions in Consequence.

With respect to the Dispatch Brig the Board agree that it may be proper to discharge her also from the Service and to dispose of her at present date, but the Resolution is not final, and is to wait the return of the Vessel from Port Cornwallis.

In regard to the proposed service for the *Nautilus*, Agreed that the Proposition shall be for Consideration.

Ordered that Major Kyd be informed of the Resolution passed concerning the Vessel.

1795. — No. XIX.

Fort William 25th September 1795.

The Secretary reports that the Dispatch Brig arrived this morning from Port Cornwallis and brought a Packet directed to Major Kyd, and that one of the Secretaries of the Government that Major Kyd being absent it was opened, and that it was, and contains the following Letter from Lieutenant Ramsay in temporary Charge of the Settlement at the Andamans.

To Major Kyd, Superintendent at the Andamans.

SIR — On the 13th Instant I had the honor to receive your letter of the 28th July by the Dispatch Brig and on the 20th I received your subsequent letter by the *Nautilus* from Port Cornwallis. Both of these Vessels experienced some damage. What of the *Nautilus* I do not know, but I am happy to inform you their Cargoes sustained very little injury.

The want of Naval Stores I am a great deal more than the Cornwallis longer in Harbour than you wish her to be and I regret that a large quantity of Stores she can with propriety be sent to her. Lieutenant Lawrence has now returned and we are then able of affording him an immediate Supply.

I have directed the Commandary to keep on the Naval Storekeeper for a variety of small Stores an essayary for the use of the Boats and Vessels attached to the Settlement and earnestly request they may be sent to us at the earliest opportunity.



Compliance with your Instructions bearing date 28th of July directed Captain Roberts to prepare to return to Bengal with the Honble Company's Brig Dispatch, accompanied by a small Detachment from the 1st Bengal Regiment. In reply to my request of your Order of the 1st of August the 1st Bengal Regiment have undertaken to furnish a Detachment of 100 Men for the purpose of accompanying the Brig Dispatch to Bengal with the 1st Bengal Regiment. In his charge I have intrusted the Accounts and Disbursements of the Settlement for the last three Months.

Enclosed is the Surgeon's return of the Hospital for the same for the last 3 Months. Exchange drawn on the Honble the Governor General is enclosed for the same and for the same Individuals into the Andaman Treasury.

I have much pleasure in reporting that the Settlers are in general more healthy than they have been for some Months past and have been busied with the ordinary business of the Settlement.

I am &c

(Signed) Thos Ramsay Lieutenant In temporary charge of the Settlement  
Port Cornwallis 1st September 1795.

The Secretary reports that Captain Roberts's Protest, mentioned in the 1st Paragraph of the above Letter has not been received.

Ordered that the Accounts and Disbursements mentioned in the 1st Paragraph of the above Letter be transmitted to Major Kyd with the Surgeon's Hospital list and referred to in the 5th.

Ordered that the List of the Island Package be sent to the Assistant General.

1795 — No. XX.

Port William 9th November 1795.

The following Letter from the Secretary to the Marine Board was received on the 7th Instant and the Letter to the Secretary in reply was in consequence written by the Captain Storekeeper Edward Hay Esqr, Secretary to the Government.

Sir, I have directed the Assistant General to enquire into the state of the Hospital and to report the same to the Board. I have also engaged the Snow Nancy Capt Hugh Drysdale, Surgeon of the Provisional and Stores of the Andamans to bring report of the Surgeon's return and the Hospital list for the purpose.

I am &c

(Signed) G. Taswell Secretary Marine Board.

Port William the 6th November 1795.

No. XXI

To Lieutenant G. A. Robinson Garrison Store Keeper.

Sir, — I am directed by the Assistant General to enquire into the state of the Snow Nancy Capt Hugh Drysdale and to report the same to the Board. I have also engaged the Snow Nancy Capt Hugh Drysdale, Surgeon of the Provisional and Stores of the Andamans to bring report of the Surgeon's return and the Hospital list for the purpose. I have also engaged the Snow Nancy Capt Hugh Drysdale, Surgeon of the Provisional and Stores of the Andamans to bring report of the Surgeon's return and the Hospital list for the purpose.

I am &c

(Signed) Colin Shakespear Sub Secy.

Council Chamber the 5th November 1795.



1795. — No. XKII.

Port William 23d, November 1795.

Read the following Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans To the Honble.  
Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council.

11 May Sat — I beg leave to acquaint you that the Brig **Nauticus** is ~~arrived~~ from the Americas which place she left on the 2nd Inst. & two days after the Cornwallis which vessel is not yet arrived.

By Letters from the Commissioners of the latter I am sorry to inform you that the Settlement has experienced even more sickness than some years ago. One of the principal is the very great number of hoarseness and coughs, and some of the Missionaries, by the unfortunate loss of the Druid in August last, are reduced to the want of a large supply of Corn, the Field Crops are in the lowest state, and only doing time for the Settlers to the amount of next Month.

Altho I agree that a Vessel I can put Sails will not vessel made ship is what there is to be  
 bought, yet as you say you will not purchase an old random and humanity requires that the Successor  
 should be made payable to you by bill to a single I agree, however say no to it. I therefore take  
 the duty of promising that the Nautilus will be immediately supplied with a further Supply of  
 Provisions and as the Vessel is perfectly equipped if Instructions be given to the Commandant of  
 Stores to check up any of the Crew. And to the Master I have to expect to be Indemnified for Provisions  
 and Pay to the Crew, the Vessel will be completed in about 4 days and may arrive at Port Cornwall  
 before there is a possibility of their expiring, any want I have reason to be Assured at the  
 least on the Cornwall, for that Vessel has been so long without any Repair & the Copper of  
 her bottom is in so bad a State that she has become a very Slow Sailer.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. Hyd Supt. Andamans.

Calcutta 21st November 1795.

Resolved for the reasons stated by Major K. I. that he be allowed to appear at the National Convention at the American and be permitted to report to the Finance Board and Comptroller of the Treasury.

1798. — No. I.

Port William 5th February 1798      It was by the means of this Indenture that the said Captain  
Lieutenant of the Armaments.

Superintendent at the Andamans 4th February To Edward Hay Esqr, Secretary to Government.

Sir I enclose you a packet of 11 copies of the report of the **Commodore** and the **Nathaniel**  
**Brig** arrived from the **Andromeda**, which place she left on the 14th of last Month. It is with  
 much concern I forward the Accompanying Letters from **Lieutenant Stokes** the Officer in  
 Command there, giving an Account of the death of **Mr. Boddick** the Surgeon and of **James**  
**Leys** a Soldier, I have also to acquaint you that **Lieutenant Ramsay** who was directed to  
 the station of **Commodore** and **James** the **Nancy Snow**, is a native of **London** and **Wm. Adams**,  
 Esq. and he is not probable he can not come to return soon.

I am very sorry to tell that my friend and my private letters from Mr. Stokoe, Settlement Still continues exceedingly unwell they were not good as the 1st day of the last week, and that the long continuance of the late effects of a bad cold, have impaired every class of us, that they are all sick and leave it. It is necessary to not permit the necessity of securing a Surgeon, as far as possible and in the hope of being able to advance some at the destruction of the Settlement and to allow Mr. Stokoe to leave it should the



State of his health render it necessary, it is my wish to proceed there as soon as the Cornwallis or Seehorne can be got in readiness.

Accompanying is a List of Bills of Exchange drawn by the Officer in Charge for the Expenses of the Settlement for the Months of October, November & December, and the Vouchers of which are forwarded to the proper officers.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans.

Calcutta 4th February 1796.

### No. 1.

**Enclosure** in the letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans of 4th February Major Alexander Kyd Superintendent of the Andamans, at Fort William.

Sir, — I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Hon. the Governor General & Council, that the **Snow Nancy Captain Drysdale** arrived safe at this Port on the 1st of December with Grain Provisions and Marine Stores for the use of the Settlement.

The Nancy proceeded on her Voyage to Prince of Wales Island on the 7th Instant and it is with much Concern I add Lieut. Ramsey was compelled proceed to Sea in that Vessel as the very probable chance of navigating a frame reduced by long and severe Incapacitation, and of renovating his Shattered Constitution.

In an Envelope addressed to the Assistant General is a duplicate of the Certificate granted Lieutenant Ramsey by the Surgeon.

I execute a most painful duty in communicating to you the Supplemental Cause of Mr. Reid's death, although Certificate having been the last public act of his existence. He died of a Mortification in his Intestines, on the 2d Instant the day after the arrival of the Nancy. It would be a needless attempt in me to point out the loss the Settlement has sustained by the unexpected Loss of this Gentleman. I fear the Consequences are felt too Obvious.

In compliance with a Suggestion of Lieutenant Ramsay's prior to his Embarcation, I have ventured to appoint as Magazine Sergeant Henry White former Sergeant Major of the Supply Detachment, which I hope you will approve.

Every comfort and relief the Hospital Patients can derive from fresh Provisions and nourishing diet is liberally distributed to them. I have the pleasure to acquaint you, there are not more than one or two Indian Patients whose Cases appear to be dangerous and those I have ordered to be sent to Calcutta on the Nancy, also Mr. Reddy's Family and private Servants. I have to lament to report on it was his last request that his Child might be admitted into the Orphan School, and I further presume to solicit your attention to this request.

I beg leave to assure you Sir, that no Neglect shall be wanting on my part, to Carry on the various duties of the Settlement on a strictness as with your Officers may be contemplated and I have great hope from the peaceable manner in which the Convicts, and from the assiduous and devoted services of the Marine Officers of the Marine Corps, that the general services of the Company will suffer little Injury. In the mean time I must earnestly request every effort may be made to expedite the return of a Vessel to Port Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) Joseph Stokoe, Lieut. in temporary Charge of the Settlement, Andamans.

Port Cornwallis 5th Janry. 1796.



## No. 2.

Enclosure in the Letter from the Superintendent of the Andamans of 4th Februry. To Major Kyd, Superintendent Andamans.

Sir — My Indisposition has so much increased upon me these two or three days past that I have been unwillingly Obliged to apply to **Captain Temmins** to request he will leave **Mr. Sadler** his Chief Officer at this Settlement until his return to us. Captain Temmins has assured me **Mr. Sadler** can be spared from the Vessel the present Voyage without material Inconvenience, and as his presence here may eventually be attended with beneficial Consequences both on public and private Considerations I hope you will not disapprove of the measure.

I am &c.

(Signed) **J. Stokes**, Lieut. Acting Superintendent.

Port Cornwallis 18th Janry. 1793.

## No. 3.

The Governor General in Council is concerned to observe from the Papers laid before him by Major Kyd, the **Unhealthiness at the Andamans** at a season too when a better Climate might have been expected, and it is agreed that a Question relative to the Possession of that Settlement, shall be Considered at a future Meeting.

Ordered that the Hospital Board be informed of the Decease of **Mr. Robert Reddick**, Assistant Surgeon at the Andamans, and desired to recommend without Delay, a proper Person to Succeed to that Situation. Advice of **Mr. Reddick's** death, and of the Date on which it happened is also to be sent to the Military Department.

Ordered that the List received from Major Kyd, of Bills of Exchange drawn by the Officer in Charge for the Expenses of the Settlement, in October, November, and December, be sent to the Accountant General, and that the Bills be duly honoured.

## 1793.—No. II.

Fort William 8th February 1793. The following Letter was received, on the 6th Instant from the Secretary to the Hospital Board and according to their Recommendation, **Mr. Kean** was appointed to Succeed **Mr. Reddick** as Assistant Surgeon at the Andamans. Major Kyd and the Hospital Board were acquainted accordingly, and the Secretary is directed to send a Note of the appointment to the Governor General's Military Secretary for his Information.

## No. 2.

Secretary Hospital Board 6th February. To **Edward Hay Esqr** Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I am directed by the Hospital Board to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 5th Instant, and to acquaint you that they beg leave to recommend **Mr. Kean** Assistant Surgeon of the 33d Battalion but at present at the Presidency to succeed the late **Mr. Reddick** as Assistant Surgeon at Port Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) **A. Campbell**, Secretary.

Fort William Hospital Board Office the 6th February 1793

## 1793. — No. III.

Fort William 8th February 1793. Minute and Resolutions.

Read again Major Kyd's Letter dated the 4th February and recorded on the Proceedings of the last meeting

Minute of the Board. Considering the great Sickness and Mortality of the Settlement formed at the Andamans, which it is feared is likely to continue and the great Expence and Embarrassment to Government in maintaining it and in conveying to it Supplies at the present



period, it appears to the Governor General in Council both with a view to humanity and to economy prudent to withdraw it. He observes that if at the termination of the present War it should be thought expedient to carry on the plan with Vigour it could be renewed with very little disadvantage, no permanent or Vastaneous Buildings having yet been erected, and there being few Stores of Value to remove.

The expediency of withdrawing the Settlement admitted, a Time should be lost, so that it may be done before the change of the Monsoon.

The Board further observes that if it be conceived that this temporary removal from the Andamans could invalidate our Claim to those Islands, were any Foreign Nation in the mean time to settle there (a Circumstance however, which is highly improbable) the objection may be obviated by keeping a small Vessel at Port Cornwallis, to be relieved every six Months.

Resolved therefore that the Marine Board be instructed to take immediate measures for the removal of the Convicts to Prince of Wales Island, and for engaging back the Stores and Settlers to Bengal.

That they be further instructed to make provision for keeping a small Vessel at Port Cornwallis, to be relieved every six Months.

That Major Kyd be desired to report if any part of the Stores be in his opinion wanted at Prince of Wales Island, that they may be transported there and to communicate to the Marine Board the number of Convicts and Settlers, and the Quantities of Stores to be removed.

#### NO. IV

Port William 15th February 1798. Read the following Letter from the Marine Board To the Honble Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council.

Honble Sir, Pursuant to your Order for withdrawing the Settlement from the Andamans, communicated to us by Mr. Sub Secretary Shakespear's letter of the 8th Instant. We addressed Major Kyd the Superintendent on this Subject, a Copy of whose reply to us We have now the Honor to enclose you and upon which We beg leave to offer the following Opinion.

It appears to us from the representation of Major Kyd that the following Vessels will effect all the Purposes required for this Service.

1st. A Vessel, such can be met with of about 300 Tons to convey the Convicts and Stores to Prince of Wales Island.

2d. The Fairlie, a ship of 800 Tons burthen engaged to carry 700 Regiments to Madras, consequently must be able to transport 350 Persons from the Andamans to Bengal with any stores that there may be to be removed.

3d. The Sea Horse and Cornwallis whichever Government can conveniently spare for the accommodation of Major Kyd.

We have directed our Secretary to enquire for a Vessel of the Size of 300 Tons, and the Terms on which she can be engaged, and as Major Kyd from his own knowledge, must be more competent to make the necessary arrangements at the Andamans, than the Board can be. We have requested him to undertake entirely this branch of the service and to provide for whatever may be further necessary.

With respect to the small Vessel to be destined for securing the Liberty of right to the Possession of the Andamans and to be relieved every six Months, We Submit the following Circumstances to your Consideration.

1st. That as your Honble Board have already observed it is very probable that a European Nation will attempt to form a Settlement at the Andaman Islands during the present War, since the



reasons which have operated against the English continuing there will operate in a greater degree against any Foreigners upon account of the greater distance from whence they must receive any Supply.

2d That the French Dutch and Danes are the only Nations who it is probable would conceive any such design, with the two former we are at War and consequently a small Vessel at the Island would not have any prospect they might conceive of this nature, and the Danes have already a small Establishment at New Cowrie, one of the Carnicobars, where there is an excellent Port, and consequently will hardly attempt any Establishment on so unpromising a spot as the Andaman Island.

3d That the knowledge of a small Vessel being stationed there might invite the attack upon her of any Enemys Petty Cruiser roving in the Bay.

4th That whatever sum this Vessel and the relief might cost, would so far interfere with the Economy assigned as one motive for quitting the Place, and the people would be equally exposed as the present Settlers to the unhealthiness of the Climate.

Finally whether the Claim of right to the Possession might not be maintained by setting up a Pillar and by burying a Plate of Metal, with inscriptions suited to the intentions.

We are &c.

(Signed) John Bristow, John Haldane, John Bebb.

Fort William the 12th Feby. 1796.

#### No. 2.

Enclosed is the letter from the Marine Board To George Tupper Esqre, Secretary to the Marine Board.

Sir - I was yesterday favoured with your Letter of the 9th Instant and beg you will excuse me the Marine Board, but there are at present two hundred and seventy Convicts at the Andamans, to be conveyed to Prince of Wales Island, and that I imagine there will be a superfluous quantity of grain in Store, amounting to about One Thousand Bags, which I suppose the Governor General's Council would wish to be sent with them for their subsistence. It is also probable that there are many Military and Naval stores, which it would be advisable to send also to that place, which would be ascertained by referring to the Military Board, who have the returns of stores of such Magazines.

There are in all about five hundred and fifty persons to convey to Bengal, which with their baggage will take considerable Tonnage. But there is no great quantity of Public Stores or property that it will be necessary to transport to Bengal. It is impossible for me to judge exactly the quantity of Tonnage that will be required to effect the whole removal but I will take the liberty to point out, what appears to me the best measures to be followed. A Vessel of about three hundred Tons with a good two Deck will accommodate all the Convicts, and transport the grain and Stores to Prince of Wales Island, which should immediately be taken up. The Sea Horse and Cornwallis should be fitted out, each of which will convey about one hundred and fifty of the Settlers with their property, and if an agreement could be made with the owners of the Ship Fairlie, to touch at the Andamans, on her return from Madras, I think she would nearly convey the remaining part of the Settlers and all the Stores to Bengal, by which means the complete removal would be effected before the change of the Monsoon.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. Myd Superintendent Andamans

Calcutta the 11th February 1796.



The Board taking into consideration the mode proposed by the Marine Board for withdrawing the Settlement at the Andamans in their Letter of the 12th Instant, and Major Kyd's Letter to that Effect on the Subject, Resolve that they be authorized to engage a proper Vessel to convey the Convicts with the Superfluous Provisions of the Settlement to Prince of Wales Island, and whatever Military Stores it may be found expedient to transport to that Place, that they be also authorized to engage with the owners of the Ship *Fairlie* to touch at Port Cornwallis on her return from Madras to assist in transporting Settlers and Stores to Bengal, that they also be directed to fit out the Sea Horse and Cornwallis for the same purpose either of which Vessels may be allotted for Major Kyd's accommodation.

The Governor General in Council adheres to his determination of having a small Vessel stationed at Port Cornwallis, and will take into consideration the Vessel and Commander to be employed on that Service.

Ordered that the Military Board be directed to report what part of the Military Stores at Port Cornwallis they may judge it advisable to be sent to Prince of Wales Island, a List of which is to be sent to Major Kyd.

#### 1796. — No. V

Fort William 14th March 1796 The following Letters were written on the 11th Instant to the Superintendent at Prince of Wales Island and of the Andamans

Major McDonald Superintendent Prince of Wales Island

Sir, — The Governor General in Council having resolved to withdraw the Settlement from the Andamans I have his instructions to inform you that he has judged it expedient to order all the Convicts about 270 in number to be sent to Prince of Wales Island And as the Stores of whatever Description that it is judged may be used at that Settlement of which the Commissary at Port Cornwallis will furnish a List.

I am &c

[Not signed]

Council Chamber 11th March 1796.

To Major Alexander Kyd Superintendent Or the Officer in Charge of the Settlement at the Andamans for the time being.

Sir, — The Governor General in Council having determined to withdraw the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, I have his Orders to acquaint you that the *Nancy Grab* has been freighted to convey the Convicts to Prince of Wales Island you will therefore be pleased to embark them without delay with all the Superfluous Provisions that you can spare from that Settlement for their Subsistence and the Military Stores of which accompanying is a List The Ship *Fairlie* has been engaged to touch at Port Cornwallis on which upon the Cornwallis you will embark the Settlers of every description and all remaining cargo, Stores and with them you will proceed to Bengal with accommodation.

I have the honor &c

(Signed) C. Shakespear Sub Secretary.

Fort William the 11th March 1796.

#### 1796. — No. VI

Fort William 14th March 1796. Read the following letter from Major Kyd To G H Barlow Esqr Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble the Governor General in Council that the Cornwallis now being nearly in readiness, I shall embark in a very few days for the Andamans, to carry into effect the removal of the Settlement, according to the Resolutions of the Board, for which the necessary Vessels have been provided by the Marine Board. In consequence of the direction



conveyed to me by these Resolutions I have communicated with the Military Board which from the Returns of the Magazines at Prince of Wales Island and Port Cornwallis, has been able to fix upon such stores, as it will be eligible to send to the first place, which ~~was accordingly~~ be conveyed on the Vessel freighted to convey the Convicts. As by the last Account Current received from the Andamans, there was but a very small balance of Cash at the Settlement, It will be necessary that I should carry there the Sum of Ten Thousand Rupees to enable me to discharge the Pay that will be due to the Public Establishments, I have to request the Board will be pleased to grant me an order on the Treasury for that Sum, half in Gold and half in Silver,

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. Eyre Superintendent Andamans.

Calcutta 7th March 1796.

Resolved that the Sub Treasurer be instructed to pick up 10,000 Pa. Rs. in Specie as required to be sent on the Cornwallis to the Andamans, and that the Superintendent be informed accordingly.

#### 1796. — No. VII

Port William 25th April 1796 Read the following Letters and enclosures from the Marine Board and their Secretaries. To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir John Sayer Baronet Governor General in Council.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir, — Conformably to your Orders, dated the 28th ultimo, We have made Enquiry for a Vessel, to be stationed at the Andamans. The Brig Peggy Captain Carey has in consequence been tendered to us, and appears to be proper for the service. We submit Copies of the Master Attendant Reports respecting her, and of the terms recommended by him Seven Rupees 1400 pr Month for 6 Months Certain every Expense on Account of her to be defrayed by the Owners, [& to] be approved by your Honble Board, we request your sanction to conclude the Agreement, and an Order on the Treasury in favor of the Marine Paymaster for Seven Rupees Five Thousand Six Hundred in order to enable me to pay Four Months advance in part of the Freight of the Peggy.

We are with respect

(Signed) John Bristow, John Haldane, John Bobb, E. Hay

Port William the 16th April 1796.

#### Enclosure No. 1.

Captain Taswell Esqr. Secretary to the Marine Board.

Sir, — I beg leave to enclose you my Assistant's Report of the Brig Peggy, which I request you will be pleased to lay before the Board. Captain Carey informs me that the Vessel is fitted and ready for Sea, only wants Manning which will take six or Seven Days to get his people all on board. I beg leave to offer it as my Opinion that fourteen hundred Rupees pr Month for six Months Certain every Charge and expense to be on Account of the Owners is a sufficient freight for her.

I am &c.

(Signed) Cudbert Thornhill Master Attendant.

Marine Office 14th April 1796.



## Enclosure No. 2.

To Cudbert Thorahill Esqr, Master Attendant.

Sir I have examined the Brig Peggy Captain Carey, & find her a new Pegge Built Vessel with a single Deck, on Burthen about Fifty Tons she is stowed with Wood, but not Coppered.

I am &c.

(Signed) A. Waddell, Assistant.

Marine Office the 13th April 1796.

Agreed that the Marine Board be authorized to engage the Peggy at the stated freight for the Andamans service and that a Treasury Order be issued for Seven Rupees 5000 in account our Months Voyage, &c. which the Civil Auditor is to be Apprised.

## 1796.—No. VIII.

Port William 23rd May 1796 Secretary Marine Board 10th May To G. H. Barrow, Secretary to the Government.

Sir I am directed to acquaint you that, the Cornwallis being recalled from the Andamans and the Board understanding that the said vessel has no further occasion for her services, they propose to have her returned to the Prince of Wales Island, if it meets with the approval of the Governor General in Council.

I am &c.

(Signed) G. Taswell.

Port William the 10th May 1796.

Resolved that the Marine Board be directed to return the Cornwallis Schooner to the Pilot Service.

## 1796.—No. IX.

Read the following Letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans Superintendent Andamans 10th May. To G. H. Barrow Esq. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, I have to request you will acquaint the Honble the Governor General in Council that, According to his directions for withdrawing the Settlement at the Andamans, the necessary arrangements having been made with the Marine Board for that purpose, I embarked on the Cornwallis Snow on the 12th of last March, and arrived there on the 15th of the same Month. In a very few days afterwards, the Nancy Crab arrived on which I embarked the Stores and all the Company for Prince of Wales Island, and we have taken this opportunity of relieving the Settlement from a Number of Artificers and private servants, who were inclined to seek a refuge at Prince of Wales Island. Had not many Artificers and private servants been sent on the Ship from Bengal, so that there was but scanty accommodation for the Company. In a few days afterwards, the Druid from Pogo to Prince of Wales Island touched at Port Cornwallis on which Ship for a very Moderate freight I embarked forty of the above description of people. As it was calculated that the ship Fairweather was engaged to touch at the Andamans on her return from Madras would be at Port Cornwallis by the end of March, I prepared every thing to embark on her for Bengal, but after waiting with much impatience till the 21st of April, seeing that there was a probability that her Voyage was altered or that some accident had happened to her, I judged it prudent to provide in such circumstances, to embark as many of the Stores as the Cornwallis would take, and the Ship and the great part of the Depey Detachment and proceed to Calcutta, where I arrived on the 6th Inst. The Officer of the Fairweather gave instructions to embark on the Fairweather the remainder part of the Settlers without delay on the event of her arrival, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have just heard of her arrival at Diamond Harbour, after a very expeditious passage from Port Cornwallis where she made her appearance a very few days after I left it, — upon enquiring of the Officers of that Ship the reason of the delay I find it was occasioned by a difficulty of procuring Bales, at Madras in consequence of war, they proceeded to Coimbatore to call for Salt



I beg to acquaint the Board, that I paid up the different Establisments and every Paper of the Settlement to the 1st of May when I was enabled to do by receiving Cash from the ~~Government~~ for Bills on Government of which accompanied this and as I have yet at balance of Cash in hand I have the pleasure to say that a very small Sum will answer for this Month when every Expence will cease.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans.

Fort William 13th May 1796.

Resolved that every expence on account of the Establisment, now withdrawn from the Andamans, shall cease with the close of this Month, and ordered that Major Kyd be Written to accordingly.

#### 1796. — No. X

Fort William 30th May 1796. Read the following letter from the Superintendent at the Andamans.

Superintendant at the Andamans 27th May To G. H. Barlow Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble the Governor General & Council, that in making up the Accounts of the Settlement at the Andamans, to the end of this Month I find that the sum of Seven Rupees Five Thees and Five Half and Twenty five ten Pies (Seven Rupees 5525.0.10) will enable me to discharge every claim when all expences will cease. I have to request therefore that you will be pleased to issue a Treasury order to be issued to me for that amount when the accounts will be closed and transmitted to the prescribed Offices.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. Kyd Superintendent Andamans.

Calcutta 27th May 1796.

Resolved that a Treasury order be issued for Seven Rupees 5525.0.10 in favor of Major Kyd to enable him to close the Accounts of that Settlement.

#### 1796. — No. XI.

Fort William 20th June 1796. Secretary Marine Board 7th June. G. H. Barlow Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the orders of the Board to forward you for the information of the Governor General in Council, the enclosed copy of a letter from Captain A. Carey Commander of the Brig Peggy, engaged as a stationary Vessel at the Andamans.

I am &c.

(Signed) G. Taswell Secretary Marine Board.

Fort William 7th June 1796

Enclosure

G. Taswell Esqr.

Sir, — I have examined my orders from Government. I find they have not appointed a certain period for my staying at the Andaman station, whether I am to remain longer than the time specified in my orders. Should the Government require the Services of the Brig Peggy longer than six Months from the date of the orders they must inform me on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July before the expiration of that



time, at the same time I shall be in want of a supply of provisions for fifteen European Seamen for any period they may appoint.

I am &c.

(Signed) A. Carey.

June 1st 1796.

The Governor General in Council desires that the Marine Board have already been directed to take measures for relieving the Vessel at the Andamans every Six Months.

1796. — No. XII

Fort William 18th July 1796. Secretary Marine Board dated 15th July To G. H. Barlow Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Governor General in Council, that it has been represented to the Board by the late Commissary of Stores at the Andamans, that on the removal of the Settlement from thence, a Large Long-Boat, which was not completed, and could not be taken on board the ship employed for the Service was Scuttled and Sunk, which as being perfectly new, and as it might be considered an object to raise in the ensuing North East Monsoon, He has marked her Situation to be in 4 fathoms Water and about 250 yards North West of the Watering Place.

I am &c

(Signed) G. Taswell Secry. Military Board.

Fort William 15th July 1796.

Ordered that the necessary information be given for raising the Long Boat Sunk at the Andamans, when an opportunity offers of writing to that Station

1796. — No. XIII.

Fort William 18th September 1796 Secretary Marine Board dated 6th September

Sir, — I am directed to forward you the accompanying Copy of a letter from the Acting Owner of the Peggy Snow stationed at the Andamans, and to request you will be pleased to lay it before the Governor General in Council and Communicate to the Board his Instructions thereon

I am &c

(Signed) G. Taswell Secretary Military Board.

Fort William the 6th September 1796.

Enclosure.

To Geo. Taswell Esqr. Secretary Marine Board.

Sir — As the contracted time that the Honble. Board agreed to employ the Brig Peggy (of which I am acting Owner) as stationed at the Andamans, nearly expiring, I beg leave to offer the continuing the said Brig on the same terms for six months longer to which should the Honble Board agree, I purpose immediately to dispatch provisions &c to the Andamans by the Bark Phoenix Captain Moore, who has agreed to teach thereupon my Offer be accepted, and to him, I will deliver any further instructions for Captain A. Carey that you may think requisite he should be made acquainted with.

I am with due regard &c.

(Signed) William Mordaunt.

Calcutta 4th September 1796.

Resolved that the Snow Peggy be chartered for six Months longer on the Andaman Station as tendered by the owner and that the Board be informed.

(To be continued.)



## FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.B.A.S., M.F.L.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXXI, p. 454.)

No 19. - *The Prince, the Cucumber, and the Rākshashī.*

A CERTAIN king had seven sons, who used to tend cattle in the forest. One day they saw a great number of fish in a tank, and so they drove off the cattle to graze and at once began to catch the fish. When this was finished, one of the brothers went to see where the cattle were grazing. He did not find them, but heard a rumour that they had been carried off by a neighbouring Rākshashī.

"Never mind," said the brothers. "Our father will be pleased with the seven baskets full of fish," and they carried the fish home.

On seeing them, the king asked "where are the cattle?"

"We were catching fish and the Rākshashī lifted the cattle," replied the princes.

Whereupon the king, out of sheer anger, slew six of his sons, and when he was about to slay the seventh and last, the prince said, "O father, don't kill me. I will bring the cattle home."

"Very well, bring the cattle home," replied the king.

In search of the missing cattle the prince traversed many forests without success, and he in sight of returning home despondingly to meet his fate, when he suddenly came upon a shepherd boy, whom he questioned as to the way leading to the Rākshashī's abode.

"Go this way," said the shepherd-boy, pointing out a long and straight road, "taking three cucumbers from the field, and when you come to the place where three roads meet place the three cucumbers on the three ways. Watch which cucumber moves and that's the road you are to take."

The prince did accordingly, and the cucumber on the central road moved, and so the prince went on by that road, taking the Cucumber as his companion and eating the others.

When he was half way on the road, the Cucumber called out "Brother, brother"

"Who is the man calling me?" said the prince, looking round

"I," replied the Cucumber.

"What is it, brother?" said the prince.

"Well, I have something to say to you," replied the Cucumber. The Rākshashī has put a mat on a well and ask you to sit on it. Beware! She will mix poison in some food and will ask you to eat. Beware."

A little later the Cucumber again called to the prince, "Brother, brother," and said, "the time for the Rākshashī to be delivered is at hand, and when she is about to give birth leave me on the ground, and I will drive the cattle home."

"Very well," said the prince, and moved on, and in due course reached the Rākshashī's abode, and as soon as she saw him she put a mat on the well and asked him to sit on it.

"O, don't trouble! I don't want to sit down," said the prince.

She then mixed poison in some food and offered it to the prince

"O, don't trouble! I don't want to eat," said he.

"Well, stay where you are," said Rākshashī, who was now in labour. "As soon as I am delivered, I will come out."



At this juncture, the Cucumber asked to be left on the ground. The prince did as he was desired, and the Cucumber drove the cattle home.

When the Rakshashi knew of this, she took the new-born infant in her arms and at once rushed upon the prince to swallow him up, but the Cucumber made him grab a palm-leaf close by. The Rakshashi put her infant to sleep on the ground, and began to creep up him. The Cucumber then pinched the infant and it cried out and then came the Rakshashi and pinched the infant. She then climbed half way up the tree again, when the Cucumber again repeated the pinch with the same result. This the Cucumber did three times, and then thinking to itself that the Rakshashi seemed to never get tired, had recourse to another stratagem. It climbed the tree unknown to the Rakshashi before she began, and stuck two pointed thistles into the tree about half way up. To Rakshashi's eyes ran into them and became blinded. This brought her down off the tree with a noise, and she was killed. The Cucumber then killed her child, and, a fear being vanished, the prince started for his home taking the Cucumber with him. His father was very glad to receive him and the cattle, and revoked the order for the prince's execution.

Now the prince kept his life-preserver the Cucumber in a pot very safely. He used to inquire after its welfare every morning and evening with a shout of "Brother, and used to receive a reply of "Yes, brother." This continued for some time, till one day his householder complained of having no curry for the night. Whereupon the prince's sister said, "There is a cucumber in the pot make it into a pickle." As soon as the Cucumber was cut open, the whole house was turned into blood.

The prince, on his return home that evening, shouted as usual for his brother the Cucumber, and receiving no reply, went up to the pot and saw that there was no Cucumber in it, upon which he ran at once to his mother and asked where the Cucumber was.

"I took it from the pot, and when I cut it open to make pickle with it, the house and all was turned into blood."

"My life-preserver is gone, why should I live?" howled the prince and committed suicide. The parents followed suit for grief at the loss of their son, and the cattle also, bemoaning the loss they and sustained by the death of their protector, ate a poisonous herb and died also.

#### No. 29. — *The Legend of Gāndhā.*

Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, was a most beautiful woman, short of stature, with a round golden face, a curved nose, lustrous eyes, a small sweet mouth, a ft small clay-white hands and symmetrical robe, ringlets of jet black glossy hair, a very parrot and young woman.

She had a son named Gāndhā. One day her husband Brahmas said to her,

"My son, would you like to marry?"

"Yes father," replied Gāndhā.

"What would your wife be like?"

"As beautiful as my mother," replied Gāndhā.

When the father's anger knew no bounds and laying hold of a battle-axe cut off his son's head.

When Sarasvatī came to know what had happened she at once ran in wild confusion to a spot where her son's body was lying watered with blood. But she could not find the head. She saw a young man passing by, and asked him a well thought crossed her bewildered brain. She asked him the name and chopped off his head, and fastened it on Gāndhā's body and prayed to her husband, telling her son to be safe.



Brāhmaṇa complied with her request, and thus Gaṇeśa became possessed of his elephant's head, as we see to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

No. 21. — *The Bird and the King.*

A tiny little bird uttering melodious sounds sat on the terrace of a king's palace. The king was very pleased and called out to an attendant and said, "Put the bird into a golden cage and give it the sweetest meals to eat."

Scarcely was the bird imprisoned in the cage than another bird of the same kind, uttering the wildest cries, came and sat on the terrace. Displeased with these discordant sounds, the king called out to an attendant to kill it.

The order was about to be executed, when the first bird, in great humbleness of spirit, said "O, what are you doing? O just king, listen to the words of the unprotected, revoke your order."

भई मुनीको दयन भुनोनि  
भुनोनि राजान बनाय वाक्य  
न मर्य कीवी न न कइ मुनी वा  
संवर्यवा शिष्युना मरनि.

"I have lived in the abodes of saints, and listened to their sweet talk, while thus my brother was brought up by a butcher, and learnt his unearthly notes from the cries of animals when being slaughtered. It is neither his fault, nor do I possess merit. Good or bad (in persons) is the outcome of association."

Satisfied with the explanation, the king revoked his order for the death of the other bird.

No. 22. — *The Prabhās and the Horse.*

The Prabhās are irritated beyond measure if called *Godai-kavu* (i.e., horse-eaters). The following story is told to account for the epithet.—

Once upon a time a great famine fell on the land and some Prabhās, in their hunger, concerted together and killed a horse for its flesh. Greatly afraid of being excommunicated they hastily buried the bones, and, making the horse's tail to stick out of the ground, raised an alarm of "gods gods, gods gods, pātātāk, the horse has gone, the horse has gone, to the nether regions."

Note.

The Prabhās are a prosperous and wealthy caste. Their women are renowned for their beauty, which Narayana Varma notices. They are Hindus, and they do not eat horse-flesh. The only people in India who eat horse flesh are the Dhōrs of Haidarābād (Deccan) and some Musulmans. There is a regular market in Haidarābād for horse flesh, and the street where that is sold is known by the name of the *Nakhās or Horse-Flesh Street*.

No. 23. — *How the English took a Hold in India.*

First of all the English landed in Madras, and applied to the Nawab of that place for land equal to a sheepskin. The Nawab, thinking that the land applied for was not much, gave him permission. Whereupon the cunning Englishman cut a sheepskin into very thin strips, and joining them on to one another, encircled the whole place with his leather-string and the Nawab fell bound by his word. It is so the English come to possess the first land in India, which they acquire from time to time by slow conquests.

(To be continued.)



## NOTES AND QUERIES

## THE SAYYIDS OF KARNAL

Mr J. H. DRYMOND, C. S., first mentioned to me that the Sayyids of certain villages in Karnal, who are of the Bārī-Sa'īdat, had a curious system of nick-names, and subsequently I was furnished with an account of them by the kindness of Sayyid Hāfī Hussain, Honorary Magistrate at Karnal, of whose notes the following is the gist:—

The Bārī-Sa'īdat have a curious system by which the inhabitants of each hamlet or *baṭṭ* are known by certain nick-names. These Sayyids are descended from Sayyid Abū Faraah Wazīr son of Sayyid Dūdā or Sayyid Hussain, and it would be of great interest to see if any other Sayyids have a similar custom. A list of the *baṭṭ* and nick-names is appended:—

Name of Baṭṭ	Nickname
San-taṭhārī	Kafandī, or owner of chickens
Moghārā	Collector.
Mirdāpūr	Sheep-shearer
Ketvārā	Butcher
Tandhārā	Ḥafal, the ghost.
Khojārā	Ghost.
Kakrā	Dog
Behrā	Chowdī, scavenger or leather-worker
Mornā	Camel
Jatwārā	Pig
Nagā	Barber
Janaṭhā	Chandī, or bird-catcher.
Chhārā	Mimic
Kāwal	Jawā, one who sets traps or stone ornaments
Jauḥ	Tūt, or oilman.
Tawāg	Dām.
Sāmpūr	Chūṭyā, fool.
Ḥatāpūr	Heas.
Sedāpūr	Sās.
Kamādā	Kūjīrā, greengrocer
Bahārī	Goldsmith.
Bahādūrpūr	Kūgar, rustic.
Belaṣpūr	Khura, a cutter of mill-stones.
Pāḥ,	Kamāgar, bowman or bowmaker.

Name of Baṭṭ	Nickname
Sandhāwāl	Dār-ul-Ḥimāqat, house of foolishness
Pimbhār	...
Sara	Bhāḍrā, baker
Chārpāl	Man-har bāṅg-e-e, maker
Tasār	Sweep
Bakrā	Owl
Mazāfarnagar	Eunuch

At first sight some of these names look like totems, and one is tempted to see in them traces of Arabian totem-clans which would be in accord with the claim to be descended from the tribe of Quraysh. This however does not appear to be the true explanation of the names, which it should be noted, are called *palwā* or counter-signs, by the Sayyids themselves. Moreover the Bārī Sa'īdat are all Shī'as, except those who live in Latvī village and even they intermarry with the Shī'as.

The nick-names given above appear to be in reality relics of a system of initiation into the degrees of a secret order and are paralleled in Turkey in the order of the *Mashayx*, in which the novice is called *taṭṭ* or *ṭaṭṭ*, and so on. The order has always tended to become organized into orders, or secret societies, and the Assassins of the East formed in the Middle Ages the most powerful and famous of these associations. They had a system of degrees into which their adherents were successively initiated. The Turis of the Kurran Valley who are or claim to be Shī'as, also have a system by which they ascertain if a man is straight, or a Shī'a, or crooked, or a non-Shī'a.

If my reader of this Journal could refer me to works on the religious orders or sects of the Shī'as it might be possible to trace further survivals of their organizations among the Sayyids, or in general among the Shī'as, of the Panjab.

H. A. ROSE,  
Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.

Simla, Aug. 15th, 1902.



# A GRAMMAR AND SPECIMENS OF THE MIKIR LANGUAGE.

BY SIR C. J. LYALL, K.C.S.I.

## I. — PRELIMINARY NOTE.

LIKE Kachhā Nāgā, Kōbō, and Khōtāo, Mikir is a language belonging to the Nāga Group of the Tibeto-Burman Languages, which represents an intermediate stage between the Nāgā languages, and the various speeches belonging to the Bodo Group. No complete grammar of it has ever been published. The following are the materials which have hitherto been available for its study:—

ROBINSON, W., — *Notes on the Languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the Valley of Assam and its mountain Confines.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVIII., 1849, Pt. I, pp. 184 and ff., 316 and ff. On pp. 330 and ff. is a perfect Mikir Grammar. On pp. 342 and ff. a Mikir Vocabulary.

BUTLER, CAPTAIN J., — *A Rough Comparative Vocabulary of some of the Dialects spoken in the "Naga Hills" District.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XII Pt. I., 1873, Appendix. Contains a Vocabulary.

CAMPBELL, SIR G., — *Specimens of the Languages of India, including those of the Aboriginal Tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the Eastern Frontier.* Calcutta, 1874. On pp. 204-205 and ff. there is a Mikir Vocabulary.

ANON., — *A Mikir Catechism in the Assamese character.* Sibsagar, 1875.

NEILMEYER, THE REV. R. E., — *A Vocabulary in English and Mikir, with Sentences illustrating the Use of Words.* Calcutta, 1879.

DAMANT, G. H., — *Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Nagañhi Rivers.* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII., 1880, pp. 228 and ff. Account of the Mikirs on p. 236. Short Vocabulary on p. 254.

LYALL, SIR C. J., K.C.S.I., — Note on the geographical distribution and ethnological affinities of the Mikirs on pp. 78 and ff. of the *Census Report of Assam for 1881* Calcutta, 1883. This has been reprinted on pp. 177 and ff. of the *Census Report of the same Province for 1891*. The reprinted copy has been revised.

PERSELL, MISS, — *Arleng Atam. A Mikir Primer.* Assam, 1891.

DAVIS, A. W., I.C.S., — Note by A. W. D. on the Relations of the principal Languages of the Naga Group on pp. 163 and ff. of the *Census Report of Assam for 1891*, by E. A. SMITH, I.C.S., Shillong, 1892. Compares Mikir with the languages of the Naga and Bodo Groups.

BARKE, E. C. S., — Account of the Mikirs on p. 254 of the same Report.

According to the Census of 1901, Mikir is spoken in the following Assam Districts:—

DISTRICT.	NUMBERS OF SPEAKERS.
N. Wang	34,273
Sibsagar	22,803
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	13,142
Kamrup	8,026
Darrang	3,108
Elsewhere	931
Total number of Speakers	82,283



It is spoken principally in the centre of the Assam Valley, south of the Brahmaputra, and in the north-east of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Mikirs call themselves 'Arieng,' a word which means 'man' generally, although more strictly applied to a Mikir man. Sir Charles Lyall, writing in 1882, described their habitat as follows:—

"The country which from its geographical nomenclature, we should look upon as the home of the Mikir race is tolerably extensive and occupies a large area of hills in which there are now few or no Mikirs. The characteristic elements of Mikir topographical nomenclature are *Leng*, river water, *Leng*, small stream, *Jeng*, mountain, *Leng*, stone, *Kong*, village, *Sar*, chief. In the isolated mountainous block which lies in the triangle between the Brahmaputra on the north, the Dihang Valley on the east and the Kopili and Kameng Valleys on the west, these names are found everywhere, as well in the southern part now inhabited by the Kacharis Nāgas from the hills across the Dihang as in the northern portion included in the Nongkong district and known more particularly as the Mikir Hills. They are also found in considerable numbers to the south of the Langkher Valley, in the mountains now inhabited by Kakas, Kachab Nāgas and Kacharis (e.g., *Leng* = 'water of life, *Leng*, etc.) as far south as the courses of the Jhri and Jhriam. In the centre North Cachar they are rarer, but there is a considerable group of Mikir names again to the west of this tract, about the head waters of the Kopili, and on the southern face of the hills north of Barakpur. Mikirs also abound, mixed with Lāangs, on the northern face of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and along the courses of the Kopili and Umken rivers.

Across the Brahmaputra the topographical nomenclature shows no trace of them, though there are a few recent colonies of the race in Darrang.

They are thus essentially a people of the lower hills and adjoining lowlands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo Hills to the Patkoi. Their neighbours are (1) The Synghs or Jaintias on the west, (2) Bodos or Kacharis on the south, (3) Assamese on the north and east, where the country is inhabited at all and intermixed with them are recent colonies of Kakas and Rengma Nāgas and other races of Lalunga and Kacharis.

The following sketch, by Sir Charles Lyall, of the principal features of Mikir Grammar is based on the very instructive specimens which accompany it and on materials, not yet published, gathered by the late Mr. E. Stack in the years 1850-51. As regards the specimens, the portion of the Pradigal Sō has been translated by Sarah K. Perrin Kay, who is by birth a Mikir and is at present employed in Government service at Shilong. The two pieces of folklore have also been prepared by him, under the supervision of Mr. H. Corkery, LL.D. — G. A. G.

## II. — GRAMMAR

**PRONUNCIATION** — Mikir possesses the following **Consonants**, — *b*, *ch*, *d*, *k*, *j*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, and the aspirates *kh*, *ph*, *th*. *Bh*, *dh*, and *g* occur only in a few borrowed words, and *bb* and *dk* are commonly resolved, as *bakôr*, a load, *dokm*, money. *F*, *th*, *w*, *y* (consonantal) and *z* are unknown. *Ng* is never initial, and the *g* sound in it is never separate *v* and *ble*.

In **Vowels** Mr. Stack recognised the following, — *ā*, *ä* (the latter in closed syllables abruptly pronounced, as in German *Mann*), *ê*, *é* (the latter in closed syllables, as in *pet*), *e*, *î*, *ï*, *ô*, *ö* (in closed syllables, abrupt, as in *pot*) *o* (this apparently represents a shortened long *ū*, as Mr. Stack notes that the sound *ä* or *ae*, sometimes represented by *d*, does not occur) *ū*, *u*. The differences in length of vowels seem often to be (as in Assamese) rather indeterminate. There is a tendency for the long *ā* to be thinned down to *ä*, as in the loan-words *rêcho* = *raya* and *keri* = *bari*, *ä* frequently occurs as a variant of initial *ā*, see further on.

The **Diphthongs** occurring are *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, in all of which the first element represents the long vowel, and the combinations might be written *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi*, *ūi*.



**ROOT-WORDS.** The root-words, whether nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs or verbs are generally monosyllabic. Roots longer than one syllable are apparently formed by adding prefixes, originally having separate significance, now often lost, to monosyllabic roots, or by combining one or more roots. Instances of which the signification is not now traceable are *ā-* (as in *ā-ro-nō*, man *ā-l-nō*, stone, *ā-nō*, sun, day), *ān-* (*ān-l-nō*, mountain, *ān-phōn*, pity, etc.), *ān-yō* (a sin, *ān-yō*, night *ān-phōn*, year, etc.), and *ā-*, *ā-*, *ā-* (as in *ā-rām*, call, *ā-kūng*, abandon, *ā-kup*, an enclosure *ā-rā* a road). Prefixes which are still significant will be noted below. Instances of compound roots are *n-n-nō*, *n-n-nō*, *ā-nō* (foot-covering), *n-n-y*, cloud (sun-cover), *n-n-nō*, *n-nō*, *ā-nō* (to be good, etc.), in verbs numerous examples will be found in the specimens.

**INFLECTION.** — Words (whether nouns or verbs) are not inflected, but are located in sense by their position in the sentence or by the addition of particles. These particles may often be omitted where ambiguity is not likely.

**Gender.** — Gender is not distinguished except for animate beings, and in them either (1) by difference of termination or (2) by added words indicating sex, or (3) by different terms. Thus,

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>pō</i> , father;         | <i>pē</i> , mother.                      |
| <i>pāu</i> , grandfather;       | <i>pāi</i> , grandmother.                |
| <i>(pū)au</i> , paternal uncle; | <i>āi</i> , paternal aunt.               |
| (2) <i>ā-pō</i> , boy;          | <i>ā-pī</i> , girl.                      |
| <i>su-pō</i> , grandson;        | <i>su-pī</i> , granddaughter.            |
| <i>ā-sō-pī-sō</i> , male child; | <i>ā-sō-pī</i> , daughter.               |
| <i>chānōng-ā-lō</i> , bull,     | <i>chānōng-ā-pī</i> , cow.               |
| (3) <i>ā-l-nō</i> , man         | <i>ā-l-nō</i> , woman.                   |
| <i>ā-l</i> , elder brother;     | <i>ā-l</i> or <i>ā-l</i> , elder sister. |

**Number.** The ordinary suffix for the plural is *ā-nō*, but other words are occasionally suffixed to indicate plurality, as *mā*, a mass, quantity, or company, *ā-nō*, many, *ā* (a respect for persons). With nouns the suffix *ā-nō*, not *ā-nō*, is used chiefly in addressing a number of persons. With pronouns the suffix *ā-nō*, not *ā-nō*, is used. I, *nō-nō*, we, *i-nō*, we, not including the person addressed, *nōng*, thou, *nān-nō*, you, *ā-lō*, he, *ā-lō*, she, *ā-lō*, they, respectful forms *nō-lō*, *i-lō*, *nān-lō*, *ā-lōng-lō*, *ā-lō*, *nō-lō*, *nān-lō*.

**Case.** — Case is indicated by position, or by postpositions. The Nominative and, ger cases speaking the Accusative have no postpositions, but are ascertained by their position in the sentence — the nominative at the beginning, the accusative following it before the verb — but in all where necessary can be emphasized by the particles *ā* and *ā*, which in some sort play the part of our definite article. Thus: —

*ā-lō* - *nō-ke* *ā-lō* *ā-nō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō*, I (distinguished from my father's servant) here from hunger am dying.

*nān-lō* *ā-lō* *nō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō*, thou (distinguished from the prodigal son) with me ever art  
*ā-lō* *nān-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō*, this thy younger brother was dead, and is alive again  
*nō-mōn-lō* *ā-lō*, my name is Ong.

*ā-lō* - *nō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō*, where should cow's flesh be here?

*nō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō* *ā-lō*, where did you get so much money from?

It is to be carefully remembered that these emphatic particles are not case postpositions, but may be followed by the latter: e. g., *pān-rē-sō-lō* *ā-lō* *pū-lō*, he said to the orphan and *ā-lō* is to be

\* When a prefix comes before *ā-nō*, it coalesces with it into one syllable: *ā-nō* + *ā-nō* = *ā-nō* *ā-lō* = *ā-lō* (not *ā-lō*) is always chosen for the subject, the prefix, and *pā* (not *pā* or *pā*) for the cause, prefix, before *ā-nō*.

\* *ā-nō* means breast, mind, and in that sense numerous easily intelligible compounds of it occur — but in the words mentioned it seems to be of different origin.



distinguished from -si suffix of the agentive and (probably the same) of the connective particle. Another euphatic particle is -to, which may often be translated 'also' or 'even'—vide specimens.

The construction of the Genitive is one of the most characteristic features of the language. The genitive always precedes the noun on which it depends. When it is a pronoun of the first or second person, nothing intervenes between the two—thus, *nē-hām*, my house, *nāng-pē*, thy clothes. But when the pronoun is of the third person, or when the first noun takes the place of a pronoun of the third person, the following noun has a- inserted before it. Thus *a-āpo*, his father, *hēnu nām*, *hēnu* his house, *ia hīya-atam akām* this is the jackals' work *atā hāngām āpat*, day-becoming-gone time. This prefixed *a-* is really the possessive of the third personal pronoun, as is proved by the equivalence of the pronouns in the following passage from a folk tale:—

Ānsi jāgrēto rēkhō-asitō apān pāō, 'lā nāng-pe nāng-rī-jān mōnātū  
Then the orphan the-king's-son to him, 'these your-clothes your-act with yourself too he  
nāng rā-ark nāng mōlō-tē, nāng chūnāpō, nē-pe nē-rī nāng pī-j  
you cover-into enter-if, you (thou)-will recognise my-clothes my-thou you I-will re-  
ānkē rā-āro at-nūn' Ānsi rēkhō-āsopo rā m-pn-si jāgrēto nāng-rāro ānsi  
then cogn-into enter.' Then the-king's-son the-case opened-having the-orphan let-ut, and  
jāgrēto ā-pe ā-rī rēkhō-āsopō pīh, lā rēkhō-āsopō ā-pē, ā-rī ā-lēk,  
the-orphan his-clothes he-ahou the-king's-son gave, that king's-son his-clothes, he-thou, he-w-clothes,  
ā-roī, jāgrēto pī-tha-lō.  
his-bangles, the-orphan (-to) gave-in-return.

'The orphan said to the king's son, "if you go into the cage wearing your own clothes, they will recognise you at once (if), I will give you my clothes, and then you can enter the cage." So the king's son opened the cage and let out the orphan and the orphan gave the king's son his clothes, and the king's son gave the orphan in exchange his clothes, necklace, and bangles.'

Here *nē-pē*, *nē-rī*, *nāng-pe*, *nāng-rī*, are followed by *ā-pē*, *ā-rī*. This use of *a-* before every noun, which has a genitive depending on it has led to that syllable becoming the common prefix of most nouns in the language, and being prefixed not only to the governing word, but also to the word governed. It is, in fact, the ordinary particle indicating relation, and this comes to be prefixed to adjectives, e. g. *Ā-nām āk-thē*, God the Almighty, *ia ākthi ādāng*, that younger one; and not only to adjectives, but to postpositions *āphān*, to, has *a-* when used with the third person *lā-āphān*, to him, *jāgrēto āphān*, to the orphan; but *nē-phān*, to me, *nāng-phān*, to thee. The only postpositions used without this prefixed *a-* are *pān* (*pān-si*), with; *lā*, at, in; and *si*, in *āpān* and *āpān* are sometimes found. As already observed, this *a-* frequently takes the form *e-*; e. g., *hīya-āhur*, a park of acacia, *hēm-āpā*, widow, *hēm-āpī*, widow (literal y, the name of the female owner of a house.)

The other cases are formed by postpositions, which, however, are often omitted when the sense is clear without them.—

The Instrumental is generally indicated by *pān* (*āpān*, *āpān*) or *pān-si*, as *āphān-sēpān*, with sticks. *Tentā māngchān-ān pān kēkōk*, tied by Tenton with an iron chain.

The Dative takes *āphān*, to or for (frequent after verbs of saying and asking), which is commonly used for the accusative. The sign of the Dative of Purpose is *āpān*, for, for the sake of—*pāpān*, what for, why? *kāpā-āpān*, id., *āphān* is also used in this sense in the phrase *jāgrēto pān nāng-āpān chipijī āphān*, with my friends in order to make merry.

It may be noted that *i-*, the pronoun of the first person plural, is sometimes used in the same way as the prefixed *a-*. Thus *i-nū*, a younger brother or our younger brother. The pronoun of the first person is used similarly in other Saka languages. Hence, in some cases, *i-*, also, probably, originally represents the first person, and not like *a-*, the third.—G. A. B.



The *Ablative* is formed with *-pen* (*open*) or *penel* *hēloring-do-āk-pen*, from afar off; *non-pen*, from now *dak-pen*, from here. *Āpera* (Assamese *para*) is also used.

The *Locative* is formed with *ai* *kem-ai*, in the house; *ādet-ai*, in the country. We also have *arlu*, in, inside, under. *Lē* (properly the conjunctive participle of *lā*, to arrive) is often used as a locative postposition, for *ai*, in.

Other common postpositions are, —

*ālak*, upon, on.  
*āngwng*, above, upon, over.  
*āwam*, below.  
*ābēr*, below.  
*ālong*, together with (*long* = place).  
*ālung*, *ādun*, beside, close to.  
*ālak*, between.  
*āng-bōng*, in the middle of.  
*aphi*, after.

**ADJECTIVES** are regularly formed by prefixing *kə-*, *kə-*, or *kə-* to the root, and do not change for gender, number, or case. Thus, *mē*, being good *kemē*, good; *kēlō*, distance, *kēhēlō*, far off; *lok*, savour, *kēlōk*, savoury; *lā*, bitterness, *kēlā*, bitter; *lok*, whiteness; *kēlōk*, white; *ri*, wealth, *kēri*, rich. The form of the adjective is precisely the same as that of (1) the present participle of the verbal root used to form the present tense, and (2) the abstract or infinitive of that root, and the collocation of the sentence alone determines the meaning of the word used. When particles of comparison or other modifying elements are added to the adjective, the prefix (*kə*, etc.) is often omitted as unnecessary. Thus, —

*kēlōk*, white; *lōk-kik*, whitish.  
*kemā*, good; *mā-wā*, better, *mā-nā*, best.  
*kēdng*, tall; *dng-mā*, taller.  
 but *kānglū*, high; *kānglū-mu*, higher; *kānglū-nā*, highest.

The emphatic suffix *ai* sometimes gives the force of the superlative, as in *Āradai ākūlē-ai*, God the Most High; *kemā-ai āpō*, the best garment.

Adjectives sometimes precede, but more commonly follow, the noun qualified (see below as to the relative clause). as already observed, they are usually constructed with the relative prefix *ā-* when joined to a noun.

**Numerals.** — The Cardinals are *te*, one; *kāi*, two; *kēthom*, three; *phāi*, four; *phongō*, five; *theruk*, six; *therukai*, seven; *nerkep*, eight; *nerkep*, nine; *kep*, ten, for the tens from 11 to 19 *kē* takes the place of *kep*, the unit being added: *kē-kē*, eleven; *kē-kāi*, twelve, etc. The word for seven is evidently six + one while those for eight and nine appear to be ten minus two and ten minus one. A score is *ingm*, thirty *thom-kep*, and so on but the higher numbers appear to be little used. A hundred is *pharō*. The numeral follows the noun. In composition *kāi* (except with *dāng*, person, is reduced to *ai*, and *kēth* to *-thom*, as *jō-ai jō-thom*, two or three nights. *Phāi* and *theruk* are often contracted to *phāi* and *thēuk*.

**Generic Prefixes** are commonly used with numbers, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages: —

with persons, *dāng*, as *ā-ōno-mā-kōtē dāng-thēuk-kē* his uncles, the six brothers.  
 with animals, *jūm* (Assamese loan-word) as *āi kēthēk-long chē-wng jūm-phāi*, I saw (got to see) four buffaloes;  
 with trees and things standing up, *rōng*, as *thēgpi rōng-thēuk*, six trees.  
 with houses, *kum*, as *kem kum-phāngō*, five houses.



with flat things, as a book, a leaf, a hoe, a knife, *pāk*, as *pa-kē pāk ph'i*, four knives  
*lō pāk-phōngō*, five leaves.

with globular things, as an egg, a gourd, a vessel *pum*, as *to-ti pum* or two eggs

with parts of the body, and also with rings, bangles and other ornaments, *hōng* as  
*hōng shōng*, one leg; *roi hōng-nī*, two bangles.

Note that *n* of anything is not formed with *ai*, but, if of persons, with *ai*, if of other things, with *e*, prefixed to the generic determinative, one cow = *chām nā njan*, one tree = *thi nji ē njan*, one book = *puth ē pāk*, one egg = *tō-ti ē pum*, etc. This *e* appears to be borrowed from Assamese in which it is shortened from *ai*.

Ordinals appear to be formed by prefixing *lō* to the cardinal, as *lōai ketthom* third, *lōai phōt* fourth.\* Distributive numerical adverbs are formed by prefixing *pur* or *phōng* to the cardinal, as *purthom* or *phōngthom*, thrice.

#### PRONOUNS. — The Personal Pronouns are, —

1st Person, — *nē*, I, *nā-tum*, *nē t*, *nē-ti tum*, we, excluding the person addressed,  
*t-tum*, *t-ti*, we, including the person addressed.

2nd Person, — *nāng*, thou, *nāng-tum*, *nāng-ti*, *nāng-ti tum*, ye

3rd Person, — { *lā*, *hā*, she, it; *lā-tum*, they.

{ *āiāng*, *hō*, who, *āiāng-ti*, respectful *aiān*, *aiān*, *āiāng-ti tum*, they

These take the postpositions like nouns. The possessive prefixes have been already mentioned they are *no*, my, our, *nāng*, thy, your, *ai*, *ā*, his, her, its, their. The possessive prefix for the first person plural, including the person addressed, is *o* or *i*, as —

*ō-chāmōng* *ō-hai* *ō-pūchithokō-lāng* *āpho-thak tē* *o tāng* *ō-hā*  
 our-cow our-cattle we-he has caused to kill, over-and-above that our-*aiān* our-*hāi*  
*ō-kāpēs*.  
 we-he has caused to smite.

The Demonstrative Pronouns are *āiāngsō*, *āiāngsō*, thou pl. *lōhāngsō-tum*, thou, *hāi* *hāiāngsō* that, pl. *hāi-tum*, *hāiāngsō-tum*, those. The syllable *hā* denotes distance, as *hāi-t*, *āiāi*, here *hāi-t*, there, *hāi-tum* *hāi-t*, he returned home from a distance.

Relative Pronouns, properly speaking, do not exist. Their place is taken by *doos* placed as personal particles. Thus, 'those six brothers who had gone to sell cow's flesh' is —

*lā chāiāng-ā-ōk kōjōt-dām-āiān* *kōtō bāng-āiāi*.  
 those six's flesh to-sell-going-(pl.) brothers persons-six.

and 'those persons who had carried cow's flesh to market, returned home, is —

*lā chāiāng-ā-ōk kōjōt-āiān hēm chēvōlō*.  
 those cow's flesh carriers home returned.

If it is noticed that in these sentences the adjectival descriptive clause precedes the noun, S. as in *Tenton mōk nōn*, *mōk nōn*, the man whom Tenton had tied with an iron fetter.

There is a word, *āiāng*, which is sometimes called a relative pronoun. It seems, however, to be rather a *dear* relative. 'I don't believe what he says' = *lā kōng, ē dām-tā nō kōng-kō*, literally, or speaking whatever I believe not compare *mā āiāng-tā āiān-tā mō-ti-ti-nōn*, the goods each of us staying down, wherever I also will stay.

\* The only examples of ordinals so formed are found in the Mikir collection (1873). In the folk-tales clearly prefixed personal adjectives (that is, ordinals) are not generally known. Thus, in mentioning five brothers one after another we have *āiāng* the eldest *āiān*, the junior (between *āiāng* and *āiān*), the next to the junior *āiān*, the next to the next to the junior and *āiāi* the youngest.



The interrogative syllable used to form Interrogative Pronouns is *ko* *homát*, *homát-át*, what? *kopi*, what? *kopi-kopi-n*, *kolopu*, *kolopu-son*, how? *ko-da*, *ko-dan*, *kolo-da*, how many? *homát*, where? *kondmthu*, when?

The Reflexive Pronoun is *ámething*, self, own, but a more usual mode of indicating that the action affects oneself is to prefix the particle *che* (*chí*, *ching*, *chéng*, and rarely *chó*) to the verbal root. Thus, *ta kem che-vai-lo*, he returned home (i. e., to his own house), *a-óngmár-atum che-pu-ló*, his uncle said to our daughter, *che-háng-w*, they asked for themselves. Examples will be found in abundance in the specimens.

**VERBS** — The Mikir verb indicates time, present past, and future, by means of particles prefixed or suffixed to the root. The verb does not vary for gender, number<sup>2</sup> or person. There is no separate verb substantive, though there are several ways of indicating existence, as *do*, *stay*, *abide*, *pidag*, *become*, *táng*, *exist*, *continue*; *lá*, *arrive*, *happen*, etc. Great use is made of adjectival or participial forms and, in narration, of the conjunctive participle. Compound roots are very extensively used, the principal verb being put first, then the modifying supplements, and then the time-index.

The Simple, or Indeterminate, Present is expressed by the participle with *ke* (*ká*) without any suffix, as *k. náti náti keda*, where do you live? *sa kánggár*, the bird flies, *sá-bura tá-tí-tí-si né kachira*, the old man having died, I am weeping, *sá-pá keso-kón*, my head is aching badly. This tense is, as in other languages, often used historically for the past.

The Definite, or Determinate, Present is expressed by the same participle with *-ló* added, *ta kopi kánggól-ló*, what is he doing (now)?

The Habitual Present, including the Past, is expressed by the verbal root with *-ló*, as *vó-dum-kó sa-pá-wihók inggér-lo*, the (*kó*) birds fly above our heads.

The Simple, or Narrative, Past is formed by the verbal root with *-ló* or *-dat*, as *lá pu-ló* or *pu-dat*, he said, *sá-pá tódat*, my head was aching, *lá k-ra áphá-si fóng-ló*, he, after searching, found it. Sometimes *í* and *-lo* are used together. *lá né inggón-dat-ló*, he abused me. *Det* appears to be a particle (perhaps once a verb, but not now used separately) indicating completeness, whether continuing in the present or not, and so may be used for the present when the state indicated by the verb is one that began in the past and still endures, e. g., 'why are you afraid?' may be expressed by *k-p ápeti náti kaphérá*, or *kopi ápeti náti phérá-dat*?

The Complete Past is indicated by the root with *-táng-ló* (*táng* is a verb meaning to finish), as *lá á-phá-si né tóng-táng-lo*, I went, or *háti gón*, on his account, *tetang longle pho-táng-ló*, the boat has touched ground.

There are besides a great number of other particles indicating past time, used with particular verbs. Thus with the various words meaning 'to fall' the following are used: *ku-lu ha-ké-bup*, he fell down, *a-m-ra-bup*, the house collapsed (= *ru-m*), *tóng-chóng kít-bup*, the upright memorial stone fell down, *long-pát á-buk* (or *kít-bup*), the flat memorial stone fell down, *téngpi-tánggíng-pa náti á-buk*, he fell down from the top of the tree. All these particles denote abruptness.

A Periphrastic Past, with the root (formed by *inghól-ló* (*did*), must be noticed. This is probably borrowed from Assamese; e. g., *hyachar éyá áhán shú-kíp-inghól-ló*, the jackal-pack the whole of the arums ate up completely (*kíp*); *sáru inggáp + pát-tun h-tangá-lo*, the old woman having shut the door made it fast.

Here should be noticed the prefix *nang*, used as the specimens show) with great frequency in narrative. It has the effect of fixing the scene in a known place. Thus, *plát wáden náti-tá-té méfán náti h-é-t*, the pig had eaten the log (the log has eaten it up, — in a known place. — but *meftá pát-té* or *pa-táng-lo*, the dog has taken it away, — from a known place to

<sup>2</sup> There are particles which indicate plurality where necessary, of which *ló* is that most often used



a place unknown. It seems very probable that the word is originally the pronoun of the second person, and that it refers to the knowledge of the person to whom the tale is related = 'as you know' or 'as you see.'

The Future is represented in two ways only: (1) by *pô* added to the root, to indicate an action beginning now and continued in the future, as *ne-tum nôkê lăbângrô ôkâm âpôtet pu-pô*, we will talk about this affair now (*nôkê*), (2) by *-jî* added to the root, for an action which commences later on, e. g., *bădu ârleng-lă lăt-jî*, all men will die (i. e., at some future time).

As *pô* includes the present in the case of continuing action, it may also be (and often is) used in a present sense; *-jî* is restricted to future time.

A compound future may be formed by adding to the root with *-jî* the termination *dôkđok-lô*, *lă lăt-jî dôkđok-lô*, he is just about to die; as *ik-jî dôkđok-lô*, the rice is nearly all done, *ân-chô-jî dôkđok-lô*, it is near breakfast time (i. e., rice-eating), *lăt-jî dôkđok-lô*, we have almost arrived; *dâm-jî dôkđok-lô*, he is about to go. A doubtful future may be expressed by *-jî* added to the present participle, as *kondt cânnong-ă-ôk-si dăkđ kđo-jî*, where should cow's flesh be here, *chănnong kđâm-jî*, I want to buy a bullock.

From the above it will be seen that there is much indefiniteness in the indications of time afforded by the Mikir verb, except *-đng* for the past complete and *-jî* for the future, the other suffixes may, according to circumstances, be rendered by the past, present, or future, but the context generally removes all ambiguity.

Conditional phrases are formed by putting *-tê*, if, at the end of the first member, and the second generally in the future with *-jî*.

Conditional Future, — *nâng dâm-tê, năng lă thăk-dâm-jî*, if you go you will see him; *năng nê pu-tê, nê kâm-jî*, if you tell me, I will do it.

The Conditional Past inserts *ăôn* (like, supposing that) before *-tê*, *dôhôn dă-ăôn-tê, nê lă nâm-jî*, if I had money, I would buy it.

The Conditional Pluperfect modifies the second member thus, — *nâng dâm-ăôn-tê, năng a lănglăk-jî âpôtet*, had you gone, you would have got it; *năng nê thăm ăôn-tê, nê lă kâm-tăng-lô*, if you had explained to me, I would have done it.

Other Conditional phrases:—

*nâng dâm dôm-tê, lăt mu-chôt-jî lăng*, the farther you go, the more you will be tired, (*dôm*, to continue; *lăt*, to be weary; *mu-*, relative particle *chôt*, constant affix to *mu-*, *lăng*, verb meaning 'to continue' or 'exist').

*nâng chôt-pet-ăn mu-chôt-tê, chăru-pet-ăn mu-chôt-pô*, the more you beat him, the more he will cry (*chôt*, to beat, *pet* adverb expressing plurality, *ăn*, particle of number or quantity; *chăru*, to weep).

*Tê* may be omitted where the sense is otherwise fixed:—

*nâng dâm pângthai ông, chăng ông jî*.

you go high more, cold more will-be, the higher you go, the colder it will grow.

*nâng pu ông, năng kram-kre ông pô*.

you speak more, you disobey more will, the more you tell him, the more he will disobey

*nâng dăhôn pî-ông pî, pākâm ông pô*.

you money giving-more give, waste more will, the more money you give him, the more he will throw away.



The Imperative is, for the second person, the bare root, or more usually the root strengthened by the addition of *na*, *tha*, or *na*. Thus, *pa na*, give, *ding tha*, see, *pi na*, give. The root with *na* (meaning 'now') is the strongest form. The other two are of about equal value. The other persons are formed by the addition of *naung* (a verb meaning 'to be necessary') to the future or present in *lo*. 'Let us go' = *thun dān-gō-naung*, 'let us go to the field and plough' = *na hān-dān dān-gō-naung*, or, by using the causative form of the verb, 'set him go' = *luke pān-gō-naung*.

**Participles.** — The Present Participle has the form of the adjective, with the prefix *ka-* (*ki-*) or *kā-* as *kađām*, going, *kāchiru*, weeping.

The **Past Participle** is the root compounded with *tàng* *tâm-tàng*, gone; *h k tàng*, have as seen; *kôpang-tàng*, fattened.

[illegible]

When the phrase in which the Conjunctive Participle occurs is terminated by an imperative, the suffix is not *-ei* but *-rē*. Thus, 'having eaten your rice, go' or 'eat your rice and go' is *ān aō-rē ām-nān*; but 'having eaten his rice, he went' is *ān aō-ei t ei, ām-lō*. While *-ei* links together parts of a narrative, *-rē* links together a string of imperatives.

The Infinitive or Verbal Noun is identical in form with the Present Participle - *kum kirdi tngiē huan arē nang-arya-long-lē*, he hears (and) the sound of battle scrapping (kirdi) and dancing (tngiē). All words ending with *ke* (*kē*, *kā*) may therefore be regarded as (1) Adjectives, (2) Particles: ending words of the verb, or (3) Verbal nouns, and it will be seen from the analysis of the specimens how clearly this at first sight strange allocation of forms can be made to express the required sense.

A Future Verbal Noun or Gerund can be formed by adding -ji to the verbal noun with te-  
 kek; m-ji, to make, (rejoicing is proper) this form generally occurs with a postposition, ning among  
 ohim-jí əphde, in order to make merry together.

The **Passive**, as in other languages of the same family, is unknown as a separate form. It may sometimes be expressed by a periphrasis, as I was beaten = *nā kēchōk m-tān*, lit. I received a beating, but it is most frequently found in a participial form, *which is identical with the active participle* and is in fact the same thing regarded from the other side. Thus 'bring the fatted calf and kill it here' = *kāpāng-tā-tāng a-huān ng-āo lāi-lāi vān-rā kō-nōn* - *kāpāng-tā-tāng* is made up of the root *āng-tā*, to be fat, *pā*, the causal prefix, *kā*, the participial prefix, and *tāng*, the suffix of completion: the word might mean 'having fattened' and since in a transitive verb, which none can form a passive, there are always a subject and an object, it is evident that the verb may be regarded as active from the point of view of the subject, and passive from that of the object. In such a phrase, moreover, the participle (as, in relative phrases, the adjectival clause) comes first, and thus calls attention to the action upon the fellow agent, while in an active phrase the agent comes first and the participle or noun of action after it. In the same way, the phrase 'he was lost, and is found again' is rendered *ngōn-ut rā, lūng thā-tā-tā* - this might equally well (since no pronoun is expressed) be rendered actively 'I had lost him, now I have found him again'. Thus the absence of a formal passive, in a language reputed to express so amply a stage of thought is not found to be an inconvenience.

The Negative Verb is a very interesting and remarkable feature of the language. A separate negative root, formed by prefixing or suffixing a negative particle and conjugated in the same way







will go and set fire (to the funeral pile) (*phleng*, kindle *adun*, go), *kroa-dun-lō*, she consented (*kroa*, agree, obey, *dun*, go with another), *ae i-dun-i an*, will you be a companion to us? (*ae*, remain, *dun*, be a companion to, go with), *an i-dun-ra jun-adun-nu*, go to the house and drink your fill (*ae*, arrive, *dun*, go; *jun*, drink), *chāng-tā pu-hoi nē-tā i-jok-tā*, not daring to say anything, he lay down quietly (*pu*, say, *hai*, late *chāng*, negative verb, *i*, lie down, *jok*, adv., quietly), *nāng* *chāng-tāng-tā*, you cannot go (*nāng*, *g*, *long*, get, *chāng*, *long*, *g*, negative verb, *āng-tāng-tā*, he chosen to war (*āng*, hear, *long*, go) *adun-jun*, he went away (*dun*, go, *jun*, run away). Some verbs take the suffix *lot* before the suffix of past time, amongst which may be mentioned *tāi* die, *i* lie down, *an-jāng* close the eyes). As an example we may quote *tāi-tāng lot-g*, died.

**ADVERBS.** — These are, extremely numerous, and are, like auxiliary verbal roots, inserted between the principal verb and the tense-suffix, e.g. *thā*, again, *reng-thā* *in*, a second again (*reng*, *in*, taken *reng* before verbal suffixes), *long-tāng lot-tā*, a second again (*long*, *nd*, takes *lot* before verbal suffixes) *pi*, completely *āng-pi*, he planted completely (*āng*, plant), *nāng-ho-tā*, all are entered in, they have given a completely (*nāng*, *long* *pi*, *ae* above, *ho*, water), *etip* and *hā*, also meaning 'completely,' used with *ch*, eat, as in *chē-kāp-g*, *chē-kāp*, I ate up, *etip*, quickly. *rān-wāt-lō*, he brought quickly.

Here may be mentioned the way of forming Diminutives and Augmentatives. For the former, add a small *t* to the noun *āng*, water, *lāng-rā*, river *āng-rā* a brook *hān*, a house *hān-tā*, a hut (*āng-tā*, stone, *lāng-tā*, a small stone, a watchman *ān-tā*, time, interval, *ān-tā*, a short time. On the other hand the syllable *pi* added to a noun magnifies it *thāng*, wood, *hān-pi*, a tree *lāng*, water, *lāng-pi*, the great water, the sea *tōrā*, a path, *lōrā-pi*, a highway, a broad road; *tā-rā-sā*, a foot-path.

(To be continued.)

## THE LEGEND OF KUNJARAKARNA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH OF PROFESSOR KEEN

BY MISS L. A. THOMAS

[THE Legend of Kunjarakarna has been rendered accessible to the public by Professor H. Kern, who has printed the text from an Old Javanese MS. of the last half of the 14th century, belonging to the University Library of Leiden, and has prefixed a full discussion of the age and sources of the story and the peculiarities of the MS., together with a rendering in Dutch. Professor Kern's work appeared in the *Transactions of the Academy of Amsterdam, Literary Section, New Series*, vol. III, No. 3 of 1901. The present translation has been made, with Professor Kern's kind consent, from his Dutch version, and is the work of my sister, though I have examined the whole and added the rendering of one passage. It is hoped that the story may prove interesting to readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, both as a highly peculiar reduction of the Mahayana Buddhism of Java and as a charming example of Javanese literature in general. For a farther account of it, the reader will turn to Professor Kern's above-mentioned original. It will be observed that some of the proper names, etc., show, in their spelling, traces of their source in Java. — F. W. THOMAS.]

**A**FTER Bhafāra had proclaimed the Sacred Law in the Bōddhicitta Vihāra, all the gods, namely Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghavajra, Lokēśvara, and Vajrapāṇi joined in worshipping the Lord Sri-Vairocana, preceded by the rulers of the four corners of the earth, *varāṇ*, Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kṛṣṇa, and Vāsudeva. These, all together, worshipped the Lord Sri-Vairocana. After he had preached the Sacred Law to all the gods, they took leave in order to return each to his own kingdom. Then they went away.

Now there was a certain Yaksha, called Kunjarakarna, who practised asceticism on the slopes of the holy mountain Mahāmēra at the North, with all the steadfastness of a hermit. But he was



in doubt how he should be born again, whether as man or not as man as god or not as god. That was the reason why he practised *tapas*—he wished, in his future incarnation, to stand higher in the order of being beings. Hearing that Vairôchana was preaching the Law to all the gods, he departed to do homage to him, as he desired to hear the teaching of the Lord. This, then, was his plan.

Hey! Presto! Begone! Without lagging on the way he came to Bôdhichitta, the holy mansion of Vairôchana. Straightway he did homage to the Lord. After he had rendered homage he opened his folded lips and reverently saying—O glorious Lord! Have pity upon your son. O Master! Instruct me in the Sacred Law, as I am in doubt concerning my new birth and the requestal of good and bad to the children of men. For I see that, of the people on the earth, some are lords, others slaves. What is the cause that it is so? For they are, alike the work of Bhatâra. What may be the reason of this? I ask you for the statement concerning Law, teach me, O Master! with regard to this and now my doubts may be removed. Instruct me in the Sacred Law."

"O my son Kufjarakarna, thou art very good of you that you desire to know the Sacred Law, and that you make me to put a question about the reason of the idea of man. I know one area that there are men who, however they are made acquainted with the means of expelling the defilements from their bodies nevertheless do not inquire after the report of the Sacred Law because they wish to enjoy themselves. And what enjoyment? Eating and drinking, the possession of gold and silver, and the means of bedecking themselves. This is a, man according to their view. You, my son, are not of their opinion, and you enquire about the Sacred Law. Now I will instruct you forthwith in the Sacred Law, so that you may learn to know it fully and that your vision may be cleared, and you may rightly understand the requestal to the children of men, and why now upon the earth, some are lords, others slaves both of them everywhere. But you must first go into the kingdom of Yama, where you shall see all the wicked. Thereof may you first obtain knowledge. When you return thence I will instruct you in the Sacred Law. Good! Then go first to the lower world and ask Yamâdhipati the reason why the evil-doers experience the five states of worldly suffering. Let me explain that to you."

As you command here! I will go, Master! Presto! Begone! Thanks to his nature and skill as a Yaksha, he plunged into the ocean and opened the port, the entrance to Yama's kingdom. The devatas were amazed at the appearance of Kufjarakarna, which caused north and south, west and east to be agitated. When the atmosphere had become calm the earth quaked as if it would burst, the tops of Mahâmêru shook, the mountains swayed, the waters of the sea were stirred, thunderbolts, borne by the storm, whizzed, hurricane and whirlwind, mirage and rainbow shot to and fro, through the air, flickering uneasily. Then, suddenly, the ports of the ocean, through which Kufjarakarna had passed, was closed, at which Kufjarakarna was very much dismayed and troubled at heart.

With rapid flight in the path of the wind Kufjarakarna journeyed on. He came to a crossway where the ways met, one north another southwards, another east and another westwards. The one to the east led to the divine dwelling-place of Bhatâra-Ishvara, the blessed place of the monks who have acquired supernatural power by asceticism, the road to the north leads to the dwelling-place of Bhatâra-Vishnu, this is the heaven of heroes in battle. The one to the west leads to Buddhapada, this is the dwelling-place of the god Mahâdeva, the paradise of those who have been heroes in generosity and have done pious works upon the earth. The one to the south leads to Yama's kingdom, that is the abode of Bhatâra-Yamâdhipati, where go all who have wrought evil.

At the crossway where the roads met was Dvarakala, who watches the entrance to heaven and to Yama's kingdom. Dvarakala shows the way thence, and so Kufjarakarna came upon



him. When Dvarakala saw Kunjarakarna, he accosted him, saying — "Hey, brother — who are you, who are come here to the crossways? What is your business in coming here?" So spake Dvarakala.

Thereupon Kunjarakarna answered, saying — "I am a Yaksha Kunjarakarna by name who practise self-mortification at the north-east side of Mahāmāru. The cause of my coming here is a command of the Lord Vairochana; he commanded me to go to Yama's kingdom, and now I ask you the way there."

Then answered Dvarakala:—"Ah so! Oh, dear brother Kunjarakarna, old man, I count myself right fortunate, my dear fellow that you have come here. Well, you ask the way to Yama's kingdom. Now follow that road there to the south. Hasten a little dear brother, for you run a risk of being overtaken by the darkness, now the danger consists in darkness. Therefore those who celebrate a funeral on earth take lamps with them to serve as a light for the souls when they come into the darkness. If you wish to form an idea of the opacity of this darkness when it is come, well, it lasts seven days before it vanishes."

"What a long time it lasts, eh! brother Dvarakala! So be it. I ask leave to go hence."

"Good, brother! hasten quickly upon your way, dear brother!"

Thereupon Kunjarakarna went his way. Presto! Pocono! Without lingering on the road he came to Bhūmipattana. There was a Sripatta, which always gave light over a *śatraya* space (by *śatraya* is meant "as far as the sight extends"). There Kunjarakarna found a gate whose doors were of precious stones, and the key gold; the posts were iron, the entrance was a path a fathom, and a *kūṭa* wide. The courtyard was besmeared with fragrant manure of a *nāga*; it was planted with red *Anaṇya* *Kaṣya* *Māra*, gorgeous in full bloom and impregnated with the vapours of incense the odour of which in here diffused like a sweet-smelling perfume. It was strewn with scattered flowers and adorned with garlands of honour. This was the reason why the wicked raced to get there, thinking it was the way to heaven.

Kunjarakarna went farther. Quickly! Gone! He came to the field of Prôṭabhavana, which extends one *yojana*. He stood still at the boundary of the field Agnikorova (Agnikorava). The boundary was marked off by fire in the middle of Bhūmipattana. There were the sword trees, trees with awns for leaves, the barks thereof were incense and the trunks all kinds of weapons. The thickness thereof was that of a *paṇḍu* tree, and the height ten fathoms. The shadow stretches over 19 *lakṣas* above sword-like grass; the undergrowth was formed of incense and knives. That is the place where the wicked undergo the five states of mortal suffering when they are hunted and tormented by the servants of Yama. What then were the punishments which Kunjarakarna saw there? Some of them had their skulls bawn off with an axe, others were chained (or martyred), some were cut open, after that they were beaten with iron clubs and their skulls were split open so that their brains fell out, afterwards their feet were crushed by hundreds all together, all either v scattered, then they were stabbed with iron pikes as thick as a *pradāy* tree and ten fathoms long, by hundreds all together. To what can one compare them? They were like grasshoppers which have been crushed. They wept and sobbed. Some with lamentations called upon their father and mother, others upon wife and children, for help. There were, moreover, certain *lakṣas* *śarṅga*, called *Saṁtana* (*śarpata*?), malevolent, with knives for wings and swords for claws,—claws as sharp as *Indra's* weapon. These came flying from the sword-trees and fell upon the evil ones, by hundreds all together, while they were bitten by Yaksha-hounds with gigantic heads, by thousands all together. Some had their necks bitten through; the stomachs of others were torn open at their tails from the sword trees, so that their bowels hung out. But those who still lived were pursued and driven out of dogs with Yaksha-faces; these were servants of Yamādhipati. There were also *Agnimukha* (fire-mouth)-Yakshas, with fiery hands and feet. These pursued the evil ones, in compact troops of thousands all together. The bodies were smitten by a sway of the wings;



those bodies which were burned gnashed their teeth; their eyeballs started out; they writhed and squirmed, groaning, neither dead nor living, panting and gasping for breath and lying in agony upon the pikes. Those who still have reared their heads, tearing at each other by the shoulder their bodies being exhausted by the heat of the Agnibhukhas. All who were pierced by the servants of Yama were taken and laid upon iron pikes which were as thick as an arm and a fathom and a long. In convulsions, they were pierced from crown to crown. Others ran away and sought refuge at the sword-trees, by thousands and together in a crowd. When they were close under the trees they thought these would give them protection. Then the Yaksha-bands shook the trees, which turned enemy to prickles. All those who sought refuge were cut to pieces. What did they look like? Some had their skulls split, their ribs broken, their stomachs torn open, their bowels were falling out, and their arms were cut off. They were not dead, nor yet living while undergoing the five states of wretched suffering. Moreover, still another punishment was prepared for them: some water had been with a marigold like the water of a little lake. "That will be very delicious to drink," they thought, so they went up to it in great crowds. When they came there they trod on the sharp grass, their feet were pierced, and the blood gushed out. They as if they had been struck with iron rods of weapons. Then the birds with Yaksha-bands came, they shook the sword-trees so that the leaves fell. With all this way as thick as them, the wretched men looked like the prickles of a hedgehog. Thereupon their bodies were racked by the Agnibhukhas with a jerk so that they were shrivelled and their brains gashed out. They were neither dead nor living. They writhed and cowered, being constantly tortured. Thus did Kufjarakarna behold the evil ones. At the sight, Kufjarakarna hid his face in his hand, for he saw the punishment of the evil ones, which seemed to him to be endless.

Kufjarakarna stood still. When he turned his gaze towards the south, he caught sight of the *Sanghata-parvatas*, two mountains of iron which continually meeting and separating against each other. There were the evil ones clashed and a great roaring as yawning, opening a hole in the mountain of iron which turned round like a wheel, resembling *Parvati* birds in flight. The servants of Yama were not even yet satisfied. So the evil ones were tortured again and struck with weapons as thick as a pinning tree. Others were pierced with iron spears, ten fathoms long, by hundreds and together. What did they look like? Like strong beams. In great haste they sought a means of escape, hurriedly forced their heads, and uttered a loud cry saying sorrowfully: "Ah, great Masters, servants of Yama! have pity upon me, let me live and be born again upon the earth, teach me what is proper and what is improper, so that I may forsake sin, be no obedient servant of the *Paanditas* and perform works of charity; now, on the contrary I reap the fruits of wickedness."

That was indeed a cry, an outburst of sorrow and woe. "The evil that you have done is no greater than have not yet. Of this you can be assured in your minds. How can I permit you to be born again? The whole world would go to perdition, as at the Sacred Law, the nature of things, the substance of things, the abandonment of the world, piety, gentleness and that is right. Wherefore, then, should you be born again hereafter? The world would certainly be through you as it were set on fire and consumed in consequence of your former impiety. Also you were wicked and have repeatedly killed innocent men. Now the evil that you have done is become an iron spear which torments your bodies as a payment for the wickedness of which you have made yourselves guilty. All that is your merited reward, you wicked ones!"

Suddenly the sound of stabbing was heard; bang! bang, they are beaten unceasingly with an iron club, suddenly, crash! crash, everywhere could one see the points sticking out. So the servants of Yama went to work while they punished all the evil ones, who shrieked in pain. Afterwards they were hung on high, and under them fire was kindled. When Kufjarakarna espied the evil ones, he stood still, feeling great sorrow at the sight of the evil-doers, who were being chastised by the servants of Yama. Kufjarakarna had a gripping pain at his heart. It was as if the members of his body were being cut in pieces. It was as if he unimpudently raised his hands to



**Bhātara-Vairōcana**, with the words: — “*dhc, nam! Bhātara! Namah Śrāṇa!*” “Boundless is the mercy of the Lord toward me, in that he commanded me to go to Yama’s kingdom to see what is prepared for all evil-doers. Now, only, do I understand what was his aim.”

So spake **Kunjarakarna**. Then he praised the Lord and went away to the abode of **Bhātara-Yamādhipati**. They Prate: *Goat!* He came to the abode of Yamādhipati. Because I was not a knower Yama who **Kunjarakarna** was, he deceived him — “Oh how fortunate I am that you have come! Well, my dear younger brother, what is the cause of your coming here? It is, indeed, strange that you come, what is your object, and your desire?”

“Oh, my elder brother, **Yamādhipati!** my object in coming here is the result of a command from His Holiness **Bhātara-Vairōcana**, and I seek to be enlightened by you, as I am in doubt how I shall be born, as man, or not as man, as divinity, or not as divinity, I know not what recompense I have to expect at my rebirth. So I asked for enlightenment, and the Lord **Vairōcana** said to me — ‘It is excellent on your part to ask for enlightenment concerning the **Sacred Law**. Therefore I will teach you so that you may learn to know the **Sacred Law** to you and that your vision may be made clear. But first go to Yama’s kingdom where you will see all those who undergo the five states of mortal pain. When you have returned from Yama’s kingdom I will instruct you in the Law’ — So spake the Lord **Vairōcana** to me. Have pity upon me, O elder brother **Yamādhipati**. Explain to me the meaning of it. And then I should like to ask you still another thing O elder brother **Yamādhipati**. What road is that which one sees from here? I have great fear of it in my heart because it is closed or fire, towards the south thereof are two mountains of iron, which continually move and strike against each other. There are the evil-doers squeezed flat by the mountains of iron; their skulls are broken so that their brains fall out, their tongues hang out of their mouths, their eyeballs start out. They are not dead, and yet not living, but are perpetually tortured. What is it that causes such things? Is it the universal ordinance of God? Tell me that, O elder brother **Yamādhipati!**”

“Just so, **Kunjarakarna**. I will instruct you. Dear or other, listen well! The road where you see the glow of fire leads to **Adhobhūmipattana**; and what you see protruding from the centre of it is the sword-tree jungle and the black mass you see rising at the southern boundary is the so-called **Parvatasanghāta**, mountains of iron, which strike against each other. Thither be evil-doers are pursued by my servants as punishment for their former *Unrighteous* the evil they have done upon the earth. This adheres to the soul and demands friction. Such is the *Karma*. The good and the evil deeds shall both receive a proportionate reward being pleasure or pain which one experiences in the way. Into **Bhūmipattana** men are consigned by their evil deeds. How great, then, shall I be the number of evil-doers whom you saw there and men? A thousand? Two thousand? Innumerable is their number, **Bhūmipattana** is full of them. How broad is the way which you followed just now? A path and a kot wide. This also is crammed with evil-doers. But another way, which is but three spans broad and overgrown with grass and weeds. How comes it so? Because those who do good deeds are so few in number. All men upon the earth do wrong struggling for pre-eminence. Therefore, **Kunjarakarna**, do not fail zealously to practice self-purification.”

“Ah elder brother **Yamādhipati!** Yes, so it is. The evil deeds in their former life are the cause of it. What is really the reason that they wish to live again? For sure they have died formerly on the earth and yet the dead, as many as have come to Yama’s kingdom, return to the flesh.”

“Ah, dear brother **Kunjarakarna**, old man! You are very ignorant brother! That comes about in the following way, listen carefully. You must know then, there are five *Ātman* in the body, namely, *Ātman*, *Parātman*, *Narātman*, *Ānārātman*, (*Āśānārātman*). That is the number of souls in the body. Consciousness (*Chetana*) is that which rouses a desire to live and unites those other four



A man into one, these become then a composite whole and this assumes a bodily form. It is the evil deeds of a former state that serve as a guide to the soul and are the cause that it goes to Yama's kingdom. But the Higher Power it is which develops the body and makes the five *Atmas*, namely, *Atman*, *Paratman*, *Nivatman*, *Antardiman*, *Chetanatman*. The '*Atman*' is the sight; '*Nivatman*' the hearing, '*Antardiman*' the breath, '*Paratman*' the voice, '*Chetanatman*' the consciousness, this gives unity to the whole so that an individual with a soul arises. This soul forgets ideas and desires. He who has desires is subject to the attachments of the sensual world. He knows not how to seek a cure. Therefore he is perplexed, he wishes to enrich himself, to rob, to extort, to con, to poison, to kill innocent men, to eat and to drink. The wrong that he does is done under the influence of the *Chitana* for the consciousness follows in course uninterruptedly day and night. If now the man dies, he takes his evil deeds with him to Yama's kingdom, where he is punished by being beaten with iron clubs for the sake of his former *Duskruta*, his evil deeds, these become iron spears and iron clubs which remind him of his evil deeds. According to what he has done and thought upon himself evil falls to his share, for his good deeds good comes to him. For both are ready for him, the reward of his good and of his evil deeds. Thus it is which shows him the way in which he must go. 'Supreme power' is the power of wrong and of not wrong for both bring about life. Life is subject to death, memory (and thought) is supplanted by forgetfulness (and inattention, omission), zeal is subject to wandering of the mind (absence). Therefore I must want to guard carefully your words and your work. Thus brother **Kufjarakarna**, practice asceticism. Be steadfast in your self-mortification, let your thoughts be governed, let not your tongue be continuous wandering hither and thither. That is what it is to practice asceticism. If once the thoughts are restrained, the mind must be refined. That is called refining (i.e., purifying from the gross elements). The mind must be refined in the body as a means of banishing impurities from the state, so that one may not go to hell. Away with all self-seeking! Let the *rajas* (passion) and *tamas* (darkening) of the mind and fool heart, be killed by continence. Let foolishness not be killed by mereu-spection. Now have I sufficiently enlightened you, brother **Kufjarakarna**. Do your best and pay humble homage to the Lord *Varaha*, ask that the *varaha* which cleave to you may be annihilated, and, as fruit of your knowledge of the Sacred Law, the blemishes of your body may disappear." So spoke **Bhaskara-Yamadhupati**.

Alas, dear brother **Yamadhupati**, the words which you have spoken for my instruction have strayed down into my bones: I receive them with welcome. Still one thing more would I ask you, dear brother **Yamadhupati**! It is said that you always cause men to be burned in hell-fire. But you have not always evil-doers with you. Now indeed, I see the cauldron has been set up, wiped out and made ready. What does that mean?"

"Ah, brother **Kufjarakarna**, that is the way in which I cook. As soon as they go into the cauldron in crowds, the fire which is extinguished must be lighted. They go one before the other out to destruction because they have formed the wrong, they would not be warned by their elders and would not refrain from causing sorrow to others by adulation, from bringing disturbance into the world, from treating their fellow-creatures, being arrogant towards their orders, nothing was held sacred by them. Therefore must they be cast into the cauldron. My business is merely to keep guard over the evil ones at the command of *Bhaskara*, who has ordered it. Now, as regards the reason that the set up, wiped out, and made ready is that a certain evil-doer will now be lowered into the cauldron. His sins are innumerable, a hundred years long shall he be cooked in the cauldron. After he has been cooked in the cauldron *Yaksha*-birds which have the face of *Yakshas*, will come to seize him and take him to the sword-trees and dash him against the sword-trees whose thorns are *rajas*, a fathom and a *kush* long and as thick as a *jamung*-tree. The swords are sharp as scimitars. The *Yakshas* mountains are there, which flames up brightly under the sun. His body scorched, he is not dead and yet not living. A thousand years is he to be so tormented. He cannot even go into the cauldron, therefore is the cauldron made ready."



"Ah, elder brother Yamadhipati! your explanation is perfectly clear; on hearing your words my heart is struck with pain, my desire to live is gone, now that I have heard your words, O elder brother Yamadhipati. Whence is the evil-doer to come, O elder brother?"

"Ah, brother Kunjarakarna! the evil man comes from heaven. Have you never heard, Kunjarakarna, of a certain mighty Vidyadhara, son of Indra, called Pārnavijaya? He is to come from Indra's heaven. Great is his guilt, especially great is his wickedness, he is shameless, arrogant, ravishes prohibited women, punishes innocent men, defies the elders, mocks the unhappy. He has been repeatedly warned to refrain from his misdeeds, but he was carried away by his former *Dushkriti*, his former evil conduct, which, after his death, will bring him to the cauldron of hell."

"Ah, what do you say, elder brother Yamadhipati? Shall Pārnavijaya go into the cauldron?"

"Yes, dear brother, for his guilt is sore."

"Alas! Oh! I am astonished, elder brother Yamadhipati, that Pārnavijaya should have so much sin. How is it to be explained? Indeed, he has dwelt so long in heaven and all the gods are subject unto him, also the Vidyādhara and the Vidyadharis are subject to him. That is the reason that I am so amazed. I was curious when I saw how he was basked in pleasures, and now he must soon descend into the cauldron. To what am I much astonished. Besides, I am his brother in the Order. Therefore am I sorry for him. *Namō Bhātāra, Namō Śreya!* Heartily thanks! It is time for me to go and offer my humble respects to the Lord Vairōcana; I, also, should go into the cauldron maybe, if I showed no reverence to the Lord. May your favour continue towards me, O elder brother Yamadhipati, and may you be my instructor in good."

"And now I will ask you one thing more. When such a wicked man endeavours to be born again, is it permitted to him, O elder brother Yamadhipati?"

"Ah, brother Kunjarakarna, old man! Yes, we allow him then to be born again upon the earth, but only when he has undergone the five states of worldly suffering, then he is born again upon the earth, namely, the skin, flesh, blood, and parts of the body, these are cut fine by us and mingled with flowers scrown upon the earth. Out of this come forth loathsome animals, such as there are little snakes, earth-worms, *śeṭake*, loaches, *śrīṣṭa*, caterpillars, all that one holds in horror in the world. A thousand years he remains in this state. Then he dies and is born again as ant, dung-beetle, *kukūṭikāra*, beetle, bee, *kūṭera*, caterpillar, ant, and black-beetle. In this state he remains a hundred years. Then he is born again as a grasshopper, *śaṅkhaśālaka*, ten mole, *śaṅkha*, lobster, tree-snail, water-snail, everything of this kind that is whole, thus he comes into existence. In this state he remains a thousand years. Then he is born again as bird, fowl, goose, duck, all kinds of two-footed animals. In this condition he remains a hundred years. Then he is born again as a four-footed animal, civet-cat, ant-eater, squirrel, red squirrel (*jāṭarāṅga*), mouse, hedgehog, dwarf-deer, roe-buck, wild bear, porcupine, all kinds of four-footed animals. In this state he remains a hundred years. Then it is permitted to him to be born a human being, but a defective being, such as a hump-back, blind, deaf, hard-hearing (or leper?), dumb, dwarf, lunatic, dropsical, a hydrocele, a one-eyed man, one who has a cataract on his eye, — one who suffers from ophthalmia, — one with his ears and lips torn, or club-footed, — all kinds of deformed beings upon the earth. These are signs that he comes from Yama's kingdom and all this time he undergoes suffering. Then are they born again, naturally sound in body, as a scavenger, a watcher of the dead, a beggar, barren, impotent, a *śūṣṭra*, an unlucky wretch, an epileptic, an idiot, one who has an impediment in his speech, who has no sense of smell, who has a defect in his speech, any one who is unhealthy. These are the signs that one comes out of Yama's kingdom. That is what I have to say to you, dear brother Kunjarakarna. Now return and make your humble reverence to the Lord Vairōcana. Implore him to instruct you in the Sacred Law, so that the



blemishes may disappear from your body. Take great pains to be born again as a human being, unde yourself diligently and constantly, and strive to improve your position."

"Oh, elder brother **Yamādhīpati**, you are very kind to me. Yet I did not think that what the elders say is true: the fruit of the *Yama* is like a *jack* (?), the fruit of the tamarind is like a pruning-knife. He who does evil, reaps evil; he who does good, reaps good. So it is with the man who does not follow the teachings of the elders. As regards **Pūrṇavijaya**, I am convinced that he is burdened with sin, that he shall die speedily. He shall endure suffering, he shall become a leper, and men shall not understand what he says. I will follow your advice and I offer you my humble thanks, O elder brother **Yamādhīpati**, for you have instructed me in what is right and have made the **Sacred Law** plain to me."

"So be it, brother **Kuñjarakarna**!"

So **Kuñjarakarna** offered his submission, did homage to **Yama**, made a reverent obeisance and asked for permission to go away. — "Oh, elder brother **Yamādhīpati**! where is the way to heaven? Show me the path."

"Oh, brother **Kuñjarakarna**, that road which goes to the north-east, follow that."

"Good, elder brother **Yamādhīpati**! I beg permission to go." This was granted to him and not refused.

Hey Presto! Gone! **Kuñjarakarna** went away. He hastened through **Indra's** heaven with the intention of reaching the dwelling-place of **Pūrṇavijaya**. Without lingering on the way he came to **Pūrṇavijaya's** dwelling-place at midnight. Immediately he asked that the gate should be opened to him, and he knocked on the door, rat-a-tat-tat! — "Come, come, brother **Pūrṇavijaya**! I beg you to open the door to me at once."

**Pūrṇavijaya** was lying at that time quietly sleeping with his well-beloved. **Kusumagandhavati** heard him, and immediately gave the answer — "Who is it who there asks to have the door opened at midnight?"

"Oh, younger sister, it is I here, my dear! My name is **Kuñjarakarna**. Tell **Pūrṇavijaya** to get up!"

"Oh, elder brother **Pūrṇavijaya**, rise up! — **Kuñjarakarna** has come."

"Eh, what do you say, little mother? I was just now so fast asleep. **Kuñjarakarna**? Ah, so, little mother; then let him come in at once."

**Kusumagandhavati** obeyed him and went. Instantly, in a moment she came to the door and opened it. Suddenly there was a creak and **Kuñjarakarna** came into the abode of **Pūrṇavijaya**.

"Oh, elder brother **Kuñjarakarna**, let me welcome you, how glad I am that you have come! Remain a little while, elder brother **Kuñjarakarna**. You so seldom come here."

"Oh, dear brother **Pūrṇavijaya**, I have been commanded by **Bhātara-Vairōcana** to go to **Yama's** kingdom. When I had arrived there, I saw all the evil-doers. There was a cauldron, which was wiped out and made ready by **Yama**; and that was done, as he said, so that you might be cooked in it. For, in a week, said he, should you go into the cauldron. A thousand years long, said he, should you be cooked in the cauldron. After being cooked in the cauldron you should be dashed against the sword-trees and besides be plagued by the servants of **Yama**; you should be hung up and a fire kindled under you. That should last a thousand years. You should be tortured by the fire *Fakṣamukha*, a fire with a gigantic top, which should singe you. After that, said he, the *Fakṣamukha*-dogs, hounds with gigantic heads, should bite you, these belong to the army of **Yamādhīpati**. That was what **Yamādhīpati** told me, and I wished to tell you the same, **Pūrṇavijaya**. I ask for permission to go hence in order that I may betake myself to my Lord and Master."



Thereupon, **Kuñjarakarna** stood up. Then **Pārnavijaya** clasped the feet of **Kuñjarakarna**, while he wept and besought him to have pity on him, saying — "Oh, elder brother **Kuñjarakarna**, do me this favour, help me in my need, save me from **Yama's** kingdom. In a cutaneous the number of sins which I must expiate, elder brother **Kuñjarakarna**!" Thus lamented **Pārnavijaya**.

"Oh brother **Pārnavijaya**, my friend! What can I possibly do for you? I know no means of destroying the blemishes of the body. What avenge it that you fix your glance upon me? When I know a means of destroying the blemishes of the body, my present **Yaksha**-form will immediately disappear. But I will give you this advice. I will accompany you into the presence of the **Lord Vairochana** to make your humble reverence to him and to pray him to be merciful to you, so that the evil may depart from your body. Come on, make yourself ready, dear brother."

"Oh, brother, I should like to take leave of your younger sister (my wife, brother **Kuñjarakarna**."

"Very well, brother **Pārnavijaya**."

**Pārnavijaya** then took leave of **Kusumagandhavati** :— "Oh my younger sister **Kusumagandhavati**, little mother! you stay here, dear. I go to **Bôdhichitta** to make my humble reverence to **Bhagava-Vairochana**, with my elder brother **Kuñjarakarna**."

Presto! Gone! **Pārnavijaya** went away with **Kuñjarakarna**. Without lingering on the way they came to **Bôdhichitta**, the sacred abode of **Bhagava-Vairochana**. At that time he was seated upon the jeweled lotus-throne, where he preached the **Sacred Law**.

Then said **Kuñjarakarna** to **Pārnavijaya** :—"Oh, brother **Pārnavijaya**! You must not pay your respectful homage to the Lord together with me, you shall make your lowly reverence to the Lord at a good time, when I have paid my homage, for, otherwise, it is to be feared that he will not trust you. But after I have paid my homage, you shall do so in your turn. Otherwise it is to be feared that the Lord will be evil-disposed towards you. Above all, do not act contrary to what I say to you. Crawl at once the feet of the Lord with earnestness. Come then, now go first to a place where you will be hidden."

"Oh brother, what have I to say?"

Presto! Gone! **Pārnavijaya** separated himself and remained at some distance.

Immediately **Kuñjarakarna** went to do homage to the Lord, he made a lowly reverence and then said — "Oh Lord and Master! I bow down low before you. I, your son, am back from **Yama's** kingdom, Master. There have I seen an exceeding great number of evil-doers, all my desire to live is gone, even if I were born as a human being. And **Yamadhpati** has daily enlightened me. May your loving favour continue towards me, O Lord! Teach me how the blemishes which cling to me may be removed from my body, Master! To wear a body has its trials. Clearly **Pārnavijaya** offers a proof of this: he drained all pleasures to the full, nevertheless, after his death he shall fall into the cauldron of hell. For a proof that he shall undergo pain it suffices that he will soon suffer leprosy (or an impediment in his speech). A hundred years long as he to be cooked in the cauldron. So said **Yamadhpati**. This is the reason why I now pay my humble respects to you, Master. I should like to hear from you how such things can be helped and also how sin can be driven out of my body, Master."

"Oh my son **Kuñjarakarna**, old man! it is exceedingly well done that you ask me questions concerning the **Sacred Law**. You ask what is the origin of a human being. Listen carefully. Whence came you at the time when you were still in your father as plasma and when your mother was still a maid? Where were you? Where did you abide? In non-existence was it not? At last,



you abode in the male you were then externally like molten tin. *Adras* was your name in your father, *ras* was your name in your mother. Your father was joined to your mother. Then your name was *Coming Together*, you came to repose in the Mahapadma, your mother's secret place. Then was your name *Si Rvas* ('Mother'). Three months you lay in your mother's womb, then was your name *Si Lalana*, and you bore the semblance of an imperfect egg. Seven days you remained in this state. Then came the five elements, following one after another—earth, water, fire (light), wind (air), ether. Each by itself the ether forms the head; the earth forms the body; the water forms the blood; the wind forms the breath; the fire (light) forms the sight. All together contribute to the life. What the earth contributes is consciousness (*spirit*) which manifests itself in Will to live, whence comes the body. The contribution of water is the *Nirātman*; that of wind the *Antarātman*; that of ether the subtle (pure abstract) *Ātman*. Thus the *Ātman* in the body are five in number. Now each operates by itself; what is called *Ātman*, is consciousness, what is called *Chetana* is sight what is called *Parātman*, is hearing, what is called *Antarātman*, is breath, what is called *Nirātman*, is voice. The five *Ātman* gave rise to desire, which assumes a body a *śarira* in the mother's womb. Hence the body is called *śarira*, because with their fire they are the *śarira* of the five elements. You became older full ten months, the space of time during which you remained in your mother's womb. You were endowed with hands and feet, you moved and breathed. Then was your name *A. N.* You wanted to come forth, then called they you *Si Gajāt* (the breaker-out). Next your head maybe just appeared in view. Then you were named the Lotus the brilliant. You issued forth, wet with the blood of her that bore you, on the ground. Your name was then *Si Pulang* (the moist with blood). Then a blessing was uttered over you, the divine Bhuvanākōśa (Earthly Sphere) was the name of the proverb. After you had been washed and tended, your proverb was 'the divine Ohre.' After you were smothered with fragrant essence and rubbed the name of your proverb was *Sari Kuning* (yellow *Nageauri*). Next you were suckled by your mother and incurred a debt of thanks to her for mother's milk. Your father and mother undertook pious vows for your well-being. Threefold is the debt that you have to pay to your father and mother. You reached the stage when they can put something in the mouth to eat and wash you, you were in a position to know your father and mother. Then named they you *Si Tulur Manjet* (possessed of recollection and memory) and your proverb was *Waju Kuning* (Yellow Coat). You were in a position to run, your name was *Si Adikundro* (First Youth; the name of your proverb *Sangraka*). You were shone upon by sun and moon, days and nights passed over you, you knew father and mother. Next came incarnation and aversion, hypocrisy, shadiness, envy, jealousy, pride, dislike, conceit, anger, failure in deference to elders. Ten is the number of the *dasa mala* (ten impurities) in the body, namely, corruption, filth, entrails, faeces, etc. Henceforth *Bhastara* became the supreme god for you, my son. You became older and were married. Then they named you *Si Sanjata* (the united), and the name of your proverb was 'Home Life,' Through wife and child you came into perplexity, which was the cause that you began to do wrong, to extort and claim other men's goods; to rob and to scoff. These are what men call 'evil practices.' That is the reason that the men whom you saw lately in Yama's kingdom loaded themselves with guilt, that they perpetrated acts of hypocrisy and blindness. Therefore were they cooked in the cauldron of hell. But they will be born again later and will come into being as something horrible, all kinds of animals for which men upon earth feel a horror, thus are born again those who act wickedly. In short, my son, do not show yourself of that mind. Take care that you are reverent to your elders and the clergy. Be neither envious nor evil disposed towards your fellow-men. Do not make your endeavours for all kinds of evil, but for what is right, for loving words, friendly looks, and a pure mind. That is what leads upwards to heaven, my son. That is the mystery of the Law that I reveal to you, my son! So be it! May your sinful inclinations disappear." So spake the Lord Vairōcana, instructing Kūṣṇarakarṇa in the Law.

Kūṣṇarakarṇa bowed low as a sign of respect.—"O, Lord and Master! I bow down respectfully. How can the sinful inclinations be with certainty annihilated, Master? Have pity upon me



and instruct me in the Sacred Law, so that the impurities may depart from my body. Have pity upon your son, Master!

"Yes, my son **Kuñjarakarna**. The stains of the body can be removed as some thing that is defiled trampled upon trodden down, suppressed. A pure mind is merely true knowledge, which serves for purification, it is a bath, wholesome and pure. What is called **Bhātāra** is not the water from the pitcher but a pure mind only. That is the same as what is called **Bhātāra-Vidhi**. For He controls the true knowledge and therefore is He called the Sovereign Knowledge. For the **Bhātāra** rules your body whereas thus expressed. You are I and I am, you *Nam Bhātāra* ' *Namah Śrīdya* ' The sinful attachments have vanished from your body, my son, because you know **Bhātāra**, and **Bhātāra** is he who becomes. **Bhātāra** is the ruler the controller the law, the oil. How then should the stains not disappear? Come nearer, I will hold you fast the supreme truth."

Immediately **Kuñjarakarna** came nearer and made humble reverence. Straightway was he held fast by the Lord. Thus was the first bond fastened wherewith **Yōgisvara** controls the nasphyte. "The different forms of the vow (confession of faith) are as follows — We are **Buddhists** say the **Buddhists** for the Lord **Buddha** is our supreme god. We are not identical with the **Śivaites**, for to them the Lord **Śiva** is the supreme god." Certainly the two sects do not mutually agree. This is why there are no **Muktas** among the monks in the world, because they consider as two what is only one, he who does not see the significance of this is a splitter of hairs. The five **Kusikas** are a development (that is a manifestation) of the **Nagas**, say the **Śivaites**. **Kusika** is one with **Akshobha** **Garga** is one with **Kaśyapa** **Maṇḍana** is one with **Ananta** **Karusha** is one with **Amoghavajra** **Putana** is one with **Vaśiṣṭha**. Well now, my son, these are all one. We are **Śiva** we are **Buddha**. We trust, my son, that you are now fully initiated. Truly say I to you. Your prayer is fulfilled, my son." So spake the Lord **Vaiśāṇava**, in that age **Kuñjarakarna**.

In consequence of the laying-on-of-hands of the Lord, **Kuñjarakarna** minded well and listened attentively. In consequence thereof the innate defects of **Kuñjarakarna** and his **Yaksha**-form disappeared. The Lord plunged the body of **Kuñjarakarna** into the consecrated water so that it shone. Then the body of **Kuñjarakarna** burst into flames. Sudden! He! Presto! Hady! Gone! The **Yaksha**-form had disappeared, and he was metamorphosed into a god. The joy of his mind rose to the highest pitch. Then he bowed low as a sign of respect and offered praise and thanks and kissed the feet of the Lord **Vaiśāṇava**. After he had offered praise and thanks he begged for permission to go home — "O Lord and Master! I greet you with reverence and I take leave, O Lord! I will go and again engage in asceticism, Master, in order to put your lesson into practice."

"Good, my son **Kuñjarakarna**. May you, my child, become a **Siddha** in the monastery.

Immediately **Kuñjarakarna** greeted him reverently and went away.

Presto! Gone! He came to **Pūrṇavijaya**. **Kuñjarakarna** said to **Pūrṇavijaya** — Ah, brother **Pūrṇavijaya**, I have been initiated into the law by **Bhātāra-Vaiśāṇava**, my stains have all been removed from my body and also my **Yaksha**-form. Pay your reverent respects to the Lord **Vaiśāṇava** and honour him, dear brother for, otherwise it is to be feared that he will be angry with you."

Then **Pūrṇavijaya** went to **Vaiśāṇava**, greeted him reverently and spoke — Lord and Master! Here is the discus **Sudarśana** (the weapon of **Vishnu**). Take it in your hand, Lord, and swing it against my neck, Master. Think not that you will cause me pain. With joy will I perish by one who is the Lord. I am ashamed that I still live, Master!" **Pūrṇavijaya** entreated the Lord, he wept bitterly and clasped the feet of **Bhātāra-Vaiśāṇava**.

"O, **Pūrṇavijaya**! I shall never afflict any one who surrenders himself to me or be ill disposed towards him. Ah, friend! do not doubt that your stains shall be removed. The fruit of















Protest! Gone! Without lingering on the way they came to Bôdhichittia, the holy abode of Bhatâra-Vairôchana. Pârnavijaya hastened to pay homage to the Lord. Also the Vidyachâra and Vidyachârî paid homage to the Lord. In the first place Kusumagandhavatî and afterwards the Vidyachâra and Vidyachârî who gave proofs of their talents; they played and sang, the instruments, which have to be bent, resounded with a quivering noise, *travâras* and *Bondhings* re-echoed, *Burâkako* and so forth.

While homage was being paid to the Lord all the gods came to honour Vairôchana, namely, Indra, Yama, Varaha, Kuvêra, Vasava-aga, and greeted him with reverence.

Then Yamâdhîpati asked the Lord — "O Lord and Master! What is the reason that Pârnavijaya is by you troubled to life? Surely, I was originally intended that I should be reared a hundred years in the cauldron. Now, indeed, has it lasted a shorter time. What is the meaning of it? Be so good as to explain it to me, Master."

"O my son Bhatâra-Yamâdhîpati, and all you four guardians of the quarters, it is very good of you that you take time to ask for the reason of what has happened to Pârnavijaya. Now listen carefully. There is a place called Bhûmimandala. There lived a man who possessed much silver, gold, precious stones and servants. His name was Mûladara. He did good works, he set up fountain-springs, resting places for travellers and flat stones to sit upon. He had an architect, named Kirnagata, who was his helper in doing good works. He possessed a man in need of love. There was another place called Tapalinada. There dwelt a man who was very poor and possessed neither child nor worldly goods, called Utsâhadharma, he and his wife. The name of his beloved wife was Sudharma. They lived in very straitened circumstances, but were gentle, pure, living in their words, and free in their bearing. They were extraordinary characters for they had heard the Sacred Law. Therefore they used in doing good works, they never stretches forth their hands without thereby giving aid and succour to the passers-by. What they together did was done with gentleness, pure loving words and friendly smiling. Now it so happened that they did good works next to the place where Mûladara performed good works. This gave occasion to Mûladara to scold Utsâhadharma, saying — 'Hey, you, Utsâhadharma! You wicked miserable wretch! Why do you practise any act of charity near the place where I perform my good deeds? You are a very gross, mean, a poor creature. The good deeds which you do are not worth a farthing. Therefore, take care to observe me when I am performing good deeds. I am generous, cows, buffaloes, I eat them with palm-fruit and rice, wheated numbers of my, as many as eat, are satisfied. But you, wretch, you regard yourself to be a nobody and able to vie with me in good works. Do you consider it right, fellow, who is so shameless as to look at me? Go away, right away! Sheer off from here. — Thus spake Mûladara, scolding Utsâhadharma.

"Then said Utsâhadharma to his beloved wife, — 'O my younger sister Sudharma! I am mother. What shall we do, my son? Mûladara would drive me away, and commands you to leave me, dear wife!'

"His wife answered — 'O elder brother Utsâhadharma, where shall I find comfort except in my love for you? What else would be able to inspire me with attachment? I have no children, no gold, no possessions. What do you think, if you were once to take up a monk's life, and were to seek refuge in a monastery? Come, let us escape to the wilderness, into the bush, and practise asceticism. There shall we, in future, no more be treated as now.'

"Her true fellow answered — 'Ah younger sister, this is very well thought of. Come, little mother, let us put our plan into execution.' Then they departed and practised asceticism. There is a certain mountain called Sarvaphala; there it was that they practised asceticism, and made a resting-place to receive guests. At intervals who sought a place of refuge, praised their goodness aloud. The people, whether they departed, or whether they stayed the night, were by their



business proceeded with all that was necessary. For some time, about twelve years, they practised asceticism and so they lived content. Then the man and woman died and were *mukta*, freed and delivered, in consequence of what they did and done—asceticism and good works. Then they went to Indra's heaven, to remain there. **Utsahadharmā** became Indra, but **Māladarā** became **Pāruavijaya**. The truth may be that it was ordained for the latter to come to heaven because of his former good works, whereas however, he joined an angry disposition, which was the reason why he went to hell. But he has asked for instruction concerning the Sacred Law, and this is why he has not long been in the earlier or not undergone the five states of earthly suffering. And an ascetic named **Kirṇagata**, was likewise guilty of anger and understood it not. He died and went to hell. **Kuñjarakarma**, because he too became angry and treated a poor man with scorn. Therefore **Utsahadharmā** takes a higher rank than **Pāruavijaya**, because the latter, formerly, was guilty of anger. But I must regard to the Sacred Law, and this is the reason why they ascended to heaven. So be it known to you, leaders of the four quarters and gods, as well."

So spoke the Lord **Vairōcana**, in order to continue with the former history of **Pāruavijaya** and **Kuñjarakarma**.—"See, leaders of the four corners of the earth these are the four men who have regard to the Sacred Law."

And Lord and Master! We your men, offer you many things. Yes, Master and was the past of **Pāruavijaya** and **Kuñjarakarma**. Yes, the past has been the cause and reason why he was not longer punished in Yama's kingdom and underwent the five states of worldly suffering.

"Ah, my children! defenders all of the four quarters see the fate, as the consequence of a crime in a former state, of one who knew the Sacred Law, he does not long undergo pain and torment."

"Amen, so is it Master!"

Immediately, with white bows, they made their parting salutation to the Lord, and asked for permission to return, each to his own heaven. Let this be to human beings an example worthy to be followed—the who knows how to respect the Sacred Law, returns to his own heaven.

Quickly! Immediately all the gods took their departure with a lowly reverence. **Pāruavijaya** remained behind. He took leave of his men, saying:—"O little mother! I take leave of you in order to follow my elder brother **Kuñjarakarma**, and to practise asceticism for a while. I wish to atone for my guilt towards **Yamadhṛpiti** and the Lord. Great is my obligation to them. I have to thank them for my life, and at which I can never sufficiently repay. So, go back to the mother, accompanied by the *Vidyasuras* and the *Vidyasurā*. The little mother!"

Order brother **Pāruavijaya**! I wish to practise asceticism with you. I will live and die with you. I cannot live far from you.—**Kuśmagandhavatī** wept bitterly.

"O **Kuśmagandhavatī**, my loss is an absolutely foregone conclusion that a wife will never accompany a man who takes a woman with him. It is far from my thoughts to practise asceticism for long. After twelve years I shall return, go back now, little mother."

O elder brother **Pāruavijaya**, I have not yet had my fill of loving you, elder brother **Pāruavijaya!**"

He repaid **Kuśmagandhavatī** weeping all the way and accompanied by the *Vidyasuras* and *Vidyasurā*. Quick! Away! Without lingering in the way saw she the Indra's heaven, where she accompanied a prayer and poured incense.

When **Kuśmagandhavatī** had departed **Pāruavijaya** took leave of the Lord. "O Lord and Master! I ask for permission to take leave, and, for a time, to practise asceticism. This was granted to him and was not refused. And he departed.



Presto! Gone! Without angering on the way he came to the north-east foot of the *May Mahāmōru*. There was no one else whom he met except *Kuñjārakārpa*. With shouts of joy *Kuñjārakārpa* greeted and entertained him. After that they went to make a hermitage, and, when it was fittingly arranged, while they began their *Samādhi* practices. How soon and they practised asceticism! What was cold was made still colder, what was hot was made still hotter, a hand full of rice, a drop of water, a pinch of salt, and in fact without allowing themselves to make it taste-sweet. For some time they practised asceticism, and when the twelve years were ended, the grace of the Lord was granted them. *Pārnavijaya* and *Kuñjārakārpa* became *Buddhas* and returned to the heaven which was called the *Buddha-heaven*.

## ORIGIN OF THE QORAN.

BY DR. HUBERT GRIMME.

(Translated by G. H. Nariman.)

Islam, like most of the great religions of the world, is based upon a Sacred Book, as a proof of the truth of its doctrines. But in its case the independence of the religion and the book is remarkably close, inasmuch as its origin coincides with the appearance of Islamic teaching, and the relation between the two an indissoluble relation has not early developed.

The common name of the holy book is *Qorān*, which means 'reading'. It is one of the several designations used by Muhammad to denote the revelation communicated to him by God. And indeed with him each single revelation, as well as the whole course of inspiration, is *Qorān*. It must be, therefore, regarded as an act of fatal narrow-mindedness that later generations restricted the term to the texts having a writing and further discerned in the collection a unity designed by the Prophet. But we should not misinterpret the intentions of Muhammad's intentions, if we considered each of the 114 chapters as a part of the *Qorān* as a whole, and the entire collection as a fragment of the Prophet's dogmas.

Muhammad came and with his own accounts. To judge from the terse, concise, and of balanced sentence of these sections, it is possible that the chief *Sura* should repeat the very words of the prophets. Thus the sections could have been first written down, and only afterwards the question. He received indeed for his sermons a divine verity and celestial origin, but not that they were delivered in the words of his own words. When he has preached for a year the necessity appeared to him of collecting on his own account and in the interests of the faith, the content of parts of his preaching in a permanent form, taking care that the first happily turned poems were not lost in the process. In this regard, just as a novel departure was to make his preaching easier as is attested by the *Qorān* in occasional places, which we have to look upon as the earliest testimony to the fixing and final determination of the texts of the revelation.

*Sūra* 57. 17. (Hafsin.) We have made the *Qorān* (i.e., our heavenly prelection) easy in enunciation. Would not then more people accept the preaching?

*Sūra* 44. 58. We have made it (the *Qorān*) easy in thy own tongue, only to the word that it may be preached.

*Sūra* 19. 97. We have made it easy in thy tongue so that thou mayest therein announce joy to the God-fearing and warn the contumacious.

*Sūra* 73. 20. Recite, then, of the divine prelection what has been rendered easy.

By the significant expression "making easy" the Prophet could not but have meant the final determination of the wording of a number of poetic lines. That the fixing of the text was

\* For the meaning of the term 'Arabic Qorān' see Dr. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIX. p. 146. *Palmer*, *S. D. K.* Vol. VI. lvi. — *Tr.*







Had not a certain practice in inditing awakened the Prophet to a sense of the importance of the art of writing, his official documents could not have been so abundant, much less could they have assumed the practical form which we perceive in the papers preserved to us. In a few places the *Qorān* attests the fact that its author was not illiterate. At least they demonstrate the subordination of the written to the recited *Qorān*.

*Sūra* 69, 44-46. In case he (Mahomed) had fabricated foolish things about us, we had seized him by the right hand, then cut through his vein.

Here the idea of catching hold of the right hand can have no other sense, but that it should be done with a view to restraining the activity exercised by the organ, or, in other words, to mislead him for writing. Verse 47 of *Sūra* 29, "Thou was not wont to recite a *hikd* before, nor to transcribe one with thy right hand," confirms, on the one hand, the phases in the development of the *Qorān* mentioned above, first open-air oral simple discourses, then transcription of the same, and on the other indicates the Prophet's ability to write and the employment of the same for the purposes of his doctrinal disquisitions.

Lastly, the traditions specify a succession of instances of the use of the pen by the Prophet.\* If some of them do not stand the test of careful scrutiny, collectively they present one more argument to support the theory we have advanced; while not one valid evidence bears out his imputed illiteracy.

It is wholly arbitrary to force into the epithet of *Ummi*, which Muhammad applies to himself sometimes in the Medinan *Sūras*, the meaning of ignorance of reading and writing. For assuredly the sobriquet was designed to imply nothing beyond this that he was theologically uneducated, had not studied the usual Jewish Scriptures, and by consequence was untaught.

"Ummi" is merely the Arabic rendering of the Hebrew *Am* *Haaraz*,<sup>4</sup> people of the earth (or worldly minded people as contra-distinguished from the religiously erudite *Kabbā*). We may therefore take it for certain that the Prophet was acquainted with the art of writing, and that he practised it himself in his simple environments of Mecca, but that in Medina, owing to the increasing pressure of work, he availed himself of extraneous aid to transcribe *Qorānic* sections and his decrees.

Practical considerations induced Muhammad to have the *Qorān* committed to writing, as he had previously fixed its text. In this written form the verses served either as prayers or didactic axioms for public and private uses to the Islamic fraternity.<sup>5</sup>

But it was not requisite for God's Word to be in writing in order to prove itself a heavenly errand. The *Qorān* tells us that no written revelation, which as such was palpable or comprehensible could have conveyed the Message, so that he delivered side by side sermons and *ad-fresco* harangues. But as time went on, it did not escape Muhammad that the written form was much the most adapted to whatever required the utmost precision, — regulations, ritual ordinances, decisions of questions propounded, or proclamations, — and thus he turned the *Sūras* into a species of official organ for announcing important events. Nevertheless it is

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, 839. The written order to fight with which Muhammad despatched Abdullah bin Jahsh and seven more of his adherents to the valley of Khaybar must at all events have been drawn up by him or signed for else these eight men could scarcely have ventured to profane the holy mouth by bloodshed.

<sup>5</sup> Nöldeke, *ibid.* p. 10, is on the right track explaining that *ummi* signifies that Muhammad was not versed in the holy books and that he knew the truth only through inspiration, but he does not see the close connection with *ammi haaraz*. By "people of the earth" were not designated the heathens (*Qafim*), but such Jews whose learning was not adequate for them to know and observe the law with the rabbinical commentaries or as Muhammad expresses it. Among them are *Ummi*, who do not know the book except in a subjective sense (*Sūra* 2, 73). The *Qorān*, at first 16, 121) translates *ammi haaraz* correctly by putting people for *ummi*, later on it forms from it the convenient adjective *ummi*. Akbar is called *ummi* by Jahingir in his *Wāqiyāt-i-Jahāngir*. Dawson in a note says that *Ummi* means "one who can neither read nor write, an idiot." — *History of India*, by H. Elliot, VI, 590. — Tr.]

<sup>5</sup> See *Sūra* 33, 34.



not improbable that what he had inscribed had already previously, on the occasion of Friday sermons, been delivered and perhaps also usually greatly amplified by him. What was once inscribed could not evanesce into naught. It permeated, one after another, all the strata of the fraternity. And we are enabled by it to comprehend the various moods in which the enthusiastic and the luke-warm believers received the appearance of a fresh revelation.

*Sûra* 47, 22. The believers say, "Would that a *Sûra* were sent down," but when a peremptory *Sûra* is revealed in which war is enjoined, then cease the feeble of faith looking towards you as if death had already overtaken them.

*Sûra* 9, 65. The warriors are afraid lest a *Sûra* should be revealed against them, reflecting the thoughts of their hearts.

The motive of the earlier *Sûras* was to affect the faithful in a religious way. In Medina the motive was superseded by actual and secular aspirations. Many a Muslim was sensible, and painfully so, to the lack of the didactic element.

*Sûra* 9, 12a. When a *Sûra* is revealed many believers say, "Which of you has it confirmed in his faith?"

Twice Muhammad replies, somewhat thus — It works on the genuine believers in different ways from various motives, acting to the faith through the former, and to the stability of the latter. Notwithstanding the importance which attaches to the written *Sûras* of Muhammad's mission, it were bold to assume that the dogmas orally inculcated did not pass for the Word of God. The system of Muhammadan tenets, as contained in the written portions of the *Qorân*, can be reconstructed only by a combination of widely scattered and mutually dispersed reflections. It is not laid down in a compact shape on one page, which argues that they were written only as occasion required. Besides, it would seem that the *Qorân* does not repeat without gaps the entire teaching of Islam. To give one instance, the prohibition of circumcision is nowhere mentioned. Finally, the high estimation in which the traditions, which presumably represent the Prophet's instructions delivered by word of mouth, are held, and which from the times of the oldest Khalifas downwards, are considered as religious law, attests that oral and recorded dogmas passed current almost without distinction as communications from God. It may be imagined that once the bulk of the revelations were crystallized in definite wording, it was impossible to the Prophet to tamper them with alterations or omissions. And yet this has occurred often enough as is conspicuous from the text itself of our *Qorân*. No change indeed, would have equalized the inequality of single *Sûras*. Nor could it have wholly compensated the pecuniarity of the *Qorân*, which in a manner simultaneously exhibits flower and fruit. But where the gaps in the scheme between two views, distant from each other in time, were too widely yawning, or where a second or subsequent thought had usurped the place of a preceding imperfect one, a new and always happy emendation was made, which we can trace to none other than Muhammad.

The commencement of this revision took place in the Meccan period. The Prophet had turned the chief tenet to simply exchange from his *Sûras* untenable propositions and to substitute corrections instead. Thus he buried verses out of the *Sûras* 53 and 31, which gave token of his inclination towards the ancient Arabian idol worship.\*

Both tradition and this present form of the verse confess the change. Nor can this have been a solitary case. In excuse or justification of such procedure, which doubtless made his adherents

\* In fact the *Sûra* was held at the close of the first century and thereafter to be superior even to the *Qorân*. *Abû Saïd Kadija al-Qorân wa sayra al-Qorân wa khalaf al-Sûra* i. e., the *Sûra* is the judge over the *Qorân* and not vice versa. See (Goldschmidt's) *Erkenntnis der Hadith*, pp. 19-20, where authorities are quoted who advocate the abrogation of *Qorân* commands in favour of principles expounded by the *Sûra*. *Wa asanâha al-Kutub bil-Sûra*, etc. — Ta.]

\* [For a temporary compromise with As Huzza, Alak and Manat, the most important heathen deities, and his subsequent emphatic renunciation attributing the apes to suggestion of Salas, see Palmer, op. cit. XXVII — Ta.]



sceptical of the verity of God's Word, the blame of the erroneous reading of the verse was imputed to Satan.

*Sûra 22, 51.* We never sent thee an apostle or Prophet, but in whose thought, as he meditated, Satan infused something. But God erases what is traceable to Satan and produces a communication in its true shape.

If this quotation proves alterations in the oral teachings, we can cite another which establishes the same of verses out of the written *Sûras* with tolerable certainty.

*Sûra 16, 103.* When we change one communication (verse, for another — and God must know best what He sends down — they say "Thou art an impostor. But most of them do not understand anything of it."

At Mecca, in view of the numerous innovations in the domain of religion which Muhammad inaugurated, the necessity to modify earlier injunctions was urgent but much more difficult was it to justify it, for the critical eyes of the Jews were directed towards all the Prophet's doings. He could no longer own that he annulled his former principles, because they were wrong (wrong through Satan's insidious suggestions) — but he pleaded that God, Who was beyond control, had elected to exchange one beneficent gift for another, equally good or superior.

*Sûra 2, 100.* When we (God) cancel a written revelation or forget (an oral one) we bring instead a better or its like. Knowest thou not that God can do everything.

Thus he gave himself the warrant to insert as much new and improved matter into the old *Sûras* as he wished, and, unless we are greatly deceived, about this time there arose the class of mixed *Sûras*, some Meccan some Medinan, whose genesis has long been attributed to what is called the first reduction of the *Qorân*. We may mention some examples which betray obvious marks of later emendations. Such are all the verses treating of Abraham's relations with Mecca and Q'aba, such also are all passages relating to the explanation and defence of the strange phrase "Nineteen are set over the fire of Hell."

Smaller additions are recognizable by the connecting particle *wa*, except, which is prefixed to them. These supplementary postscripts are joined on to what, without them, were too sweeping assertions. To give an illustration or two.

*Sûra 81, 27-29.* This is only an exhortation to the worlds, to him who would conduct himself aright — but your wish will avail you nothing, **except when Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, so wills it.**

*Sûra 76, 29-31.* This is an admonition. Let him hold on who will to the path leading to his Lord, but your wish will avail you nothing, **except when Allah so wills it.** He the knowing, He leads into His mercy whom He pleases, and for the miscreants an agonizing chastisement has He prepared.

The additions tacked on to these two passages were, as will be pointed out further on, the outcome of the doctrine of pre-destination preached subsequent to the original verses.

*Sûra 87, 6-7.* We will cause thee to read so that thou wilt forget nothing — **except what God wills.** for He knows the apparent and the hidden.

Here the reservation must have been supplied at the same time with verse 100 of *Sûra 2*

*Sûra 26, 224-228.* It is the poets whom the erring follow. Dost thou not see them roaming about every valley and speaking things which they practise not themselves — **saves those who believe, perform righteous deeds, and oft remember God; they are succoured when they have unjustly suffered.** But they who treat them unjustly shall know how all it will fare with them.



The exemption in favour of virtuous poets from the general rebuke was appended to the *Sūra* as a piece of courtesy towards Hassan ibn Thabit and Kat ibn Malik,\* who acted as paucygrasters of the Prophet in Medina.

Muhammad bethought him of a similar course when he added a note to the text, in order to lighten the duties previously imposed or to curtail too comprehensive statements. He had enjoined on his disciples, for instance, in *Sūra* 73, prolonged vigils. But when in Medina he wanted no longer to bring up ascetics but warriors, he added a lengthy verse by way of conclusion, which attenuated the graining obligation to a minimum. At another juncture it was promised to the brotherhood with a view to stimulating their benighted spirit, that twenty of them would slay two hundred infidels, a hundred of them a thousand. Doubtless as a result of mortifying experience, presently verse 87 was discussed, according to which, in future, a hundred of the faithful were to vanquish only twice as many, a thousand only two thousand of the opponents. This was what had meant by lightening his revelations.

When Muhammad himself became undisputed master of Medina and was disposed to account for his doings to none, the call for revoking or modifying older enactments in favour of new sat lightly on his heart. His will was for the moment law, and it was tacitly assumed that the earlier had no validity in the face of the more recent decrees. What God ordained was simply indisputable. So long as the Prophet lived with unlimited authority and dominated over the thoughts and acts of his order the state of things endured. But when, after his demise the next generations addressed themselves to solve philosophically the problem bequeathed to them by the Prophet, then were sprung upon them so many contradictions in the Islamic verities that they seized upon the most desperate means to settle them. The most conspicuous of them is the theory of abrogation and the abrogated, *Nasikh* and *Mansukh*, which was pursued to the extreme.

The *angst* originally began with the rational principle that when a later passage affirmed the contrary of what an earlier one incanted, the latter had no more validity and was therefore abrogated. But then there was the article of belief to be reckoned with, agreeably to which the *Qurʾān* contained divine and constant truth. They had therefore to steer between these *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of Moslem theology. At first *it* secondary meanings were read into the *Qurʾān* *nasikh* (2, 109, seq.), such as to alter, to transpose, to annul, and hence arose the possibility to rescind a text at pleasure. This procedure, invented by the sophistical Ibn Abbas, was employed in a variety of ways by the theological authorities, who came after him. Some held that a *Qurʾān* passage was invalid if the tradition taught its contrary; others conceded the invalidity only when the discrepancy was in the *Qurʾān* itself; a third set would limit the abrogations to passages concerning command or prohibition — they would not admit of them in cases of promise or threat. Many maintained that the abrogated sentences were confined to the *Medina Sūras* against those who would have them scattered over the whole *Qurʾān*. We can cite several other theories to which the investigation of the question has given rise (see *Idān*, II, 21). They place in a suspicious light the vaunted harmony of the *Qurʾān*. To this day therefore the problem remains unsolved: how much of the *Qurʾān* has the force of undisputed validity; though there is a general consensus as to the necessity of abrogation in 21 *verses* (*Idān*, II, 23). Since, however, the tradition demands that none shall interpret the Book of God, who has not previously ascertained the abrogating and the abrogated verses, it follows that properly no Moslem can address himself to the task of elucidating the *Qurʾān*.

In spite of the various *corrigenda*, the less Muhammad succeeded in ensuring a coherent unity to his *Sūras*, the more indifferent he grew to investing them with the external appearance of

\* Hassan, briefly noticed in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arab. Literatur*. For Kat ibn Malik, to be distinguished from Kat ibn Zuhair whom the Prophet presented with his mantle, see Muir IV, 1, — Tr.]  
[See Rogers' *History of Islam*, vol. II, p. 100, — Tr.]



a well-arranged collection. The *Sûras* were indeed before him completely written, but, to follow the tradition, not in a uniform manner, some were on parchment, some on palm-leaves, a few on shoulder-blades.

Still we need not perhaps imagine that they were quite inscribed after such a primitive fashion, and some sort of method must have been observed as they were recited. We can infer the latter with tolerable probability from the alphabetical symbols affixed to the several *Sûras*. It is well nigh certain that they served as signs to mark groups of co-ordinate *Sûras*. Ad *Sûras* are, however, not so distinguished, which show that ad were not so arranged. Taken as a whole it was not requisite that the *Sûras* should have a conclusion, for till shortly before Muhammad's decease the fount of revelations continued to make something or other new into light. Hence, to be as it is in its present state, the *Qorân* was devoid of a fixed sequence one after another of its *Sûras*, next a lacked reduction of its text on a consistent principle, two seemingly unimportant features, but which, as time wore on, became indispensable for the unalloyed perpetuation of the collection and its practical employment as a code of the genuine *Qorân*. The Khalifa Abu Bakr supplied the first deficiency, the Khalifa Uthman the second—that is the missing of the two so-called reductions.

Zaid bin Thabit, the chief authority for the detailed circumstances touching the writing of the *Qorân* reports (*Ithân*, I. 60). We (i. e., he and another scribe) used to put together (Arabic, *allafâ*) the fragments of the *Qorân*. That is to say, they put or strung together the separate revelations into *Sûras* a procedure which can still be easily recognized in the long Medina chapters. When the same Zaid says (*Ithân*, I. 66). "When the Prophet died, the *Qorân* was not yet combined or put together" the verb *jamâ* here used can only signify the combining of individual *Sûras* into a whole. The *Ithân* accordingly very properly decides: "The *Qorân* was committed to writing even during the lifetime of the Prophet, but was not yet unitedly put together as a whole in any single place, nor arranged (*waratib*) with reference to the order of the *Sûras*."

As for the import of the symbols placed at the head of the *Sûras*, various conjectures have been hazarded, both by native scholars and European investigators. We may leave out of account the Eastern glossators, since all probability is against them. Of European scholars, Niebleke in his *Geschichte des Qorân* (p. 215, seq.) was of opinion that these letters did not originate with Muhammad, but were the marks by which the possessors of the copies used by Zaid had designated their own property—in a word, monograms.<sup>12</sup> In the *Levantische Studien* (p. 50, seq.) he replaces this theory by another, and according to which the characterizations are to be traced to the Prophet, who intended them to impart to his recitals a mysterious solemnity without bearing any special sense. I cannot concur in the view that Muhammad strove after effect in such strange fashion. It is probable that he employed these signs to mark out the groups of chapters, which were to stand together, thus intrinsically some sort of order in the sequence of the *Sûras*. And, in fact, as a rule, the *Sûras*, with a like symbol, are placed in a continuous series, such, for instance, are *Sûras* 10 to 15 bearing the distinguishing letters *aa-l-r*, *Sûras* 16 to 28 *t-s-m*, and *Sûras* 40 to 46 *h-m*. We perceive an example of exception or irregularity in two groups, *Sûras* 2-5 and 29-32, both with *aa-l-m*, which stand aunder. The oversight probably lies at the door of Zaid. The critic Dr. Suyut.<sup>13</sup> cannot refrain from surmising that it was Muhammad from whom the notations emanated (*Ithân*, I. 67). It is beyond our knowledge altogether whether the letters represent abbreviations of any names or ideas.<sup>14</sup> While these "signs" are always reckoned as part of the text of the chapters, the superscriptions or headings are regarded as inter-secretions. Nevertheless some of them at least might well date from Muhammad's day, e. g., the Chapter of the Heifer,

<sup>12</sup> [See also, ante, Vol. XXX, p. 519. — Ed.]

<sup>13</sup> "One of the most pious writers of Islam. Wüstenfeld: *Das Geschichtsbuch der Araber*, 304, gives more details of his interest in life than Brockelmann permits himself in his *History of Arabic Literature*. — Tr.]

<sup>14</sup> [Said Dr. Wüstenfeld's endeavour to explain the symbols is worthy of study. — Tr.]







what the Prophet himself, avowed. There is no man now with an equal to him in most religions. These points are pillars of Islam. All the human rays which fall on earth converge about the image of the Prophet and him alone.<sup>18</sup>

Amr Bakr did not even in his collection of the Qoran that it was prepared for universal currency in Islam, rather was it, as N. Bekov rightly points out, a matter of private concern. Umar bin al-Qat'ab and Umar al-Khattab, every one was a party to its final form. The *Qoran* was written by him, which he was familiar. Moreover, final compilation was done by him only (by the Khalid, Mu'adh bin Jabal, and Abu Zaid, were permitted to circulate unchecked).<sup>20</sup>

But with the accession of Othman to power, these collections were revised. When the combined Islamic forces of Syria and Babylon marched upon Armenia, such serious differences in the ways of reciting the Qoran became, the two sides of the army was brought to light that, Othman bin al-Qat'ab ordered the Khalifa of it and immediately required him to remedy the evil. Othman himself went from Basra to Amr Bakr's house, the Qoran, and gave him a collection of four copies which were known at first as the *Mashhur* as well as the *Mashhur*. Later on the four copies were made into a book, and the four copies were given to the four copies of the Qoran. Othman bin al-Qat'ab, and Abdullah bin al-Zuhayr, Sa'id bin al-As, and Amr al-Sha'bi, and al-Layth. Othman ordered them to set down in the subject of the *Qoran*. He made words about which they were in doubt as for the Qoran, and he used in the matter of it. There were thus prepared four copies of identical text. One of these was deposited in Medina (by a Basra, and the other three for principalities of the Empire where they were in command and authority. By an order of the Khalifa all of the variants of the Qoran were to be given to the copies. Namely the archetype of the standard transcripts, Amr Bakr's compilation was to be given to the other. He took it and made her possession.

The old accounts about the so-called second redaction are so perfectly clear that it is difficult to understand the (variant opinion) in the subject. N. Bekov has assumed that the *Qoran* of Amr Bakr was the archetype and the copies of the Qoran and brought out a new redaction accordingly, after which all the material copies used by Amr Bakr's Qoran was destroyed. But a writer of great authority that the four manuscripts were consulted other texts besides that of Amr Bakr.

Properly speaking they should be called not redactions but *revisions*. The mandate to compile the *Qoran* with a uniform reading could not be passed, have resulted in a uniformity after publication that none of the earlier *Qoran* had a revised. For the *Qoran* of Amr Bakr was not a uniformity in the hands of the Muslims, which it represented the same wording with the Ottoman text or were subsequently added to the text.

It is impossible that the difference between the *Qoran* of Amr Bakr and that of Othman was anything more than the difference between a less careful manuscript text and a more careful. The compilation of Amr Bakr prohibited any considerable change in the text. The same thing was scarcely a problem, which is essential to the *Qoran*. The two widely varying readings. Namely, it is only then that we can explain the remarkable fact that a solitary voice was raised against the *Qoran* of Amr Bakr, which was the copy of the most revered Amr Bakr which he carefully examined and to which he gave the most extensive currency.

It has been a common tradition of the East and well known to Europe that Othman's services to the Qoran surpass that of Amr Bakr. But the *Qoran* of Amr Bakr is the archetype which appears in the text. The *Qoran* of Amr Bakr is the archetype.

<sup>18</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>19</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>20</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>21</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>22</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>23</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>24</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>25</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>26</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>27</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>28</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>29</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>30</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>31</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>32</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>33</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>34</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>35</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>36</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>37</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>38</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>39</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>40</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>41</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>42</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>43</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>44</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>45</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>46</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>47</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>48</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. <sup>49</sup> *Qoran*, p. 100. 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compiler Abu Bakr, must take precedence of the copyist Othmān, as is likewise opined by al Harith al Mahasibi.<sup>26</sup> "Othman is," al Harith says, "commonly credited with the collection of the *Qur'ān*. But it is not so. Othman merely guided the people to the acceptance of a uniform reading, which was selected by him in cooperation with old companions about him, because he was afraid of possible schisms between the Babylonian and the Syrian, on account of the diverse readings of the vowels. But Abu Bakr merits pre-eminence as the compiler of the *Qur'anic Sections* which were current.

The rest of the history of *Qur'anic* text is briefly told. Its early compilation, its character as the most sacred heirloom from God and Muhammad, of necessity led to such anxious assiduity bestowed on its immaculate perpetuation as has been devoted to few other books in the world. Every zeal was shown for Othman's canonical reduction, the unrivalled excellence of which asserted itself without any undue extraneous composition. If in private redactions one or two *variant lectures* kept their ground for a time, before the first century of Islam was out they disappeared for want of public interest. The editions of Ubay ibn Kab and that of Ibn Masud would appear to have lingered the longest.

At least the *exepets* still notice their sequence of *hāzins* and other textual peculiarities.<sup>27</sup> But soon Othman's reduction came into universal vogue and the readings of this family of manuscripts alone commanded respect. Out of it was evolved the art of reading the *Qur'ān*, the principal representatives of which lived at the close of the first and the commencement of the second century after the Flight.<sup>28</sup>

In the third century men set themselves to glean the prescription and commandments, and with this passage of methodic treatment of the *How* Writ were joined, in interminable succession, the works of commentators, starting with the fundaments, production of Tabari<sup>29</sup> who mainly kept in view the elucidation of the text, and continued with more formal grammatical explanation by Zamakhshari, in whose wake the erudite of the Orient move on to this day.

(To be continued.)

## EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 96.)

1796. — No. XIV.

Fort William the 10th October 1796. Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council, of the 3rd October in the Secret Department.

Agreed that an Order be issued in favor of the Marine Paymaster for Sixty Rupees \$500 to enable him to discharge the Freight of the Ship Peggy.

1797. — No. I.

Fort William, 6th January 1797. Secretary Marine Board, 2nd January. To G. Barlow Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I am directed to transmit you the accompanying Copy of Letters from the Owner and Commander of the Brig Peggy stationed at the Andamans, and as she is at present taken up

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* I. 63.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* I. 63.

<sup>28</sup> For details, see *Greek. des. Qur'ān*, p. 257 seq.

<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to notice incidentally that this great exegete and historian, like the best exponents of all other sciences of the Arabs, was of Iranian descent. The superiority of the Aryan to the Semite is nowhere more emphatically proved than in the history of the so-called Arab civilisation — Cf. Prof. Browne, *J. E. A. S.*, 1899, p. 49 — also Horn's *History of Persian Literature*. — *Id.*



for Six Months, from the 1st of August past, the Board request the Orders of the Governor General in Council respecting her.

I am &c.

(Signed) G. Taswell Secretary Marine Board.

Fort William 2nd January 1787

Enclosure No. 1.

To G. Taswell Esqr. Secretary to the Marine Board.

Sir, — I take the liberty to enclose you a Letter just received from Captain Carey of the Brig Peggy and if you have any orders in behalf of the Honble Company that you wish I should communicate to him, I shall punctually make him acquainted with them, on being favored with your instructions.

I am &c.

(Signed) William Mordaunt.

Calcutta, 2nd. Jan. 1787.

Enclosure No. 2.

W. Mordaunt Esqr.

Sir, — I suppose long before this you have heard of my disagreeable Situation since I left Calcutta, and since I wrote to you all my officers and people died, except two, and one of them I don't expect to live, I left Port Cornwallis with one Man and myself, and after being ten days out, spoke the ship Caesar from Ponang, who left [let] us have two Topasses with three Men. It cannot be perceived to you what I have undergone before my Departure, and after, a 18 days I was in Ballasore Roads in 7 fathoms Water, but coming to blow I stood to the Eastward at, not having hands to take in sail drove to the Southward, and out of sounding, before I could get them, put to rights, I was in the latitude of 19,55 N I stood to the Eastward of Point Palmiras one hundred miles, hoping to fetch the Board, but found I was deceived the wind being too far to the Northward, on the 2<sup>th</sup> made the land to the Southward of the point at 10 P M saw a ship on a wind, which bore away to speak us, but not like us in appearance or manner (man evens) I thought it more prudent, not having water on board for two days, and the people not able to stand it any longer, not having any sort of refreshment for seven Months, to bear away for Changan, the ship continued in chase all Dark, when I altered my Course from N N W. to W S. W for three hours, and at day light saw no sign of her as it will take 9 or 10 days to get some more than 10 I will thank you to send me an order or some body a Ganjam for three hundred Rupees as I have not money sufficient to pay or outfit into her, and I know no body at Changan.

I will thank you to acquaint Mrs. Carey I will write to-morrow post.

I am &c

(Signed) Andrew Carey.

Changan 27th December 1786.

Ordered that the Marine Board be directed to report what means they may deem necessary to afford assistance to the Brig Peggy.

1787. — No. II.

Fort William 10th February 1787 Marine Board. To the Honble Sir John Shore Baronet Governor General in Council.

Honble. Sir — We beg leave to lay before you a Letter addressed to us by the Commander of the Brig Peggy, which has been in the Service of Government at Port Cornwallis and to refer to you the Circumstances stated by the Commander, in his Justification for having left the place without orders, as well as to ground his hopes of some consideration for the misfortunes he has suffered.



There appears from Captain Carey's Account to have been a necessity for saving the Andamians and of course, no blame or loss to a Brigadier General, or our Officers, for supposing them for having done so. In respect to Compensation as in the agreement for the Peggy it was stipulated that every expense should be borne by the Owners, and the Company have been charged with a very on Account of the Brig except for the small amount of the cost of the party being sent - due to the end of January 1797 - can be remitted, but I fear I have heard of some less liberal offers of liberality to some extent to a case, we were I propose that the same should be given in either of two ways - one a supply of the Officers without using the Vessel the two Months here had would be due to complete the term your Engagement ending on the 31st of March 1797 and Certainly we cannot recommend that she should be given to the Andamians to provide for that period, or, if you will be it Open in a Vessel should be sent over there this being the Captain's duty a Preference by renewing the engagement for the Brig for Six Months from the 1st of June at the present rate. We cannot in all events recommend that any increase of that rate should be allowed.

We have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) John Bristow, John Haldane.

Fort William the 3rd February 1797.

#### Enclosure

Gentlemen, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with the arrival of the Brig **Peggy** from the Andamians station, and as I met that place without orders from Government I think it necessary to explain to you the cause of my having done so.

When I had been some time at the Island my Ship's Crew became very sickly and the Malady increased so fast that I lost every week except two that never one of whom with myself were attacked with the same disorder, in this distressing Situation I determined to make an attempt to gain some Board where I could get more people and also to inform you of my having left the Island for that purpose as had I remained longer it would have been at the hazard of my own life and that of the other two Surviving Men.

I with much difficulty effected my departure from Port Cornwallis and steered for the Island of Norcondum off which I lay in hopes of falling in with some of the China Ships to get assistance, I luckily spoke the Ship **Caesar** the Captain upon hearing my distress gave me two Men with the reinforcement I desired for Calcutta but after having arrived off the Sand Heads a Violent Gale of Wind came on which blew away all my sails and for the Preservation of the Vessel I was obliged to send before it to Gangam.

At the Board I used every effort to get a Crew and return to my Station but I found there was not a Man to be had that would accompany me back indeed all the people at the place refused to go on board my Vessel and I previously gave them Security for my promising direct to Bengal.

Then at last I judged it most expedient to proceed to Bengal for the purpose of getting a Ship's Crew and to acquaint you of my proceedings. My intention I I pursued here and today after I left the place, I was boarded by a French Privateer and captured every thing movable in the Vessel, even to my own Clothes for which I was rewarded with some Ammunition and Cut away the only good Anchor and Cable I had belonging to my Barge, and then sent me a draft which I beg you will take into your benign Consideration.

Should you wish to peruse my Journal I shall send it to corroborate the above statement.

I hope that men you will take into consideration the many hardships I have suffered during the time I have been in your Service and should you think proper to employ the **Peggy** again on the same Station for Six or Twelve Months she will be ready to proceed in the course of a few days - should I be again employed I intend to take more Men with me and I hope you will not







- ii; ann. 1763: s. v. *Oncha*, 223, i, s. v. *Souba*, 649, i, ann. 1724: s. v. *Firdagber*, 274, i.
- Decant*: ann. 1516: s. v. *Decan*, 234, i, ann. 1752: s. v. *Decan*, 234, i.
- Decan*: ann. 1652: s. v. *Decan*, 233, i.
- Decan*: s. v. 522, footnote.
- Decanin*: ann. 1532: s. v. *Melique Verda*, 823, i.
- Decanin*: ann. 1578: s. v. *Decany*, 234, i.
- Decany*: ann. 1572: s. v. *Decany*, 234, i.
- Decan*: ann. 1682: s. v. *Dacca*, 245, i, s. v. *Purwan*, 564, i, ann. 1683: s. v. *Boundar*, 274, i, s. v. *Hogun's River*, 850, i, twice, ann. 1684: s. v. *Delali*, 235, ii; ann. 1785: s. v. *Care*, 214, i, s. v. *Ghea*, 283, i.
- Decan*: s. v. *Rhuel*, 69, ii, s. v. *Bilree*, 70, ii, s. v. *Brinjarry*, 87, ii, 3 times, s. v. *Calyan*, 114, i, s. v. *Cooly*, 192, i, s. v. *Onstard Apple*, 221, i, s. v. *Cuttack*, 224, i, s. v. 233, i, 3 times, s. v. *Decany*, 233, ii, 234, i, s. v. *Pauly*, 274, ii, s. v. *Onava*, 306, i, s. v. *Hilza*, 314, ii, s. v. *Hindustan*, 316, ii, s. v. *Kohnor*, 374, ii, s. v. *Koonbee*, 375, i, s. v. *Kurnool*, 370, i, s. v. *Latente*, 390, i, s. v. *Majoon*, 411, i, s. v. *Mango-trick*, 426, i, s. v. *Monogar*, 441, i, s. v. *Moong*, 444, i, s. v. *Mysore Thorn*, 467, i, s. v. *Nak*, 470, i, s. v. *Patchooli*, 517, i, s. v. *Payen-ghant*, 522, i, s. v. *Pindarry*, 538, i, s. v. *Regur*, 575, ii, s. v. *Saffron*, 589, i, s. v. *Sappan-wood*, 590, i, s. v. *Seedy*, 610, i, s. v. *Sircar* (s), 638, i, twice, s. v. *Sola*, 646, i, s. v. *Souba*, 649, i, s. v. *Sweet Potato*, 673, i, s. v. *Talaga*, 694, i, s. v. *Colmansee*, 784, i, s. v. 801, i, footnote, s. v. *Idalsan*, 807, ii, s. v. *Khot*, 813, i, s. v. *Madranalucco*, 821, i, s. v. *Nizam*, The, 830, twice, s. v. *Nizamalucco*, 830, i, s. v. *Sinan*, 831, i, 852, i, ann. 1516: s. v. *Sinan*, 852, i, twice, s. v. *Sangar*, 853, i, ann. 1520: s. v. *Sinan*, 853, i, ann. 1534: s. v. *Sinan*, 853, i, twice, ann. 1564: s. v. *Sinan*, 853, i, ann. 1563: s. v. *Moong*, 444, i, s. v. *Ullan*, 508, i, ann. 1616: s. v. 233, i, ann. 1642: s. v. *Vanars*, 88, i, ann. 1655: s. v. *Ullan*, 153, i, ann. 1750: s. v. *Lambhara*, 383, ii, ann. 1778: s. v. *Morad-chen*, 453, i, ann. 1804: s. v. *S. Lamer*, 634, i, ann. 1813: s. v. *Vaduris*, 89, i, ann. 1870: s. v. 233, ii, twice, ann. 1878: s. v. *Parab*, 515, i, ann. 1884: s. v. *Hindustan*, 317, i.
- Decanee*: ann. 234, 1861: s. v. *Decany*, i.
- Decant*: s. v. *Mungoose*, 437, i.
- Decany*: s. v. 233, ii; ann. 1799: s. v. *Ambares*, 11, i.
- Deck*: s. v. 234, i.
- Deckan*: ann. 1785: s. v. *Poon*, 528, ii.
- Decany*: ann. 1605: s. v. *Nafman*, 474, i.
- Decany*: s. v. *Say*, 31, i.
- Dech*: ann. 1654: s. v. *Zemindar*, 748, i.
- Dech*: ann. 1698: s. v. *Zemindar*, 719, i.
- Dech*: s. v. 244, i.
- Dech*: ann. 1829: s. v. *Dewaly*, 208, ii.
- Dech*: ann. 1819: s. v. *Dech*, 3, i.
- Dech*: ann. 1711: s. v. *Ashanonk* (2), 752, ii.
- Dech*: ann. 1734: s. v. *Calay*, 111, ii.
- Dech*: ann. 1698: s. v. *Zemindar*, 748, i.
- Dech*: s. v. *Kashoon*, 375, ii.
- Dehli*: s. v. *Bahauder*, 30, ii, s. v. *Chicane*, 245, ii, s. v. *Coaz*, 208, i, s. v. *Dustoor*, 207, i, s. v. *Ghilzal*, 383, i, s. v. *Goojar*, 296, i, s. v. *Hilza*, 314, ii, s. v. *Hudee*, 315, ii, s. v. *Hindustan*, 317, i, s. v. *Jestul*, 349, i, s. v. *Janna*, 303, i, s. v. *Kashoon*, 375, i, s. v. *Khan*, 304, i, s. v. *Kashoon*, 374, i, s. v. *Moo* (a), 404, i, s. v. *Mogul*, The Great, 437, i, s. v. *Mohar*, 439, i, s. v. *Oordoo*, 488, i, s. v. *Panjab*, 361, ii, s. v. *Tanga*, 682, i, s. v. *Bargany*, 761, i and ii; ann. 1200: s. v. *Delhi*, 234, i; ann. 1257: s. v. *Swalk*, 640, ii; ann. 1289: s. v. *Ghilzal*, 284, i, s. v. *Gudh*, 434, i, ann. 1290: s. v. *Jestul*, 349, ii, ann. 1300: s. v. *Dungul*, 64, ii, ann. 1310: s. v. *Mohar*, 401, i, ann. 1335: s. v. *Telaga*, 694, i, s. v. *Umbrella*, 726, i; ann. 1340: s. v. *Dawk*, 232, i, s. v. *Doai*, 248, ii, ann. 1343: s. v. *Beiramee*, 61, i, s. v. *Chowdry*, 163, i; ann. 1628: s. v. *Cure*, 214, i, s. v. *Dam*, 228, i; ann. 1660: s. v. *Itans*, The, 673, ii; ann. 1787: s. v. *Shoonka*, 639, ii; ann. 1842: s. v. *Pucka*, 555, i, ann. 1850: s. v. *Serai* (a), 615, i; ann. 1880: s. v. *Gram-fed*, 301, i.
- Deh*: ann. 1684: s. v. *Elora*, 262, i.
- Deh*: ann. 1594: s. v. *Deh*, 640, i.
- Deh*: s. v. *Deh*, 243, i, s. v. *Swalk*, 640, ii, ann. 1835: s. v. *Swalk*, 642, ii, ann. 1870: s. v. *Tanga*, 709, i.
- Deh*: s. v. *Deh*, 236, ii, ann. 1630: s. v. *Deh*, 236, ii.
- Deham*: ann. 1750: s. v. *Deccan*, 233, ii.



- Dekh; ann. 1854: s. v. Deck, 234, i.  
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 Dengui, ann. 1535: s. v. Copeck, 195, u, 3 times.  
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- Dhoney; ann. 1860: s. v. Doney, 250, i, s. v. Pattamar (b), 521, i.
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(To be continued.)



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## NOTES ON THE KAMARS OF THE RAIPUR DISTRICT.

A SMALL tribe, whose numbers, all told, probably do not exceed seven thousand, calling themselves Kamars, are to be found scattered through the forests lying in the south-eastern corner of the Raipur district. What their ethnological position is, it is difficult to say. To some extent they resemble the Gondas, and their origin, though this is perhaps legendary, points in this direction; but their language, mixed up as it is with much Marathi and some Urdu, bears no resemblance to Gondi.

In the Census Report of 1891, the Kamars, who are placed under the heading "Aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Urya Country," are said to have been workers in metals, and to have subsequently taken to jungle pursuits. This is undoubtedly a mistake; they are able to fashion their own arrow-heads, but this many jungle tribes can do, and beyond this they know nothing of metal-working, and none of the traditions in any way connect them with such work.

Physically, the Kamars are a dark, slight, and usually ugly people, who lead a typically jungle life. Occasionally they cultivate a small patch of ground by "jbuming," growing tuberous plants and more rarely millets, but as many of the tribe live in Government forests, where this form of cultivation is no longer allowed, their chief means of support are the collection of such jungle products as lac, myrabolams, *wahud* wax, honey and edible roots, which they barter for salt and grain, and in addition they manage to shoot with their bows and arrows a few peafowl, hare, antelope, and deer. In some respects they are superior to many jungle tribes. They do not eat vermin, monkeys or domestic cattle, and the women (this restriction not extending to the men) do not eat fowl. Nor do the women drink anything stronger than water, while the men are ready to drink the strongest spirits they can obtain, and as much of it as possible. The young girls are allowed an occasional sip of the native-made *wahud* liquor, but why they may drink it and their mothers may not, it is difficult to say.

The religion of the Kamars, as with almost all jungle tribes, is a propitiatory one. On the whole, they cannot be called a religious tribe; they look up to a Supreme God, to whom on rare occasions sacrifice and prayer are offered,

but they do not people every big tree or root with a demon.

The tribe is sub-divided into two portions, one of which is called *Nig* and the other *Netam*, the former deriving its supposed origin from a cobra and the latter from a tortoise. The story of their origin is that the son, lying far to the west of the country now occupied by the tribe, gave birth, first to a Gond, then to a *ndg* (cobra), and then a *netam* (tortoise). For this reason they consider the Gonds their superiors, though closely related to them, and they are the only people with whom the men will eat — the women will eat only with Kamars.

It is an absolute rule that a *ndg* must marry a *netam*. And marriage between two *ndgs* or two *netams* — between brother and sister they consider it — entails expulsion from the tribe.

As has been noted, the Kamars are not a religious people, and the Hindu *puja* finds very little place in their lives. At a time of sickness, at a betrothal, and at a marriage, a goat may be sacrificed, the office of priest being hereditary and known as *jadkur*. Perhaps 80 per cent. of the Kamar men are *jadkars*, and this is a necessary condition, as rarely more than two or three families live together within easy reach of one another. The *jadkur* in no way differs from his fellow-Kamars in the mode of obtaining his livelihood or in his dress, and but for the fact that the sacrifice must be made by him and the few words of prayer spoken by him, no one outside the tribe would distinguish him. One religious ceremony, known as *dind*, or the performance of funeral rites, is certainly worth remarking upon. After death the corpse is buried, and then as many of the tribe as can be quickly collected together, go to the nearest water — it may be a stream, a pond, flowing or still water — and into this they wade. Then they all grope about for any living animal matter (frogs, fish, prawns, etc.) that they can catch hold of, and when a fair quantity has been collected, the animals are carried back to the house where the deceased lived and there thrown down upon the floor. It is supposed that the action of bringing life back to the house has drawn the soul of the deceased, which since death has been with the Supreme God, back to earth again, and that it will in course of time become a Kamar, a tiger, a wild dog, or some other form of hunter, with which the tribe think their souls are associated.

G. F. D'PARRA.



## THE CONNECTION OF ST THOMAS THE APOSTLE WITH INDIA

BY W. B. PHILIPPS.

(Concluded from page 15)

## III — Some writings of doubtful date or antiquity which make mention of the connection of St. Thomas with India.

WE come now to some writings which have been frequently quoted as the genuine productions of the ancient authors whose names have been put upon them. They have been even quoted as genuine from the very volumes in which they are distinctly printed as "spurious," where, indeed, they have been inserted by way of warning to prevent persons being deceived by extracts and references they may find elsewhere. It is therefore necessary to say something about them. They are not entirely to be rejected because they have a wrong name attached to them, but, until we know their real dates, we cannot make much practical use of them.

1. — **Pseudo-Hippolytus.** The genuine Hippolytus is St. Hippolytus bishop, who died about 230; he lived and wrote in Rome. There is a Greek work ascribed to him entitled "Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles: where each of them died, and where he met his end."

It contains the following passage:—

"And Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians and Margians, and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spear<sup>2</sup> at Calamene,<sup>3</sup> the city of India: *εν πόλει Κалаμηνη, τη Ινδια* and was buried there."

<sup>1</sup> *Μαργη*. Combefisius proposes *Μαρθα*. Jerome [alias the Pseudo-Jerome] has *Magis*.

<sup>2</sup> The text is *δρακονη δρυγισαδη*. *δρακονη* being probably for *δρυγ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Καλαμηνη*. Steph. le Moyne reads *Καρομηνη*.

The above translation and notes are from S. D. F. Salmond: *The Writings of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus*, Vol. 2, Edinburgh, 1860, p. 191. The translation has been verified by reference to the Greek text in *Migne's Patrologia Græca*, Vol. 10, Paris, 1877. Salmond apparently took his notes from Migne.

On reference to several authors who treat of St. Hippolytus and his works, — Cardinal Wiseman (1853), Combefisius (1648), Wotter and Wette (1801), Bunsen (1854), Conner (1808), etc. — I find no allusion to the real date of the doubtful work "On the Twelve Apostles." The point seemed important in view of the mention of Calamene or Carmanere. As regards the "Margians," Combefisius proposed *Μαρθα* as the *Mard*, were a Hyrcanian people.

This Pseudo-Hippolytus affords an example of the misuse of such writings. In 1822, the Rev. George Milne Roe, Fellow of the University of Madras, published at Edinburgh a book entitled "The Syrian Church in India," — a subject which has lent itself to much foolish writing in England, India and Germany during the last two hundred years or more. Mr. Roe referred to this passage from Pseudo-Hippolytus as if the work containing it were genuine and he actually made use of Salmond's translation, overlooking the translator's warning.

2. — **Pseudo-Dorotheus.** A Greek writing exists under the title of "Ecclesiastical History *συγγρημα εκκλησιαστικον* concerning the 70 Disciples of the Lord by Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre." It does not purport to be his actual writing; but it gives particulars of his life, and then records what he wrote about the seventy Disciples and the Twelve Apostles and the places where each of them preached Christ. The passage about St. Thomas is as follows:—

"And Thomas the apostle having preached the gospel to the Parthians and Medes, and Persians, and Germani, and Bactrians, and Magi, suffered martyrdom *τυλασθαι* in a city of India called Calamita (*Καλαμηνη*)."



Donatus is stated to have been bishop of Tarent at the close of the 3rd century. If so, and if he wrote about the twelve apostles as above, the passage quoted would be valuable as containing an early mention of the place of St Thomas' martyrdom. But there seems to be no reason for ascribing it to him. "German" really means, I surmise, "Catharism."

The passage is regarded here by way of warning for it figures in books as an early history of St Thomas' martyrdom in India. It was noticed by the Abbe Hue, famous for his travels in Tibet, and in part copied for his account of reaching Lassa, where he and his colleague Gabet resided for some months in 1846. Making 1811-12, Hue, and Gabet seem to have been the only Europeans who succeeded in reaching Lassa in the nineteenth century. In 1874 Hue published at Paris four volumes entitled *Le Tibet ancien et moderne* and Gabet, a work of which there are one or two English editions. In Vol. I, p. 26 Hue brings forward the testimony of Donatus as to the martyrdom of St Thomas at Calamita and simply says it is contained in a fragment preserved in the Paschal Chronicle (tom. I, 188," the Paschal Chronicle is a Greek work written about 1000 probably at Constantinople and of value mainly to confirm the fact that it contains the remains of older writings incorporated in it. Nevertheless it contains traces of the fragment" in question. Diendorf, 1884, published at Bonn an edition of the Paschal Chronicle in two volumes. In an appendix in the second volume he printed the Syngarion, above mentioned, among "Selecta ad editionem veteris Chronici Paschalis." He noticed by way of illustrating a passage in the preface regarding the Seventh Decree of general council as in connection with the Chronicle. Diendorf prints content it was not by Donatus, even if such a person existed in the 3rd century. Hue evidently had taken edition in view for a purpose not very accurately, but there is accuracy ends.

In 1877 the Rev. C. E. Knight a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel published a work translated at Munich, called *La vie de l'apôtre Thomas à l'Inde* and *the Evidence for the Mission to the Country*. A pamphlet that is often quoted. It takes its name from a book. But he evidently had it before him, as he represents its contents as Donatus and the Paschal Chronicle, and in other instances reproduces its contents, being a little more than it. He, however, states Donatus as being born 244, and gives a reference to "L'aveu Historique ancien," pp. 107-108, Col. 1-20.

The date to be ascribed to this writing of Paschal Donatus does not appear to be settled. Possibly it must be considered earlier than the Paschal Chronicle, however than 630.

It is interesting to note the form of the name of the place of martyrdom, Calamita, or Calamita.

3 — Pseudo-Jerome or Pseudo-Sophronius. The following statement from the Greek has often been quoted, sometimes under the name of St Jerome, who died 420, and sometimes under the name of his Greek friend Sophronius who translated some of his works.

"Thomas the apostle, as has been handed down to us, preached the gospel of the Lord to the Parthians and Medes and Persians and Caucasians and Hyrcanians and Bactrians and the Magi. He dwelt in the city of Calamita which is called..."

Scholars are agreed that the document in which this statement appears was written either by St Jerome or by Sophronius. St. Jerome wrote a work in 13 chapters entitled "De viris illustribus liber." This is in fact a misleading title for the book is an account of Christian writers up to his own time, and it is otherwise known as his book "scriptorum ecclesiasticorum." "Catalogue of Church Writers." "Liber de scriptoribus," etc. So far as translated this work into Greek, and we have his translation as well as St. Jerome's Latin original.



Erasmus published this translation at Bale in 1529, and the Greek MS which he used appears to have contained, in addition, the document from which the above passage is taken — part inserted after chapter 1 and the rest after chapter 4. In Migne's *Patrologia*, Vol. 23, it is printed separately under the title "Appendix de Vitis Apostolorum," as if it forms no part of the work either of St. Jerome or of Sophronius. It is, in fact, a short account of the apostles who left no writings, and who were therefore quite outside the scope of St. Jerome's work.

It is unnecessary to give here the reasons for regarding it as an altogether spurious addition. They may be found at length in R. Coallier's *Histoire Generale des Auteurs Sacrez*, Paris, 1860, Vol. 8, p. 278, where Migne's volume above mentioned colls. and ff. These particulars may prove it people being misled, as many have been, by finding the above statement put forward in various books as a genuine statement of St. Jerome or by Sophronius.

The Abbe Huz, in the volume already mentioned, quotes the passage as written "if not by St. Jerome, then certainly by Sophronius," and he gives the apparently unmeaning reference "Sarcotus Hier. Cata. script. eccl. I, 120." In fact such part of his book as refers to the introduction of Christianity in India is full of mistakes. The Rev. F. E. Kennet of Muenster, who favoured him friendly though he never mentions his name gave the same reference. He also said (quoting translations from the text of St. Jerome) "the words of the mission of St. Thomas to India are a fact which every one knew and was clear to his time." I can only add that any such statement was made by St. Jerome in any of his writings.

General Sir Alexander Cunningham writing of St. Thomas, has the following: "The scene of his teaching seems to have been a country of Chamma in India. Sophronius c. v. 1, 'Dormivit in civitate Calamina quae est India'."

Now, in early Christian history, we have to reckon with a considerable number of persons bearing the name of Sophronius. But there is only one really notable writer among them, and when we speak of Sophronius simply we mean him and no other, and the person who is St. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 130 to 637, is in no way a Greek writer, many of whose works are very well known. And with a writer of no marks, or rather only signs of them, occupy several large volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, what are we to do with a vague reference as above? It has no meaning for any Sophronius, not even for the comparatively insignificant friend of St. Jerome whose few Latin or Greek works have not perished. It is also somewhat misleading to quote Greek writers as if they wrote in Latin.

The writing to which I am referring is General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. 5, Report for 1872-3, Calcutta 1873, p. 60. There are other curious statements on the same page. For instance, in referring to the legends about St. Thomas, he speaks of "the Apostolical Acts of the Apostles written by Laurentius and a copyist Abban." There is a strange inversion in the Acts in question supposed to have been written by Abban, first bishop of Halybon in the first century, and they, or some of them are supposed to have been really composed in later times by one Laurentius, a Manichean. Certainly Abban could not have been the copyist of Laurentius.

On the same page, the Latin form of the name Mazdai, — a good old Persian name as Mr. Torriani calls it, — the name of the king who put St. Thomas to death, — is transformed from Meudens to Megilma. A reference is given to Col. H. Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London 1866, Vol. 2, p. 476. There the same mistake may be found with several others. Col. Yule, not satisfied with writing "Meudens," actually put "(Mahadava?)" after it!

Another case of misquotation may be mentioned here. A passage has been given above from St. Gaudensius, Sermon 17, in which he states simply that St. Thomas is said to have been martyred "apud India." Here Vol. 1, p. 72 actually gives a reference to the Sermon, and says "Gaudence" — "Gaudence Sophronius" states — "in monumentis Indis, à Calamae." Kennet, p. 10, translated this, while affecting to be original — "Gaudensius says, like Sophronius, that [St. Thomas] died in India at the



'town of Calamina (Serm. 17).'' As a matter of fact, St. Cradentius makes no mention of Calamina, or of any city or town.

The form in which the three similar statements appear in the above three pseudographs appears worthy of remark. St. Thomas is described as having preached to certain people mentioned by name, all of whom might, I think, be fairly regarded as elements of the Parthian empire of the time with the doubtful exception of the Bactrians, who, however, might themselves have then been under a separate Parthian dynasty (that of Gondophares). The apostle is not mentioned as having preached to the "Indians," though all the passages end by saying he did in a city of India. We might take it, therefore, that the India of the writers must have been, or must have included, the country of one or more of the peoples named, e. g., the country of the Bactrians, or perhaps any country beyond the limits of Parthia or Parthian rule, as a late writer might understand those limits.

There remains one more writing to be mentioned, not as a spurious work, but for other reasons. I refer to:—

**The Apostolical Constitutions.** Scholars are, I believe, still divided as to the date of this work. Bunsen thought that, apart from a few interpolations, it belonged to the 2nd or 3rd century. F. J. A. Hort, however, says it apparently dates it in the fourth century though containing earlier elements. (*Notes introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions* London, 1901 p. 10.) Among the various Greek versions there are two Vienna MSS, which were first published in 1724. These Bunsen considered to be nearer the original than others, both in what they gave and in what they omit.

In book 8, chapter 21 is headed "Constitution of Thomas regardig sub-deacons." In one of the Vienna MSS altered to, this heading is omitted, and in its place is the following:—

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Germanians (Germans probably should be Cappadocians), Hyrcanians, Bactrianians, Barmians (Barmians), who also, having been a martyr, lies in Edessa of Osdromene (ἡς Ὀσδρονήσος).

Osdromene should, I suppose, be Mapros (the Mazd or Amard, a tree who dwell on the south shore of the Caspian), or possibly Mayos (the Magus in Pseudo-Sophocles). Osdromene must be Osoëne.

The original may be seen in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 1, Paris 1857, col. 1117. It is not, I think, to be supposed that the heading quoted is more than a copyist's addition. But in view of the importance of the manuscript containing it we ought not to entirely reject it. Unfortunately I have not been able to ascertain the date assigned to the manuscript itself.

#### IV. — Calamina.

We have now got together all, or nearly all, the early references at present available regarding the connection of St. Thomas with India. It remains to make a few remarks about Calamina. As has been shown above the statements made in earlier works that St. Hippolytus (2nd cent.), Irenaeus (3rd cent.), St. Jerome and Sophronius (5th and 6th cent.), and St. Cradentius (11th cent.), assert that Calamina, a town or city in India, was the place of the apostle's martyrdom, all prove on examination to be untrue. No writer that we can name or date before the 7th century if so early, makes mention of Calamina. We have only apparently later writings, of unknown antiquity and apparently small value. We have yet to learn when the name first appeared in ecclesiastical history. This is a point that might be usefully taken up by some competent person. Some examination might perhaps be obtained from the ancient martyrologues in Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc., upon the study of which several eminent scholars are engaged.

In these circumstances, it seems almost a waste of time to try to identify the place, or to discuss the various attempts at identification made by modern writers under the impression that Calamina had been mentioned in works of the first four centuries. Kalyan, near Bombay, the Caliana of



















We have no King's sister's son in the Acts, but we have the son of King Mazdai. Vixan in the Syriac, who was baptised in his own house. In the Greek versions of the Acts, Vixan is shown above, as Οὐξιδης Loufame, Loufame and 'Aqame, and in the Latin Zuzanes, Zuzani, Zuzanius, Lanzaus, and Ozanes. The allusion may be to the same person.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 9, 1880, pp. 255-263, there is a review of A. von Sabel's *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*, Berlin, 1879, with translations of long extracts from the same. One of the extracts is as follows (p. 262 f.) :-

'Abdagases, Nephew of Gondophares. The passage communicated by Gutschmid from *Apocryph* *Evangelium Joannis de obitu Mariae* is important. There the apostle Thomas says of his mission to the king of India — τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ. Moreover besides Gondophares, our brother (Gut), who was converted with him, is mentioned, now Gutschmid justly compares ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΒΔΑΣ ΓΥΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ with υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. This is certainly the same person, and the notice again demonstrates how well the first legend writers were informed about Gondophares and his family. But from the former erroneous lesson ΑΒΔΑΣ instead of ΑΒΔΑΣ fixed by the Berlin specimen which I copied, the erroneous suppositions of Gutschmid follow, who considers βασιλέως to be a barbarous corruption of the name 'Oadai = Gvad, Gut, the supposed brother of the king and perhaps = Labdanes (Abdanes) and compares this supposed Oadas with ΟΑΔΟ, the wind-god of Kanerku.

Now the more correct lessons of these nephew-coins (Prinsep, *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 216), with the not net name Abdagasa in Arvan, which Gutschmid has not used in this instance, demonstrate the erroneous nature of these conjectures.

"The nephew of Gondophares, as we learn from his coins, was called Abdagases, in Arvan always Abdagasa, or Avdagasa, in Greek sometimes corrupted to 'Aβada. . . 'Aβαλασον, etc. The reading adduced by Gutschmid of υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἱνδουῶν is certain and of great value, this nephew and his name are certainly identical with the Abdagases, Abada. . . . 'Abdagases of the coins."

We seem hardly in a position to make such positive statements. If we make use of these "evidences" we must interpret them one with another. There seems no sufficient reason to think that the king to whom St. Thomas is made to allude in the passage given just above, is Gondophares. The allusion would seem to be a totally different king, namely, the Mazdai of the Syriac Acts, the Mazdai of the Greek and Misdas of the Latin, — the king who put St. Thomas to death. It may be that the "legend-writers" have confused them; but, then, how are we to say they were "well informed about Gondophares and his family"? This Landanes may perhaps be the Vixan or Ouxfame of the Acts, the son of King Mazdai, but there seems no good reason to identify him with Abdagases, the nephew of Gondophares. It should be remarked also that though the reading ἱνδουῶν is probably certain still one of Tischendorf's texts has Κανδουῶν. And the texts do not say that the apostle is speaking "of his mission to the king of India" that is only Van Sabel's inference.

We know nothing about Gondophares and his family except what can be learnt, as shown above, from coins from one inscription, and from the Acts of St. Thomas. His date is not yet definitely fixed, his territories are still more or less undefined, and his race is still not certain.

But, according to Gutschmid all had been settled. Gondophares reigned A. D. 7 to 29. He ruled over Arva, Drangiana and Arachosia, "and he derived his descent from a Parthian dynasty." His investigations had a no doubt "that the Acts of Thomas are really based on a Buddhist work, containing the history of a conversion, the scene of which must have been

\* There seems to be something wrong about this sentence from the word 'But' to "βασιλέως." I can only quote exactly what is before me in print.



"Arschona, and its date the time of Gondophorus." (R. A. Lipsius article "Acts of the Apostles, Apocryphal," in *Smith and Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography, etc.*, Vol. 1, London, 1877.) Further, "Gutschmid shows that Gaspard, one of the three Kings of the Christian legend, is identical with Gondophares" (quotation from Gardner, p. xlii).

All this seems fanciful. And Lipsius' easy acceptance, in 1877 or before, of the positive statements made by Gutschmid in matters which were then and still are uncertain, must continue to diminish the value of the former's criticism of the Acts of St. Thomas. Lipsius appeared to ignore the existence of the *Syriac Version*, which must be our starting-point. These Acts of St. Thomas should also be treated as an independent work complete in itself as Mr. Borlase has treated it—not merely as a chapter in a work dealing with all the apostles, as scholars were inclined to treat it when only the Latin version of Pseudo-Abbas was available. The publication of the Syriac has made some criticism obsolete. And if we are to use these "legends," we must go to the Acts of St. Thomas, in the Syriac version, first of all, and not, as Cunningham, Yule, and others have done to Pseudo-Abbas and to so very late a compilation as the "Legenda Aurea" of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1234-1298, Archbishop of Genoa).

#### • VII.—Note on the Legenda Aurea.

As mentioned just above the *Legenda Aurea* has been quoted by some writers in dealing with *Chandachaka*. It therefore seems inevitable to say something about it, although it is too modern a work to be of much use for our purposes. It is one of the numerous works of the Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine—as we would say in English, Frar James of Vorazze. Vorazze or Voragine is a small seaport town in the Italian Riviera and was the birthplace of the author who ultimately became archbishop of Genoa, and died in 1298.

The work in question is an explanation of the offices celebrated by the Church during the ecclesiastical year, beginning with *Vivamus*. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition, 1906), describes it, not correctly, as a collection of legendary lives of the greater saints of the universal church. It is a work which obtained a large circulation, and it was translated from the Latin into several languages. Maxton published three English versions, 1483, 1487 and 1492.

The Latin text may be seen—the oldest published by Dr. He. Gieseke at Dresden and Leipzig in 1841, under the title *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea vulgo Historie Jacobarum dictæ*. A new French translation has been published recently by the Abbé J. B. M. Rosa. *La légende d'or de Jacques de Voragine nouvellement traduite*. Paris, 1892. 3 volumes.

The festival of St. Thomas, 21st December, being as it does in Advent, is dealt with in an early part—the work—and an account is there given of the life of the apostle from which the following points of interest are extracted.

When St. Thomas was at Caesarea rex Indiarum dicitur rex Iraposum et Abbanon quædam potentem architectoris arte amicum. . . . at Caesarea rex in palatium construxerat. The apostle consented to go—and a certain Lord Wilhel appeared to him and to Abbas, "tradente Johanni . . . . Navigantes autem ad portum civitatis venimus in qua rex domum suam in nos celebrabat." The name of the city is not given but what took place there is described.

"Post hæc autem exiit rex et Abbas ad regem Indiarum per viam . . . . to Gondophares, though the name is only mentioned once, namely as above at the beginning of the narrative.

The king gave St. Thomas much treasure with which to build a palace and went away to another province for two years. Meanwhile the apostle gave the money away, preached to the people and made innumerable converts. On his return learning what had been done he came and imprisoned St. Thomas and Abbas, intending to put them to death.



Then Qad, the king's brother died and came to life again on the fourth day, and told of the palace he had seen in heaven. Qad released St Thomas from prison; and the king begged his pardon. Many conversions followed.

"Post hoc atheniensi supererem Indiam abiit." There he converted —

1. Sathir or Sythir (the name is spelt both ways, friend of Migdomna.

2. Migdomna or Migdonia (this name also is spelt in two ways), wife of Carisus, kinsman ("cognatus") of the king.

3. The wife of the king, sister of Migdomna.

The names of the king and queen are not given. The king would be the Muzdar of the Syriac Acts.

Finally, St Thomas was put to death in the presence of the king and Carisus by the high priest of a temple. ("Post hoc atheniensi templi elevatus gladius transverberavit"). His body was buried by the Christians.

"Post linguarumque solent circa annis domini CC. et XXX corpus apostoli in Elessian civitatem, puerum licentem Regis Modorum, translatus est, Alexandro imperatore ad Syriam perrexit hoc faciente." The confusion of Edessa in Mesopotamia with Rhagae the great city of Media is curious.

Thus the *Legenda Aurea*, as far as it goes, agrees substantially with the Syriac and other Acts. But the version it follows most closely is the second of the two Latin ones given by Max Müller, namely, the version headed "Passio Sancti Thome Apostoli." This version mentions Sathir, "Sathir," or "Sathir" friend of Migdomna who is not mentioned in the other Latin versions or in the Greek or Syriac. It likewise makes the statement, but without a date, that the remains of the apostle were removed to Edessa at the request of the Syriac through the instrumentality of the emperor Alexander, who sent "ad regem Indiarum" for them. It is also there stated that the Syriac made their petition "ab Alexandro imperatore romano veniente videri de Persia propter Xerxes regis devotio." The allusion appears to be to the emperor Alexander Severus who in 232 A. D. undertook an expedition against Artabanus, (Artaban), king of Persia, and founder of the Sassanid dynasty.

Some explanation may be suggested, of a statement made by General Cunningham that it is recorded in the "Saxon *Legenda Aurea*" that "king Guadoferus" put St. Thomas to death (*Archæol. Survey of India, Report for 1872-73, Calcutta, 1875, p. 40*). Probably, the General intended to refer not to the *Legenda Aurea* just described, but to the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Thomas written by Elfric or Aelfric in the tenth century, which also according to Sharpe Turner (*History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 6th edition, London 1836 Vol 2 p. 159) is an abridgement of the Latin one which passes under the name of Anselm. Cunningham, in fact gave a reference to Turner's book. Anyhow, there is no such work as a "Saxon *Legenda Aurea*." It is possible that the Life written by Elfric is so abridged as to make it appear that "Guadoferus" was the king who put the apostle to death, which is not the case in the *Legenda Aurea*. Indeed the quotation from it by Turner on p. 147, the page to which Cunningham refers, certainly implies that "Guadoferus" was the guilty person.

Again, in *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, and *Coins of the Sakas*, p. 16. London, 1890. Cunningham stated that "the *Legenda Aurea*" made "Guadoferus" [sic] "King of Upper India, (Indiæ supererem)." In this case, he can only refer to the work of Jacobus a Voragine, who, however, speaks of "Guadoferus" as "rex Indiæ" simply, and says that St. Thomas after saving him "a supererem Indiæ abiit," and there converted Migdomna and others, and was put to death under an unnamed king. So, the only king mentioned in connection with "Indiæ supererem" is not "Guadoferus." The various texts of the *Legenda Aurea* are said to vary. But the three editions consulted agree in all that has been stated above.



## VIII. — Postscript.

1. — **Ethiopic versions of the Acts of St. Thomas.** Since the above paper was written, there has been an opportunity of seeing the two works referred to on page 3 above. *Malatya Confessions of the Apostles* is out of date. The translation was made from a fairly modern MSS as shown by Mr. Budge. The other work, entitled *The Confessions of the Apostles, traditio Hawaryāt*, contains the Ethiopic texts in Vol. 1 edited by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge from two MSS formerly belonging to King Theodore of Abyssinia, and brought from Magdala in 1868. Vol. 2 contains a translation. The MSS were probably written in the 15th and 17th century. The oldest MS known is in Paris, and is dated 1379 A. D.

Lepsius writing in 1883, as appears from Mr. Budge's preface, was of opinion that these Ethiopic works were translated from the Coptic between 400 and 540. But Mr. Budge gives good reasons for concluding them to have been made from Arabic versions, probably during the early part of the 14th century. These Arabic versions would have taken the place of earlier ones in Sahidic Coptic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, when the one language had been superseded by the other. Some fragments of the Sahidic versions still exist. The Ethiopic versions of the Acts of St. Thomas would, therefore, appear to be of only small importance for our purposes. But we may note the proper names which appear in them, and a few other points.

The Ethiopic work contains two separate accounts about St. Thomas. The first, pp. 319-356 of the translation, has not much resemblance to the Syriac as a whole, and seems to be in a confused state. The second, pp. 404-465, entitled "The Acts of St. Thomas in India," is very like the Syriac as far as it goes, but it belongs to a part of the book, which Mr. Budge considers to consist of selections from less ancient works than the proper "Traditio Hawaryāt," which seems to end at p. 368.

To take the second account first: here are some passages:

When St. Thomas was at Jerusalem "a certain merchant who was from the country [?] of India, and his name was Abnes, and he was sent from the king of India."

After the apostle and the merchant leave "they sailed on happily until they arrived in the country of India, and came to the city of the king." Then the marriage feast is described, as usual.

In the 2nd Act: "Now when the Apostle had entered into the country of India with Abnes, the merchant, Abnes departed to salute Gondapor the king." In the same Act "brother of the king" is mentioned.

There are no other proper names, and there is nothing else worth noting. This account does not go further than the 6th Act of the Syriac, so we do not reach the court of Mazdan.

As regards the other account, which is moreover the only one in Malan's book, it is in two sections. The first is "The Preaching of Saint Thomas in India." There we have, for the Hasmān and Gaiṇapraz of the Syriac, "a certain officer of king Kantōrōs," also "Arbasos, an officer of Kantōrōs, king of India." When the apostle reaches India, this king requires him to build a palace, and directs "Lakiyānōs (Yecna) the governor" elsewhere "Lakiyōs" to supply him with materials, after which we hear no more of the king. What follows about the governor's wife "Arsanwa (Arsenia)," has some resemblance to the story of Mygdala in the Syriac, but that was in another king's country. Afterwards, St. Thomas is directed by our Lord to go to "a city in the East, which is called Kantōryā (Quantara)," and he goes so.

The next section, is "The Martyrdom of Saint Thomas in India." It does not seem to join on naturally to the previous section. After establishing a church and clergy in India, "he departed unto the city of Hakit which is of Mavedonia" but the story is evidently corrupt, as what follows



supposes that the apostle was still in India, or had returned there. For the Syriac *Mazdaia*, we have in different passages "Mastiyô the king," "Mayewanyânô," "Masteyos" and "Mâsevoz." We have "Terterbân, [elsewhere Têrtêrbânî] the wife of the king, and Marhanâ his daughter," who seem to be the Tertis and Manahar (daughter-in-law) of the Syriac. After the burial of St Thomas "in the sepulchre of the kings," it is stated — Now Sekûra and Awasyas did not come into the "city." Who they are, is not said, they have not been mentioned before. Mr Budge identifies Sekûrâ with the Sî'ûr of the Syriac, and Awasyas doubtfully with Vizan. Further on we have "Now Mastayôs, the king, and Zirayases took their wives — Têrtêrbânîya and Atbana and chastised them sorely," etc. This is the first mention of Zirâyases (Zerayâs, Zerayâs) and of Atbana, presumably the Karish and Mygdouna of the Syriac, and they are not brought materially into the story, which seems to be mangled in the Ethiopic. Lastly there is "Astavis the king's son" who became possessed of a devil, and on whose account the king went to the tomb to obtain a relic. Mr Budge's translation appears to imply that the body of the apostle was still there. The story ends with the conversion of the king, and "Awetios Kurôs, the priest" of the Christians, is mentioned.

[With reference to the name Têrtêrbânî in the preceding paragraph, it may be noted that among the "Festa minora in ecclesiâ Antiochenâ Syrorum" under 6th October is "Coronatio Thomae Apostoli, et regis Indiae et Misad, ejusque filii Joannis et matris ejus *Patriarsae*." See N. Nilles, S. J., *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis*, Vol. I. Innsbruck, 1896, p. 460.]

2. — "The Falling asleep of the Holy Mother of God." Syriac versions of this work were discovered or published about the same time that Tischendorf discovered the Greek. Wright published one in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. and April, 1865, and two others, incomplete, in *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, London, 1865.

As scholars seem to be of opinion that the Syriac of this work is based on the Greek, the Syriac versions are not important; but the passage corresponding to what has been given on page 153 above is still of some interest. It is as follows: — "And Thomas said: I was informed in India when I had gone in to visit the nephew of Lûdân, the king of India, and as I was talking to him the Holy Spirit said to me: The time draws nigh for the mother of thy Lord to leave the world." This passage is only in the MS. published in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, a manuscript which Wright thought belonged to the second half of the 6th century. The passage is not in the other two MSS., which are incomplete.

There is, however, yet another passage connecting St Thomas with India in the Greek and in all the Syriac versions. It precedes the one already quoted which is in chapter 20 of the Greek. This other passage is chapter 12. There we have the words — *Θαυμασας οτι ο Λουδανος ανθρωπος* [variant *οδωρατος*]. The corresponding passages in the Syriac are — (MS. in *J. Arn. Sac. Lit.*) "Thomas in India, who had gone in to visit the nephew of Lûdân [or Lûdânî] the king of India," and (MSS. in *Contributions*, etc.) "Thomas in India." Walker translates the Greek "Hither India."

There has been no opportunity of referring to the Syriac text published this year [1902] by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 11, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, Cambridge University Press. A review in the *Tablet*, 4th Oct., says it is edited from the underwriting of a palimpsest which Mrs. Lewis dates at latest the beginning of the 6th century. It is the complete text of one of the two versions of which Wright published fragments in *Contributions*, etc. The reviewer states that it is the most corrupt form of the story, and is most removed from the Greek, scarcely rewritten in fact, as to be in effect an original Syriac composition.

With reference to the opinion that these Syriac versions are based on Greek originals, it may not be out of place here to recall that, when Wright published his Syriac text of the Acts,



St. Thomas, he was almost certain that that work also was a Syriac version of a Greek text. But scholars seem subsequently to have come to the opinion that the Syriac is the original. It may be that further examination may show that the work we are now considering was also Syriac in origin, in which case the reading "the nephew of Iudās, [or Landan] king of India" might be of importance. It seems to be held that apocryphal literature of this sort was generally of Semitic origin.

3. — M. Sylvania Lévi on St. Thomas, Gondophares and Mazdai. My paper was unfortunately written without knowledge of M. Lévi's suggestive article entitled *Actes sur les Indes-Scythes, III., Saint Thomas, Gondophares et Mazdai* in the *Journal Asiatique* Jan. Feb. 1897.

Allusion has been made on page 154 above to the unsatisfactory manner in which the subject of this paper was treated by Gutschmid, whose views were adopted by Lajons. It was not very willingly that a mere compiler like myself would presume to criticize scholars of such eminence. But when, under the authority of these great names, uncertainties had been given as past facts in such a standard work as Smuts and Ware's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, etc., it seemed necessary to say something. It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn that M. Lévi also found the time had come for showing that Gutschmid's theories about St. Thomas were obsolete or rested on false data. It is unnecessary to detail them here. But something may be said about the route followed by the apostle.

Gutschmid considered that Andrapolis, the Sandarūk or Sanadrūk of the Syriac, the port at which St. Thomas disembarked, indicated a town of the Andhras in the Konkan coast where the Andhra-Satakarni dynasty ruled in the first century of our era, and on this he assumed that the account of the apostle's subsequent mission to Gondophares and Mazdai was only the stolen story of a Buddhist missionary, perhaps Nagarjuna, who went from the Dekhan to propagate his religion among the Yavanas and Pahlavas. M. Lévi shows that Gutschmid had to do violence to the texts of the Acts in order to develop his theory. But in doing so, he himself seems to fall into an error of some importance. He states that the various versions of the Acts are unanimous in making St. Thomas travel to the East after leaving Gondophares. That is not the case, as has been shown on page 6 above. The Greek and the Syriac say simply he preached throughout all India. The first Latin version says nothing; and the second, the "Pssan," — from which M. Lévi says "il y a chemin de l'Inde à l'Éthiopie," — states "profectus est ad Indiam superiorem," which is not the same thing. It is necessary to point this out, as the error affects the force of M. Lévi's suggested identification of Mazdai with Vāsudeva. It is, however, true that the Ethiopic account (see above) says the apostle went to "a city in the East which is called Kantōrya," and in this name, Quantara in Malan's now obsolete translation, the only one available in 1897. M. Lévi thinks Gandhāra may be recognized, which place, he states, was occupied by the Sakas, Kushans, and Parthians at different times.

As regards Andrapolis, M. Lévi shows it may really be the same word as Sandarak, the initial syllable being dropped in the Greek, as in Andracottus, a form employed as well as Sandracottus.

M. Lévi considers that the Acts clearly indicate that St. Thomas and Habban followed the ordinary trade route between the Syrian coast and the Panjāb as detailed by Pliny (*Hist. natur.* vi, 26, 103) and in the *Periplus* (36, 39), that is to say, down the Red Sea, and on past Cape Syactos in Arabia to Patala or Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus. There the ships used to anchor, and the merchandise went up the river to Minnagar described in the *Periplus* as the metropolis of Scythia governed by Paromani always fighting among themselves. If the country was not safe, the ships would go on to Barygaza (Brazab) whence there was a trade route via Ozene (Uzain) to Prokna (Puskalavati) on the borders of Bactriana.

M. Lévi says a tradition, constant among the Greek Fathers from the 5th century, designates the town at which St. Thomas was martyred as "Kalamand." This appears to be an erroneous statement, though often made, as has been shown above.



An unpublished Armenian version of the Acts of St. Thomas in the Berlin Library is mentioned the text of which appears to be identical with the Syriac. M. Lévi has made some use of the Armenian forms of proper names contained therein.

The most important and suggestive part of the article is that which relates to the proposed identification of *Mazdai* with *Vasudēva*. But it is impossible to deal with that properly here, and the reader must go to the article itself. A few points may, however, be taken up, mostly in further elucidation of the proper names occurring in the Acts and in "The Finding asleep of the Holy Mother of God."

M. Lévi appears to hold, with Von Sallet, that *Labdance* and *Abdagases* are the same person. He suggests that the initial *lab* results from dittography, [A]BDAJANHC. Hypocoristic forms are found among Parthian names, and *gas* means 'beautiful'.

On coins, the names of *Vasudēva* appears in Greek as *BAZOΔHO* and *BAZΔHO*. Coming into Iranian territory, the name would fall under *Mazdian* influences, and become *Maadso*; moreover, he remarks, the two labials are constantly confused, as for instance in *Mumba* turned by the Portuguese into *Bombay*, and *Munnagar* in the Ptolemy made into *Burnagar* by Ptolemy. (Compare what has been said above by Mr. Burdett that *Mazda* is a good old Persian name.) M. Lévi gives the further information that the name is *M-wēh* in the Armenian Acts, *Smindaros* in the *Mecrop* (liturgical books of the Greek Church, containing short histories of the saints) and *Smindaros* in *Nicophorus* (presumably N. Callistus Xanthopoulos, 14th century). These forms may be added to those already given.

As regards *Visān* (*Vizan* in the Armenian according to M. Lévi) son of *Mazda*, Gutschmid and Marquart considered the name to be the same as the *Pahlavi Wijan*, Persian *Bijan*. This does not harmonize with the Greek and Latin forms, and further, though admissible if we locate *Mazda* in Iranian territory, it is not at all so, if we make St. Thomas go into India to *Vasudēva* as suggested. M. Lévi thinks the compiler of the Acts was too well informed about India to give to an Indian prince the name of a secondary hero of the Iranian epic, the name in fact of *Bezhan*, son of *Gēr*, son of *Gudarz*. Be that as it may, M. Lévi thinks that though the remembrance of this personage may very well have influenced the Syriac and Armenian transcriptions, the Greek and Latin forms exclude the identity of the two names. The Greek *Ouzanes*, etc., and Latin *Zuzanus*, etc., all lead back to an original *ouzan* or rather *guzan*. The change of *ei* into *gu* which had been definitely accomplished by the time of the Sassanians, was in progress soon after the Christian era, and facilitated the substitution of one syllable for the other; and, at the same epoch, on the confines of India and Iran, the pronunciation oscillated between initial *α* and *gu*. This is confirmed by the forms "*Gondopharou*," "*Induphrra*," and "*Unlopherron*," in Greek, on coins, being all equivalent to the "*Gudaphara*," "*Gedupharna*," and "*Gondopharna*" of the Indian legends on the same. (I quote the names as printed in the article, but they do not all seem correct.)

Thus, — M. Lévi concludes, — *Ouzanes* would seem to be equivalent to *Gushana*. The forms *Iouzanos* in Greek, and *Zuzanes* and *Luzanes* in Latin perhaps preserve the trace of a initial lost in *Ouzanes*, and *Ouzanes* in writing might easily become *Ioufanes*. Hence and for other reasons given, M. Lévi suggests that the *Akshirāpa* *Gushana*, who closely followed the *Krishna Vasudēva* was perhaps identical with *Ouzanes* or *Visān* the son of the king *Mazda*, who put St. Thomas to death.

4. — *Syriac versions of the Acts of St. Thomas*. As mentioned on page 3 above, Wright's translation from British Museum Add. MS 14645 dated A. D. 936, has been followed. Allusion was made to two other MSS. of these Acts, one at Berlin in the Sachau collection, and the other at Cambridge. In answer to inquiries, Mr. F. C. Burkitt has kindly supplied some further information regarding these MSS.



The Berlin MS (Sachau 222) was written in A.D. 1841 and contains 33 Acts, beginning, like the British Museum MS., with the Acts of St. Thomas. The readings of this MS. are to be found in P. Beahan's *Acta Donatiana et Martyrum*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1892. Bedjan made use of Sachau's MS. and whenever he gives a reading in text or notes which differs from Wright's text, it agrees with the Cambridge MS.

The Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 2222 was written in A.D. 1843 at Tel-Keph in the district of Mosin, and was acquired through Wright. Mr. Burkitt understands that it was copied for Wright after the Berlin MS. had been acquired by Sachau, but before it left the East. The Cambridge MS., though no doubt a faithful copy of its immediate archetype, is very inferior to Wright's MS. It omits many words, sentences and paragraphs, which undoubtedly belong to the old Acts. But it agrees with the Greek in having "Gundaphar" instead of "Gindaphar" the latter being a Mr. Burkitt supposes a mere permutation; and due to the scruple of the British Museum MS. Presumably the Cambridge MS. may be a cousin, and not a son of the Sachau MS.

As has been shown on page 4 above, the important word is illegible in the British Museum MS. There we have a certain merchant happening to come into the South country from . . . The Berlin and Cambridge MSS. give "a certain merchant came from the south country." Thus the illegible word is omitted, and "from" is read instead of "into." Mr. Burkitt suggests that the old word was only the Syriac for "Hindostan." He adds that Gundaphar is called "king of Honda," and that was Wright's source of info. (see page 4 above, a literally "Hindu City")

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDI, INCLUDING HINDOSTANI

BY G. A. GRIERSON, O. B. Sc. D., D. Litt., I. O. S.

(Continued from p. 76.)

### SECTION III — SELECTIONS, COLLECTIONS OF SCATTERED PIECES, AND COLLECTIONS OF PROVERBS.

Gilchrist, John Northwick, — *The Oriental Fables or penguin Translations of Esop's and other ancient Fables from the English language into Hindostanee, Persian, Beng Bhatia, Slotha and Sunkrit (sic) in the Roman character by various Hands under the direction and superintendence of J. Gilchrist, of the College of Fort William. Calcutta, 1803.*

*The Hindostanee Story-Teles, or entertaining Expositor of the Roman, Persian, and Nagree characters, simple and compound in their Application to the Hindostanee Language, as a written and literary Vehicle, by the Author of the Hindostanee Dictionary, Grammar, &c., (i. e. J. B. G.) Calcutta 1802-3. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1806.*

Lalla Lal, — *Letter II. — The four Cyclops in hindostanee of War containing a new Collection of humorous Stories in the Persian and Nagree Characters, interspersed with a proper Expositor's annotations in Sanskrit, brilliant Bengali, and various Reports in the Hindi and Pers. Bhasha. This is a valuable old Hind. Vocabulary of the principal words in Hindostanee and English; by Shree Lalla Lal Kishor, Bhasha Mouda. Calcutta, 1870.*



- Lal and Smyth, W. Carmichael, — Second Edition of the interesting masterly  
*The Lata or Hindu Test-Book*, containing  
*a choice Collection of humorous Stories, in the Arabic and Roman Characters*, by W. Lal and W. Smyth. Calcutta, 1847. Seven  
 parts, each has a title-page. Nagari portions of Lalla, Lal's collection  
 also some verses. Subscribers may have Bindis and the Vocabulary  
 gratis. The third and a half was a new edition of the Roman Character  
 three parts. The third portion is written as follows, — *The Lata or  
 Hindu Test-Book*, containing a choice Collection of  
 humorous Stories in the Arab and Roman Characters which require  
 no Commentary. Part the First. Uncommon large. Numbered East India  
 Review, and Corrected by W. Lal and W. Smyth (1849) into 10th  
 Hon. East India Company's Bengal Civil Service. London, 1840.
- Lal and Smyth, — *The Sanskrit Language* (one page almost entirely unavailable). Calcutta, 1843.  
 and Price, W., — *Sanskrit Language* (a complete Sanskrit grammar), 1846.  
*Hindu Test-Book*. Author, Printed by C. M. W. Press, Printed  
 at the General Dispensary, College Street, West India House, Calcutta,  
 1828. The colophon is dated (1829).
- and Gilbertson, G. W., — *The Assembly of Mirth* (—) — a good Translation  
 into English of the *Sabhd Bāṇan*, one of the Degrees of Honour Hindi  
*Test-Books*, by G. W. G. Gilbertson, 1900. (The name of this book means  
 'The Mirth of the Assembly,' not the 'Assembly of Mirth'.)
- Shakespeare, John, — *Muntakhabat-i-Hind* or Selections from the *Hitopadesha*, with a running Trans-  
 lation and grammatical Analysis of some Parts, for the use of Students  
 that Language. By J. S., Oriental Professor at the Honourable East  
 India Company's Military Secretary. London, 1817. Second Edition  
 London, 1825; Third, 1834; Fourth, 1844, Sixth, 1852. The Sec-  
 tions of a Description of India, being a portion of J. Shakespeare's  
*Muntakhabat-i-Hindi*. By N. L. Bennochel. Dublin, 1847. [A  
 translation of the extra text from Sher Ali Akbar's *Ain-i-Akbari*.] The  
 book is printed in two volumes by George F. Taylor, in London, 1846.  
 — (1826), pp. 230 and ff.
- Anon., — *Hindustani and English Student's Dictionary*, or, *Grammatical Exercises*. Calcutta,  
 1826.
- Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodoro, — *Anecdotes relatives au Raghobana, tirées de  
 l'Hindoustan*. Journal Asiatique, Vol. xi, (1827), pp. 208 and ff.
- " *Indolence des Domestiques indiens. Anecdotes hindoustani*, Journal  
 Asiatique, III., xii, (1841), pp. 191 and ff.
- Première partie d'un Essai sur la civilisation hindoue et les  
 des Portes du Temple de Saṅgha*. Le livre hindou est publié par le  
 Journal Asiatique, IV., v (1845), pp. 378 and ff. Second part  
 Paris, same date.
- " *Le Hindouisme hindouiste* (I. ou II. Hindou, à l'usage des Élèves de l'école  
 Spéciale des Langues Orientales Françaises. Assisté par Th. Monnier  
 and l'Abbé Bertrand. Paris, 1847.
- " *Specimen d'une Collection d'Œuvres hindoustani originales*. Journal  
 Asiatique, IV., x, (1847), pp. 353 and ff.



- Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore, and Lancereau, Ed., — *Hinde. Hindu Munshahabab. Chrestomathie Hindie et Hindoue à l'usage des Ecoles de l'Ecole Supérieure des Langues Orientales Vivantes près la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Paris, 1840.
- Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore, — *Analyse d'un Monologue Dramatique indien.* *Journal Asiatique* IV., xvi. (1851), pp. 310 and ff. Separate reprint, Paris, same date.
- " " *Tableau du Kari Yug ou de l'âge de Fer, par Vishnu Isha, traduit de l'Hindou.* *Journal Asiatique*, IV., xix. (1852), pp. 551 and ff.
- " " *Légende de Subhantala d'après la Version hindoue du Mahabharata.* (Extrait de la *Revue Orientale*.) Paris, 1852.
- " " *Chants populaires de l'Inde, traduits par G. de T.* (*Revue Contemporaine*) Paris, 1854.
- " " *Hir et Ranjhan, légende du Penjab, traduite de l'Hindoustani.* Paris, *Revue de l'Orient*, 1857.
- " " *Allegories. Recits poetiques et Chants populaires. Textes de l'Ancien Persan de l'Hindoustani, et du Turc, par M. Garcin de Tassy.* 2<sup>e</sup> Edition, Paris, 1876.
- " " *Un Chapitre de l'Histoire de l'Inde Musulmane, au Couranque de Nohur-Soleh, Sultan de Delhi, traduit de l'Hindoustani.* Paris (*Revue de l'Orient*), ? date, 8vo, 164 pp.
- " " See Jafar 'Ali Bahādar, Mir; Shakespear, John.
- Adam, Rev M. T. — *Pleasant Tales, or Stories to improve the Understanding, translated into Hindustani by M. T. A.* Calcutta 1823. Octavo edition. Calcutta, 1844, 1836; Agra, 1837.
- Kāli Krishna, Rāja, and 'Abdu 'l-Majid, Hakim Maulavi, — *Majma' ul Lafāif. A Collection of Pleasantries, or Fables and Stories, translated from English and Persian into Urdu and English.* Calcutta, 1835.
- Manu Lal Lahōri, — *The Gulistan-i-Nishat, or Nargary of Pleasure: a collection of poetical Extracts in Persian and Hindustani, from more than a hundred of the most celebrated Authors, arranged according to the Subject and Sentiment and well adapted for the Student of these Languages.* Calcutta, 1836.
- Anon. — *English and Hindustani Student's Assistant.* Calcutta, 1837.
- Price, Capt. William, and Tārini charan Mitra, — *Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections to which are prefixed the Rudiments of Hindoostanee and Beig Bhabha's Grammar, also given along with a Vocabulary originally compiled for the Use of Interpreters in Native Corps of the Bengal Army.* Calcutta, 1827. Second Edition, 1830.
- " " See also Lalā Lal.
- Ballantyne, J. R. — *Hindustani Selections, in the Nishki and Deccanigari Character.* London, 1840. 2nd Edition, London, 1845.
- Anon., — *Majma' ul Gami. Selections, Historical, Literary, and Scientific. Translated from the English.* Calcutta, 1846.
- Pavis, Theodore, — *La Légende de Poïmann. Recue de Tchiter d'après les textes hindis et hindous.* *Journal Asiatique* V., vii., 1851, pp. 5 and ff., 89 and ff., 315 and ff.
- " " See also Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore.



- Cox, Capt. Edward, — *The Regimental Munshi, being a course of Reading in Hindoostanee* London, 1847.
- Sayid Husain, Munshi, — *Hindustani Selections*. Com. ed. by Munshi S. H. Madras, 1849.
- Qamaru 'd-din Khan, — *Muntahabāt-e Anwār-e Shahād*. Selections from the *Anwār-e Shahād*. (i.e. *Ḥafiz* 'a-*l*-*l*īn Ab-nad in Section IV), with Hindōstānī Translations. Agra, 1853.
- " — *Muntahabāt-e Gulistan*. Selections from the *Gulistan*, with Hindōstānī Translations. Agra, 1854.
- " — *Muntahabāt-e Dostān*. Selections from the *Dostān*, with Hindōstānī Translations in verse. Agra, 1855.
- " — *Muntahabāt-e Dastūr-e 'a-shyān*. Selections from the *Dastūr-e 'a-shyān*, with Hindōstānī Translations. Agra, 1855.
- Jafar 'A. Bahadur, Mir, — *Lettre de S. A. Mir Jafar A. Bahadur, Nabab de Surat à Monsieur Garcin de Tassy. (Revue de L'Orient.)* Paris, 1855.
- Siva Prasad, Raja, — *Hind. Selections [Gutvā], compiled under the Directions of the Commission appointed to arrange for the Preparation of Hindustani Class Books as Language Texts, to be passed by junior Civil Servants and Military Officers.* Benares 1867. Another Edition, Benares, 1870, and others.
- Hall, FitzEdward, — *Hind. Reader, with Vocabulary.* Hertford, 1870, 1884.
- Sell, Rev. E., — *Muntahabāt-e Lughat. Hindustani Selections.* Pts. I, II., and III. Madras, 1870-71.
- 'Abdu 'l fath, Maulavi, Saiyid, — *Tuhfatul Mukal. Hindustani Persian Arabic, and English Sentences and Proverbs by Sayed Abdu Fattah Mouvi* Bombay, 1872.
- Hosen (° Husain), S. — *Second Hindoostanee Reader.* London, 1875.
- Smith, V. A., — *Popular Songs of the Hamirpur District in Bundelkhand, N. W. P., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XLIV (1875), Pt. I, pp. 389 and II.*
- " — *Popular Songs of the Hamirpur District in Bundelkhand N. W. P. No. II 1876.* Vol. XLV. (1876), Pt. I, pp. 279 and II.
- Badley, Rev. B. H., — *Jagranidas, the Hindu Reformer. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII (1879) p. 289. (Contains Selections from his works.)*
- " — See Craven, T., in Section II.
- Trumpp, E., — *Die alten Hindū-Gedichte. Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften Philologisch-philologische Classe München 1879 (pp. 1-48).*
- Temple, Captain R., — *Some Hindū Songs and Catches from the Village of Vortan in India, Calcutta Review, LXXIV, (1882), p. 334.*
- " — *Five Songs from Northern India. Calcutta Review LXXVIII (1884), pp. 273 and 280.*
- " — *The Hymns of the Nanjiputta. From the papers of J. W. Farrow A.M. I.C.E. Indian Antiquary, XIII, (1884), p. 1.*
- " — See Fallon, S. W.
- Anon., — *Hindustani and English Parallel Proverbs. Together with some Persian and Hindustani Parallel Proverbs.* Delhi, 1885.



Thornton, Thomas H., CSI, DCL. — See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII. (1895), p. 73. A report on Hindu and Mahomedan literature of the Punjab (see Special p. 401).

Fallon, S. W., — *Inventory, Huzar-nama* — *the Huzar-nama of the Huzars of Bhajpura and Tichuti Princes, Sayings, Emblems, Aphorisms, Maxims and Similes. By the late S. W. Fallon* . . . . . and revised by Captain R. C. Temple . . . . . assisted by Lala Chand Chand, Vaish, of Delhi. Benares and London, 1886.

Kempson, M., — *The Hindu and the Muslim*. London, 1894.

Morris, J., — *The Hindu and the Muslim*. London, 1894.

'Abdu 'l-Majid, Hâkim Maulavi, — See Hâkim Hâkim, Hâkim.

Faqir Chand, Lâlâ, (Vaish), — See Fallon, S. W.

Gilbertson, G. W., — See Lâlâ Lâl.

Bonmohel, M. L., — See Shakespear, John.

Bertrand, l'Abbé, — See Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Hédouard.

Lancereau, R., — See Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Hédouard.

Ferry, J. W., — See Temple, Captain R.

Smyth, W. Carmichael, — See Lâlâ Lâl.

Tarini-charan Mitra, — See Price, Capt. W. Hiam.

#### IV. — TEXTS (alphabetically arranged under Authors' names).

'Abdu 'l-Jah, Mir, called Mirkin, — *Wazn-nâsh* — *the Wazn-nâsh of Mir Abdu'l-Mahmud Mirkin* . . . . . de Tassy. Paris, 1845. See Hâdar Bakhsh (Hâdari).

" " See also Gilchrist, J. B., in Section II.

'Abdu 'l-Jah, Baiyid, — See Bahâdur 'Alî; Kâsim 'Alî Jawân.

'Abdu 'l-Karim, Munahî, — See Arslan Nâgha.

'Adûlat Khân, — See Amman, Mir; Lâlâ Lâl.

Ahmad Khân, Baiyid, CSI, — *Amman-nâsh* — *the Amman-nâsh of Ahmad Khân* . . . . . de Tassy. Paris, 1845. See Hâdar Bakhsh (Hâdari).

Alexander, James Edward, — See Fûsûn 'd-dîn.

Amman 'l-Jah, Maulavi, — *Amman-nâsh* — *the Amman-nâsh of Amman 'l-Jah* . . . . . de Tassy. Paris, 1845. See Hâdar Bakhsh (Hâdari).

Ambikâ Datt Hyân, — See Bihâri Lal.







Anderson, Lieut. R. P., — See Nibāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

Arabian Nights, *Hikayat-ul Javahar. Translation of Alfahyltinnocelah, called Arabian Nights, for the Use of the College at Fort St George. Translated by Messrs Shamsoddin Umeed. Madras, 1836. Contains only the first 200 Nights.)*

*Tarjuma Alf Layla wa Layl.* (The Translation by Munshi 'Abdu'l Karim from the English of E. Forster.) Cawnpore, 1844; 46., 1858; Bombay, 1860. Cawnpore, 1862-63, 65, 1871-72, 1876-77, 1883-84, Delhi 1890. *Tarjuma Alf Layla ba zubān-i-Urdu. Alf Layla baharfāt-i-Yarop.* Reprinted under the superintendence of T. W. H. Thomas and edited by Frederic Pincock. The first half, a c. Jude 1 and II of 'Abdu'l Karim's Translation; London, 1882. *Saharān Rajas Chandra.* ('Abdu'l Karim's Version translated into Hindi by Pandit Pyārē Lāl.) Lucknow, 1876.

*Alf Layla Nau Manzūm.* (Translated into verse in four parts, by Muhammad Asghar 'Ali Khan Nasim, Tūtārūm Shāyān (Pte. II and III.), and Munshi Shāh-e-Lal Chaman, respectively. Lucknow, 1861-68.

*Hazar Dūstān.* (A prose version by Tūtārūm Shāyān.) Lucknow, 1868.

*Shabistan-e Suhr.* (An abridged translation, by Mirza Raja 'Ali Bēg, Sorūr.) Lucknow, 1886.

*Alf Layla.* (A translation by Muhammad Hāmid 'Ali Khān, Hāmī.) Cawnpore, 1890.

*Shabistan-e Hadrat.* (A translation in the form of a novel, by Mirzā Hadrat of Delhi, illustrated.) Delhi, 1892.

*Alf Layla-e Danyaz.* (also called *Mughl-shāh-e Baglāda L.* (An imitation of the *Arabian Nights*, by Mirzā Hadrat of Delhi.) Delhi, 1892.

Ayōdhya Singh Upādhyay, Pandit, called Hari Audh, — *Thēth Hindī kō Thuth.* or an original Indian story in pure Hindustani, by Pandit Ayōdhya Singh Upādhyay, (Hari Audh) of Nuzabad. N.-W. P. Edition in Nāgarī characters, Bankpore, 1899. Edition in Persian characters, Bankpore and (printed) Allahabad, 1902.

(This, like the *Kahān Thēth Hindī wē* of Inshā Allāh, is in pure Hindī, absolutely free from both Persianisation and Sanskritisation. Unlike the older work, the volume is that of Hindī rather than that of Urdu. This is most noticeable in the order of the words.)

'Asīsu 'd-dīn Ahmad, — *Kaniz Fāhma.* Lahore, 1895.

Bahadur 'Ali, Mir, — *Ikhtaq Hindī or Indian Ethics, translated from a Persian Version of the Hucopades or Salutary Counsel, by Meer Bahadur Ulee, under the Superintendence of J. Gilchrist, Calcutta, 1863. Other Editions: Madras, 1845. Bombay, 1875, Madras, 1879, Allahābād or Indian Ethics, Translated into Urdu from a Persian Version of the Hucopades, by Mir Bahadur 'Ali . . . Edited with an Introduction and Notes, by Syed Abdoolah. London, 1868. Extracts from the book will be found in Price's Hindī and Hindustanee Selections. See Section III.*

See Hasan, Mir.

Banerjoo, K. M., — See Lallū Lāl.

Banessa, J. P., — See Lallū Lāl.



Barker, W. B., — See Maghar 'Alī Khān Wāḥ.

Beames, J., — See Chand Bardāi.

Bell, C. W. Bowdler, — See Hnsan, Mīr.

Benmohel, N. L., — See Shēr 'Alī Aisō.

Bertrand, l'Abbé, — See Haidar Bakghī (Haidar), Shēr 'Alī Aisō, Tahsīl d'In.

Bhairava-prasāda, — See Lalā Lāl.

Bihārī Lal, *The Satsaga of Biharee, with a Commentary entitled the Lalā Chand ka by Shree Lallu Lal Kuri Bhak ha Moushee, in the College of Fort William, Calcutta, 1819. A revised edition issued from the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, in 1896, by G. A. Grierson. It is entitled 'The Satsaga of Bihārī, with a Commentary entitled Lalā Chand ka by 'Gri La ā Lā Kuri'.* Several editions have been published by native presses, amongst which may be mentioned *Bhāgāra-saptasatī*, Benares, 1878. (This includes a Sanskrit metrical version and a Sanskrit commentary, both by Parasurāma Pandit, *Śrī-Bihārī Sat-satī, Hari-prakāśa Tikā sahī*, Benares, 1892. (Has an excellent commentary by Hari Prakāśa), *Bihārī-Bhār*, Benares 1898. (Has an introduction, and a commentary in the Kāṇḍāyā metre by Ambika Datt Byā:.)

Burton, Sir Richard F., — See Maghar 'Alī Khān Wāḥ.

Carmichael-Smyth, — See Smyth.

Chaman, — See Kāṇḍ 'Alī Jawān.

Chand Bardāi, — Only portions of the text have been printed. Parts have been edited by Mr J. Beames, and by Dr. A. F. B. Hoernle, C I E., in the Bibliotheca Indica. The latter gentleman has also translated a section of the portion which he edited. Canto I has also been edited in Benares by Pandit Mohanā, V. singulāl Pandya, under the title of *M. V. Pandya's Manuscript of the Prithvirāj Rāsō of Chand Bardāi edited in the original old Hindi with critical Notes by Pandit, &c.* Benares 1887, 1888. A continuation is now (1902) being issued in Benares by the Nāgarī Prachārīn Sālā. The following are the principal works dealing with the poem:—

Tod, Col. James, *Rajastan*, passim. See especially, Vol I, pp. 254, 314, 623. Also, *The Veil of Sanjogta* (a translation of an episode in the poem), *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXV., pp. 101-112, 197-211, 273-286.

Beames, J., — *On Chand's Poems. Proceedings, Bengal Asiatic Society, 1868, p. 248*

" *The Nineteenth Book of the Gests of Prithvirāj by Chand Bardāi, entitled 'The Marriage of Padmavati,' literally translated from the old Hindi. Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXVII (1869), Pt. I., p. 145.*

" *Reply to Mr. Grouse. Id., p. 171.*

" *Translations of selected Portions of Book I. of Chand's Epic. Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLI (1872), Pt. I., p. 42.*



- Beames J.** — *First of the Books contained in the ...*  
*Prithvi Raj. Ib.* p. 204  
*Letter ... of ...* *P ...*  
*Asiatic Society of Bengal* 187 ... 122  
*... in the ... of ...* *Prithvi Raj. Ib.*  
*Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XLII, 1873  
 Pt. I, p. 10  
*Translation ... of the ...* *Prithvi Raj. Ib.*  
*Prithvi Raj. Ib.* *Prithvi Raj. Ib.*  
*Asiatic Society, Vol. I* (1862) p. 204
- Growse, F. B.** — *The ... of ...* *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XXXVII (1885)  
 Pt. I, p. 11  
*... in the ...* *Ib.*  
 Vol. XXXVIII (1869), Pt. I, p. 1.  
 .. *Translations from Chand. Ib.* p. 161.  
 .. *Reply to Mr. ...* *Ib.* Vol. XXXIX  
 (1870), Pt. I, p. 12.  
 .. *A Metrical Version of the opening stanza of*  
*Chand's Prithvij Rājan. Ib.* Vol. VII  
 (1871), Pt. I, p. 12.
- Syamal Dās. Kavirāj.** — *The Antiquity, Authenticity, and Genuineness of the Epic called the Prithvi Raj Rājan, and commonly ascribed to Chand Bardai. Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. LV (1886), Pt. I, p. 5.*
- Mōhanlal Vāspatīl Pandya, Pandit.** — *The ... of ...*  
*Prithvi Raj Rājan. Ib.* 1887. This is the preceding.
- Syam Sunder Dās.** — *Arrangement of the Chapters of the Prithvij Rājan. Journal, Asiatic Society, Vol. XXX, (1902), p. 42.*
- ... in the ...* *Journal Asiatic Society*  
 Pt. I, 1889, p. 10.
- Olant, L.** — See Inshā Allāh Khān, called Inshā.
- Court Major Henry.** — See ...
- Eastwick E. D.** — See ...
- Foor, L.** — See Kāsim 'Alī Javān
- Forbes, Duncan.** — See ...
- Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Hubodore.** — See ...
- Ghulām Akbar.** — See Hāfiq 'Alīm Ahmad.
- Ghulam Haidar.** — See ...



**Ghulam Muhammad, Munshi.** — See *Mazhar Ali Khan Wazir*.

**Ghulam Qadir.** — See *Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad*.

**Gechrist, J. H. B.** — See *Anwar-e-Ashiq* *Amma Mir, Bahadur Ali, Mir, Haidar Baksh* (Haidari), *Kazim 'A.*, *Jawab Hasaan Mir Naul Chaud (Laud)*, *Shir 'Ali Afsar*.

**Girdhar Gdawami.** — See *Sir Das*.

**Grierson, G. A.** — See *Bhāri Lal*.

**Growse, F. B., C.I.E.** — See *Chand Bardai*.

**Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad.** — *The Akbar-i-Yaz (Khush-i-Yaz) or the Agar Darah of Akbar-i-Yaz*, translated into Hindustani, by *Munshi Shukh Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad*. Calcutta, 1805 or 1803 (Incomplete). *The Akbar-i-Yaz* is usually translated as *the Hindustani Language*, by *Munshi Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad* from *the Agar Darah*, written by *the greatest Shukh Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad*, the *Lusterna Ukhur*. *Empire of Hindustan*. Revised, compared with the original Persian, and prepared for the Press, by *Captain Th. Roebuck* with the Assistance of *Munshi Kazim L. and Munshi Muhammad L. Kaur, Mirza Beg and Ghulam Qadir*. Calcutta, 1815. *Akbar-i-Yaz (the Illuminator of the Hindustani)* by *Munshi Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad*. A new Edition of the *Hindustani Text* carefully revised, with *Notes, critical and explanatory* by *Edward Eastwick, F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.*, Professor of Hindustani at *Haileybury College*. London, 1857. *The Akbar-i-Yaz*, translated from the *Urdu* into *English*, and furnished by a *Vocabulary of the difficult Words and Phrases occurring in the text*, by *T. P. Munzel*. (Only a portion of the Work has been translated.) Calcutta, 1861.

(V.B.—*Abul Fazl's Ayār-e Dānish* is a simpler Persian version of *Munshi 'Ali al-Kāshfi's Anwar-e Suhail*.)

**Haidar Baksh (Haidari), Saiyid.** — *Arāsh-e Maḥal*. Published by *Munshi Qudrat 'Ullah*, Calcutta, 1803. *Arāsh-e Maḥal*. A translation into the *Hindustani Language* of the celebrated Persian Tale entitled *Quasr-e Hishm-i-Lay*, executed under the direction of *John Northwick Gechrist*. . . by *Saiyid Hydrabaz Hydros*. Bombay, 1845. Many other editions in *Hindustani*. Among them one in the *Nagari* character, (Calcutta, (?) 1840), and one in the *Gujarati* character (Bombay, 1877).

(V.B.—There is another, altogether different, *Arāsh-e Maḥal*, dealing with the history of India, by *Shir 'Ali Afsar*.)

*The Akbar-i-Yaz*. A Translation into the *Hindustani Language* of the popular Persian Tales entitled *Fourteen Names*, by *Imam-i-Baksh*. *Hindustani*. Under the Superintendence of *J. Gechrist*. Calcutta, 1804. (An edition of four pages of this work had previously appeared in 1802 in *Gechrist's Hindustani Manual*.) Other Editions: Calcutta, 1807, 1810, 1814, Bombay, 1814, 1815, 1819, Calcutta, 1864, Bombay, 1870, and many others. *Tala Akbari* or *Tala-i-Farid*, in the *Hindustani Language*. Translated by *Saiyid Haidar Baksh*, surnamed *Haidari*. . . . a new Edition with . . . a Vocabulary of all the words or terms in the Text, by *D. Forbes*. London, 1802.



*The Tātā Kalānī or Tales of a Parrot, translated from Sayyid Haidar Baksh's Hindūstani Version of Muḥammad Qāsim's Persian Abridgment of Nalākhah's Tattva Nāma. 1y 4s. Small. London, 1875.*

**Haidar Baksh (Haidari), Sayyid.** — *Goodly Mughūrāt; or the Flower of Forgiveness, being an Account . . . of those Moslems who called Shuhada or Martyrs, from the Time of Muḥammad, to the Death of Husayn at Karbala.* By Meer Haidar Baksh Haidari. Calcutta, 1812.

*Les Sciences de l'Histoire recueillies historiquement et géographiquement sur la Vie et la Mort des principaux Martyrs musulmans, Ouvrage traduit de l'Hindoustan, par M. Adolphe Bertrand. . . . au v. de l'Eloge de M. de M. . . . de la même Langue, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1845.*

" " See Shēr 'Alī Afḡā.

**Hairat, Mirsā.** — See Arabian Nights.

**Hall, F. H.** — See Lallū Lāl.

**Hari Prakhā.** — See Bihārī Lāl.

**Hariḥandara.** — See Sōr Dā.

**Hasan, Mir.** — *Sih-e-bayān (Sih-e-bayān) or Munawwar of Meer Hasan, being a History of the Prince Benuseer, in Hindoostanee Verse.* Published under the patronage of the College of Fort William in Bengal. Calcutta, 1805. Many other editions, such as Calcutta, 1802, 1874; Meerut, 1876; Calcutta 1878. *Nazir Benuseer (Nazir Benuseer), or a prose Version of Meer Bahadur Lhee, of the Sih-e-bayān, an enchanting Fairy Tale in Hindoostanee Verse by Meer Hasan composed for the use of the Hindoostanee Students in the College of Fort William, under the superintendence of John Godechrist. Calcutta 1803. The Nazir Benuseer An Eastern Fairy Tale, translated from the Urdu by C. W. Bowdler Esq. Calcutta, Hull (printed), 1871.*

" " See also Nibāl Chand (Lālḡri).

**Herklots.** — See Jafar Sharif.

**Hoernle, A. F. R., O.I.E.** — See Chand Barāi.

**Hollings, Capt. W.** — See Lallū Lāl; Maḡhar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

**Ikrām 'Alī.** — *Ikhwan-us-safā. Translated from the Arabic by Maulavi I 'Alī. Calcutta 1811. Other editions, Madras, 1840, Bombay, 1844, second edition, edited by Giovanni Hunter Calcutta 1848 Lucknow 1848, Delhi 1851, Lahore (? 1855, Lucknow, 1862, Madras, 1862, Lahore 1868 Bombay 1870 Benares, 1872, Madras, 1872; Madras, 1879 Bala Isahar, 1882, and others. *Ikhwan-us-safā 'aṣṣafā* (Selections from the I. S.). Edited by J. Michael Leip. 1820. *Ikhwan-us-safā. Translated from the Arabic into Hindūstani, by Maulavi Ikrām 'Alī. A new Edition, revised and corrected, by Division Forbes . . . and Dr Charles Lewis London 1862. The Ikhwan-us-safā . . . Third Edition revised and corrected by W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta, 1862.**

*A complete Vocabulary to the Ikhwan-us-safā, with etymological illustrations of . . . difficult Words. By T. P. Manuel. Calcutta, 1862.*



*An English Translation of the Akhwa-noos-ussafa*, by MOHAMMED BYEN, HODSON, M.A., 1855. *The Ikhwān-us-safā, translated from the original On-loo into English Prose, and followed by a Vocabulary of the difficult Words . . . occurring in the Text*, by T. P. MANUEL, CANTON. 1860. *Ikhwān-us-safā, or Brothers of Purity. Translated from the Hindustani of Mastūr 'Alī*, by JOHN PATTIS, Esq., — Carried through the Press by Edward B. Eastwick. London, 1869.

*Les Amis, extrait du Tuhfat Ikhwān ussafa . . . traduit d'après la Version Hindoustanie par M. GARNIER DE TASSY*. Paris, 1864.

**Inshā Allāh Khān**, called **Insha**, — *Kutūbāt-e Inshā Allāh Khān*. The complete works. Delhi 1855; Lucknow, 1876.

*A Tale by Inshā Allāh Khān*, Communicated and translated by I. CHIT. Esq. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXI (1872), p. 1 and II. Communication, translated by the Rev. S. Suter. Vol. XXIV (1875), pp. 79 and II. (This is the celebrated tale commonly called '*Kahānī Shāh Hindū-mī*,' which has frequently appeared in Indian School-books such as *Contes*.) Its value consists in its style which, being pure and elegant Urdu and fully intelligible to the Mussulmans of Delhi and Lucknow, does not contain a single Persian word. On the other hand it is equally free from the Sanskritisms of Paguts. The idiom (including the order of the words) is distinctly that of Urdu, not of Hindi. In this last respect it differs from the work of Avadhīyā Singh Upādhyāy, in which the order of words is that usual in Hindī.

See also Section II.

**I'tisāmū 'd-dīn**, — *Shuruf-nāma-e Hāshimī or Excellent Intelligence concerning Europe, being the Travels of Mirza Husein Mirza in Great Britain and France Translated from the original Persian Manuscript into Hindustanee, with an English Version and Notes, by James Edward Alexander*. London 1827.

**Jafar Sharif**, — *Qanoon-e-Islām, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India comprising a full and exact Account of their various Rites and Ceremonies . . . By Jafar Shereef composed under the Direction of, and translated by A. Hockley*. London, 1832.

**Jarrett, Capt. H. B.**, — See Mohammad Rafi.

**Kālī Krishṇa, Rājā**, — See Maghar 'Alī Khān Wāḥ.

**Kāḡim 'Alī Jawān (Mirzā) and Lallū Lāl**, — *Singhān Bāttar or Anecdotes of the celebrated Bikanerjee . . . translated into Hindustanee from the Bū Bāḡh by a Sindhi Ancestral*, by Meerza Kāḡim 'Alī Jawān and Shree Lalloo Lal Kāḡ. Calcutta, 1804. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1816. Other Editions Calcutta, 1839, Agra, 1843, Bombay 1854, Lucknow 1862, Benares 1865, Lucknow, 1870, *ib.*, same date, Delhi, 1875, Lucknow, 1877, Meerut, 1882. All the above are in the Nagari character. In the Gurmukhi character Lahore, 1876. In the Persian character, Agra, (?) 1806; Lucknow, (?) 1868.

*Singhān Bāttar mānzūm* (a metrical version), by Rang Lāl, alias Chāḡim, Cawnpore, 1869; *ib.*, 1871.



Selections (in the Nāgarī character) in Vol. II. of *Sanskrit Prasthāna* (Hindi) — See Section III.

*Singhasan Battar* . . . translated into Hindi, from the Sanskrit, by Lallū Lāl Kāl . . . A new edition . . . with copious Notes by Syed Abdollah. London, 1869.

*A Treatise of The six Languages of the Battar Singhasan* (Translated into English.) Calcutta, 1888.

*Contes indiens. Les trente-deux Récits de Trina (Battar-Singhasan les Merveilleux Exploits de Vikramaditya, traduits . . . par L. F. de . . . de l'Université de Calcutta et de l'Université de Paris. Vol. VI.) Paris, 1888.*

(Extracts from the S. B. in J. Vissou's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani*, pp. 150 and ff.) See Section II.

Kāgim 'Alī Jawān (Mīrā), — *Satantala Nā'uk* being an *Alphabet to the English in Hindustanee Language* and *Alphabet in the Uperia Character*. London 1826. Another Edition Lucknow, 1875. See Section II.

See Hafiz 'd-din Ahmad; Muhammad Rafi', commonly called Sa'ib Muhammad Taqi, Mir.

Kempson, M., — See Nazir Ahmad.

Lakshman Singh, Bāgā, — *Sakuntala or the Lost Ring* a Sanskrit Drama of Kālidāsa translated into Prose and Verse with notes by Kālidāsa [Bāgā] Lakshman Singh Deputy Collector N. W. P. [p. 95-175] *Siva Prasad's Hindi Selections* (1867).] Another Edition, Benares, 1897.

*The Sakuntalā in Hindi. The Text of Lakshman Singh critically edited, with grammatical annotations and marginal Notes by F. Pinotti. London, 1876.*

Lallū Lāl, — *Prem Sagar or the History of Krishna*, translated into Hindi by Shree Lal Lal Kāl. Calcutta, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1897 (with Vocabulary) 1831. (edited by Yoganandan Misra), 1842, and many other editions in . . . In the Gujarati character, Bombay, 1854. (reprinted) 1892. *The Prem Sagar or the History of Krishna* — *Arjuna, according to the tenth Chapter of the Bhagavat Gita*, translated into Hindi, from the Braj, Bhāshā of Chhatrapati Mir, by Lallū Lāl Kāl Bāgā of the College of Fort William. A new edition with a Vocabulary, by Edward B. Eastwick, M.A. Hertford, 1851. See also *the Prem Sagar . . . The Hindi Text printed in the Roman Character, with a complete Vocabulary of the entire work*, by J. F. Baner. Calcutta, 1875. Second Edition, 1880.

Translation: *The Prem Sagar. Translated into English by Capt. W. H. H. . . . Calcutta, 1848. Second Edition, 1867. Another Edition, 1900. Prem Sagar or the History of Krishna* — *Arjuna* translated from the Hindi of Shree Lal Lal Kāl into English by Edward B. Eastwick, C. B., F.R.S., M.R.A.S. London, 1877.

Selections from the Prem Sagar and Bāgā Bāgā. Translated into English, with copious Notes by Anant Kāhā. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1881.



**Lallū Lāl**, — *Baynecī, or Tales exhibiting the moral Doctrines, and the civil and military Policy of the Hindoos. Translated from the original Sanscrit of Narayan Pundit into Braj Bhashā. By Shree Lalloo Lal Kūb. Calcutta, 1809. Other Editions, 1827; Agra, 1843. Rājā-nūt, a Collection of Hindu Apologues, with a Preface, Notes, and supplementary Glossary. By F. E. Hall. Allahabad 1854. Other Editions: Lucknow, 1873. Calcutta, 1878. Third Edition, revised and published for the use of the Board of Examiners. By the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjee and Lt.-Col. A. C. Toker. Calcutta, 1883.*

*Bayanī yā Pañchōpākhyān. A Hindi Version, by Dhanraj Prasad, of the Braj-Bhāṣā Text of L. L. Bombay, 1854. Another Edition, Bombay, 1866.*

*The Rājnūt, or Tales exhibiting . . . . Hindoos. Translated literally from the Hindi of Shri Lallū Lal Kūb, into English, by J. R. A. B. Lowe. Calcutta, 1858.*

*Analysis et Extraits du Rāj-nūt. By M. Ed. Lancereau, Journal Asiatique, IV., xiii. (1840), p. 71.*

**Madho Bhat**, *Tale of Madho and Sulochan, in poetry (done into Hindi from the Sanscrit), by Lallū Ji Lal Kabi. Agra, 1846. Other Editions: Calcutta, 1868; Calcutta, (?) 1870. I have been unable to trace the earlier editions.*

See Bahārī Lal, Ragun 'Alī Jawān; Maghar 'Alī Khān Wilā; Muhammad Taqī.

**Lāl Kavi**, — *The Chhutra Prakash, a Biographical Account of Chhutra Sal, Raja of Bundelkhand, by Lal Kavi. Edited by Captain W. Price, Professor of Hindos and Hindoostanes in the College of Fort William. Published under the authority of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Calcutta, 1829.*

*History of the Bundelias, by W. R. Pogson, Calcutta, 1828. (A translation of the Chhatra Prakhā.)*

**Lancereau, E.**, — See Lallū Lāl; Maghar 'Alī Khān Wilā.

**Loes, W. Nassau**, — See Ikram 'Alī; Shēr 'Alī Aisā.

**Lowe, J. R. A. B.**, — See Lallū Lāl.

**Mahdi 'Alī Khān**, — See Nihāl Chand (Lāhōrī).

**Manuel, T. P.**, — See Haidig 'd-din Ahmad; Ikram 'Alī.

**Maghar 'Alī Khān Wilā, and Lallū Lāl**, — *Batal Panchotee, being a Collection of twenty-five Stories related by the Demon Batal to the Raja. Recumyest, translated into Hindoostanee from the Benghāṣā of Sourut Kuberhan, by Maghar Uro Khān Wilā, and Shree Lallū Lal Kūb. Calcutta, 1809. Other editions, Calcutta, 1809, 1834; Agra, 1843; Calcutta, 1844; Indore, 1849; Bombay, 1857; Calcutta, 1860; Calcutta, 1870; Benares (illustrated) 1876; (?) Delhi, 1876. Also printed in Vol I of Price's Hindos and Hindoostanee Selections, 1830. See Section III. The Batal Panchotee, or Twenty-five Tales of a Demon. A new Edition of the Hind. Text,*



with each Word expressed in the Hindustani Character immediately under the corresponding Word in the Nagari, and with a perfect yet a faithful interlinear Translation, accompanied by a free translation in English at the foot of each page, and explanatory Notes, by W. B. Barker. Edited by E. B. Eastwick. Hertford, 1823. *Batal Pachisi*. A new and correct Edition, with a vocabulary of all the Words occurring in the Text, by D. Forbes. London, 1837.

*Batal-Pachisi, or the Twenty-five Tales of Batal* translated from the Benghakhin into English by Rajah Kabe-Krishen Datta. Calcutta, 1834. *The Batal Pachisi* translated into English, by W. H. Cole, Calcutta, 1860. Another Edition, 1866. Reprinted Allahabad, 1888. *The Batal-Pachisi* . . . translated from Dr. Forbes's new and corrected Edition, by Ghulam Mohammad Muzil Bombay 1888. *Vikram and the Vampire, or Tales of Hindu Deceit*. Adapted from the *Batal Pachisi* by Sir Richard P. Burton. London 1870. *The Batal Pachisi, or Twenty-five Tales of a Nation*. Translated from the Hindi Text of D. Forbes by J. Platts. London, 1871.

*Extrait de B'till-pachisi* (traduits) par M. El. Laneux. *Asiatique*, IV., xvii., xix. (1851-52).

*Bibliothek orientatischer Märchen und Erzählungen in deutscher Bearbeitung mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Nachweisen / von Hermann Osterley. Batal Pachisi oder die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen eines Dames in deutscher Bearbeitung, &c.* By Hermann Osterley. Leipzig 1871.

Michael, J., — See Ikram 'Ali.

Mirsa Bög, — See Hüfuz 'd-din Ahmad.

Mohaniāl Vishnūlal Pandya, Pandit, — See Chand Bardā.

Muhammed Asghar 'Ali Khān Nasim, — See Arif an-Najāt.

Muhammed Aslām, — See Muhammad Rafi.

Muhammed Faiz, — See Nihāl Chaud (Lahōr).

Muhammed Hāmid 'Ali Khān, Hāmid, — See Arabian Nights.

Muhammed Rafi', commonly called Saudā, — *Imādh Kulligāt-e Saudā (or all Iatkhāt-e Cooleyat Saudā)*, or Selections from the poetical Works of Ruzviya Saudā, by Muhammad Mahomed Usmanum. Kozim P'lee Jawa. Calcutta 1814. See in London, revised and enlarged by Muhammad Ghulam Hyder. Calcutta 1847. *Afānshahar-e Muhammadīyat-e Saudā*. Revised Edition, by H. S. Jaffar, Calcutta, 1875. See also from the *Kulligāt-e Saudā* the *Books of Mirza Rafi 'e Saudā*. Literally translated by Henry Court, Sindia, 1872. Editions of his complete works — *Kulligāt-e Saudā*. Printed at Wazirpur Mirza Mahomed Rafi (Sindia) 1833. Calcutta 1872, 1888.

Muhammed Ramezān, — See Nizām Chaud (Lahōr).

Muhammed Taqī Khān, called Hāwas, — *Larī Mahnaw-e Hāwas*. The Story of the Larī Mahnaw in verse. Calcutta, 1844. Calcutta, 1846, I. Calcutta 1862 1863. Calcutta, 1874, 18, 1882 18, 1845.



**Muhammad Taqi, Mir,** — *Koolyat Meer Taqi*, *The poems of Meer Mohammad Taqi, comprising the Whole of his numerous and celebrated Compositions in the Oordoo, or polished Language of Hindoostan*, edited by [Kajim 'Ali Jawān and other] learned Munshees attached to the College of Fort William. Calcutta, 1811. *Shokul-e-ahq (Shikla-o-igah) The Flame of Love a Hindoostanee Poem, by Meer Mohammad Taqi*. Edited by William Caruncuel Smyth. London, 1820. (This poem will also be found in Lalā Lāl's *Lalā-o-Hindī*. See Section III.) *Contes ou nouvelles Poetes, Poeme de Mir Taqi, traduit de l'hindoustani, par M. Garet de Tassy. Journal Asiatique*, VII. (1835), pp. 300 and ff. Separate reprint, Paris, 1826. *Contes ou nouvelles poésies* (translation of foregoing into Italian by Pughesi Pico), Palermo, 1801. The Hindustani text of this poem will be found on p. 124 of J. Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani*, Paris, 1899. See Section II. *Satire contre les Ignorants* (literal translation of original), by J. Vinson in *Revue de Linguistique*, XXIV (1891), pp. 101 and ff.

See Lalā Lāl.

**Nagīr,** — See Wālī Muhammad.

**Nagīr Ahmad, Khān Bahādur,** — *Mir'at-i-'Arās*. (A Hindustāni Novel, especially intended for women.) Cawnpore, 1869; Lucknow, 1889. Cawnpore, 1875. Bareilly, 1880; Allahabad, 1886; Delhi, 1889. *The Bride's Mirror or Mir'at-i-'Aras*. Edited in the Roman Character with a Vocabulary and Notes by G. E. Ward. London, 1890.

*Banatu 'n-naqīb*. (A Tale of Indian Life, — a sequel to the preceding.) Agra, 1868, *ib.*, 1872, Cawnpore, 1879, Agra, 1858. Cawnpore, 1882; *ib.*, 1888.

*Taubatu 'n-naqīb*. (A novel on the importance of education and religious training.) Agra, 1874, Cawnpore, 1879; Allahabad, 1885, Dehra, 1889; Lahore, 1895. *The Taubatu-n-Nasikh (Repentance of Nnasikh) of Mir'at-i-Hijā Hafiz Nisar Ahmad of Dehra*. . . . Edited with Notes and Index, by M. Kempton. London, 1886. Second Edition of the first five chapters, with annotations and vocabulary by the same. London, 1890.

*The Repentance of Nnasikh*. Translated from the original Hindustani by M. Kempton. London, 1884.

(Extract from the *Taubatu 'n-naqīb*, in J. Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani*, pp. 120 and ff. See Section II.)

**Nihal Ghund (Lūhōrī) and Shēr 'Alī Afsōn,** — (*Gul-e-Banooat*, also called *Mushab-e-Tah*), by Gul-e-Banooat, a Tale translated from the Persian into Hindoostanee, by Munshee Nihal Ghund, under the superintendence of J. Gibbert. Calcutta, 1804. *Mushab-e-Tah*, on the G. to B. dialect, written in the Oordoo Dialect, by Munshee Nihal Ghund . . . and afterwards revised by Meer Sher Ali Afsan . . . Second Edition. Revised . . . by T. Roebuck. Calcutta, 1810. Another Edition, edited by Muhammad Fakhri Muhammad Ramazān. Calcutta 1827, Another Edition, Calcutta, 1832. *Mushab-e-Tah*. A Translation into the Hindoostanee



*Tongue of the popular Persian Tale, entitled Goutas Baccawiy* by Moonsey Neelchand Lahoree, under the superintendence (et.) of J. H. Gilchrist. 8th Edition. Bombay, 1843. Other editions, (et.) 1844, Lucknow, 1848, Bombay, 1850 (in one volume with Mahdi Ali Khan's *Faaf Zataikha* and Mir Hasan's *Sikru-i-bayun*), Cawnpore 1851, Delhi 1852; Cawnpore, 1859, id. 1869, Delhi, 1872 (on the Nazari character); id., 1873 (with illustrations), id., 1887 (Nazar-i-Charar); Cawnpore, 1875; Lucknow, 1875; id., same year, Cawnpore, 1876; Delhi 1876, Cawnpore, 1877 (illustrated); id. 1879, Delhi 1879; Madras, 1879; Delhi, 1881 (illustrated); Benares, (?) 1887; Cawnpore, 1889.

Extracts from the Gook Baccawillee are in Vol II of *Price's Hindoo and Hindoostanee Selections*. See Section III.

A translation into English by Lieut. R. P. Anderson was published in Delhi in 1851. I have not seen it.

*Abryé du Roman hindoustani intitulé La Rose de Baccawali. Journal Asiatique*, II., xvi. (1835), pp. 193 and 338. Separate reprint, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1835. *La Doctrine de l'Amour ou Taj-ul-muluk et Baccawali, Roman de Philosophie religieuse, par Nihal Chand de Dehli (sic), traduit de l'Hindoustani, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris (in Recueil de l'Orient), 1858.*

Oesterly, Hermann, — See Maghar 'Ali Khān Wili.

Paramānanda, Pandit, — See Bihārī Lāl.

Pico, Pugliese, — See Muhammad Taqi, Mir.

Pincott, Frederic, — See Arabian Nights; Lakshman Singh Rājā.

Platts, John, — See Ikram 'Ali; Maghar 'Ali Khān Wili.

Pogson, W. B., — See Lāl Kavi.

Price, Capt. William, — See Amman, Mir; Bahādur 'Ali, Mir, Lāl Kavi; Maghar 'Ali Khān Wili; Nihal Chand (Lahōri); Shēr 'Ali Afāz.

Pyārō Lāl, Pandit, — See Arabian Nights.

Rajab 'Ali Bēg, Surūr, Mirā, — See Arabian Nights.

Raag Lāl (Chaman), — See Kāsim 'Ali Jawān.

Rieu, Dr. Charles, — See Ikram 'Ali.

Roebuck, Capt. Thomas, — See Amman, Mir, Hafiz d-din Ahmad, Nihal Chand (Lahōri).

Saiyid Hussain, Munshi, — See Ikram 'Ali.

Sardār, — See Sūr Dās.

Saudā, — See Mohammed Rafi.

Shādi Lāl Chaman, — See Arabian Nights.

Shakespeare, John, — See Kāsim 'Ali Jawān, Shēr 'Ali Afāz.

Shamsu 'd-din Ahmad, Munshi, — See Arabian Nights.



**Sher 'Al. Afaca, Mir.** — *Bursh-e 'Arsh, The Rose Garden of Hindustan; translated from Shamsa Sultana's original Nursery or Persian Collection of Sher 'Al. Mir Sher Uloo Ufsoo* . . . under the direction and superintendence of John G. Johnson. Calcutta, 1802. (The first edition, Calcutta, 1804; Madras, 1844; Calcutta, 1846, 1847, 1848; Bombay, 1851) (and also in other matter).

*Arush-e-mahfil being a History in the Hindoostani Language of the Hindoo Prince of Delhi from the Mahabharata to the present times* . . . (and also *Arush-e-mahfil* and other *Arush-e-mahfil*) . . . Mir Sher Uloo Ufsoo. Calcutta, 1808. Other Editions: Calcutta, 1848; Lahore, 1867; Lucknow, 1870. *The Arush-e-mahfil printed for the use of the members of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service* . . . (and also *Arush-e-mahfil*), revised and corrected by W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta, 1868.

See also from this work will be found, in *Shamsa Sultana's Muntakhabat-i-Hind* (1817) and in *Prince's History and Hindoostani Dictionary* (1840) See Section III.

*The Arush-e-mahfil or the Ornament of the Assembly, literally translated from the Original in M. H. Court, Amherst, 1871, Second Edition, Calcutta, 1882.*

*Arush-e-Mahfil or Assembly of Ornament (an). The Selection of a Description of India being the most interesting Part of the Shamsa Sultana's Muntakhabat-i-Hind . . . Translated from the Hindoostani and accompanied with Notes explanatory and grammatical, by N. L. Benbow. Dublin, 1847.*

*Quelques Lignes sur les Sciences des Indes, extraites de l'Arush-e-Mahfil, de Mir Cher Ali Afaca, et traduites de l'Hindoustani, par M. Garreau de Tassy. Journal Asiatique, IX. (1826), pp. 97 and ff.*

*Quelques Lignes sur les Fruits et les Fleurs de l'Hindoustan, extraites de l'Arush-e-Mahfil, ou Statistique et Histoire de l'Hindoustan par Mir Cher-Ali-Afaca, et traduites de l'Hindoustani, par M. Garreau de Tassy. Journal Asiatique, XI. (1827), pp. 94 and ff.*

*Histoire ou Récit des Pandavas dans l'Hindoustan, tirée du Texte Hindoustani de l'Arush-e-Mahfil de Mir Cher-Ali-Afaca. Par M. l'Abbé Bertrand. Journal Asiatique, III, xiv., 1842, pp. 71 and ff.*

*Histoire des Rois de l'Hindoustan après les Pandavas, traduite du Texte Hindoustani de Mir Cher-Ali-Afaca. By the same. Ibid., IV., i., 1844, pp. 104 and ff.; 229 and ff.; 354 and ff.*

*Note.* — There is another and altogether different *Arush-e-Mahfil* by H. A. Bunchel, Hindar which needs little story. *Harishchandra*. The two works have often been confounded.

See *Haridar Bakhsheh* (Haridar); *Najid Chand* (Lahori).

**Slater, Rev. E.** — See *Inshā Allāh Khān* called *Inshā*.

**Small, G.** — See *Haridar Bakhsheh* (Haridar).

**Smith, L. F.** — See *Amman, Mir*.

**Smyth, William Carmichael.** — See *Muhammad Tug, Mir*.



Sir Dās — *Sarāgar* Lucknow 1864, Agra, 1876, Lucknow 1889.

*Draupitī*; Lucknow, 1896 (with the comm. of Sarāgar, *1866*,  
Sāhityaloharī); Benares, 1889 (with a comm. by Giridhar (Giridharī),  
Patna, 1889 (with a comm. by Harīschandra).

Many ed. of portions & *1866* *Sarāgar* have appeared in Lucknow.

Syāmal Dās, Kavirāj, — See Chand Bardāi.

Tahsinā 'd dīn, — *Quatre Kāmra, ou Kala* Les Aventures de Kamra, ou Tahsin-n-tin publiées  
en Hindoustani par M. Garcin de Tassy . . . Paris, 1833.

*Les Aventures de Kamra, texte hindoustani romanesque* 1<sup>re</sup> éd.  
l'Édition de M. Garcin de Tassy, par M. l'Abbé Bertrand Paris 1860

*Vocabulaire hindoustani le plus pour le Texte les Aventures de  
Kamra par MM Garcin de Tassy et l'Abbé Bertrand Paris 1867*

*Les Aventures de Kamra, par Tahsin-n-tin, traduites de l'Hindou-  
stani par M. Garcin de Tassy* Paris, parues, sous le patronage de  
the Oriental Translation Committee of Great Britain and Ireland 1861

Tod, Col James, — See Chand Bardāi

Toker, Lt.-Col. A. C., — See Lallū Lāl.

Tolbert, T. W. H., — See Arabian Nights.

Tōṣārām Shāyān, — See Arabian Nights.

Vinson, J., — See Anuman Mīr, Kuznū 'A Javan Mīr, and Mir, Nuzat A'ayad

Wali Muḥammad, usually known as *Nagīr*, — *Anthologie Complexe Mīr* Lucknow 1870,  
Deli 1877. *Banjara Nāmā* (a collection of poems, viz. *Banjara Nāmā*  
or the Story of the Grain Merchant, and *Achār Chūkaḥ*, or the Akel Rats)  
Lucknow ( ) 1870. *Banjara Nāmā*, and *Mut Nāmā*, Lucknow 1874.  
*Girīchandra Nāzī* (a collection of short poems, of which the principal is  
the *Jan Nāmā*) Agra, (?) 1860. *Jan Mīr* (the *Reminiscences*  
of Jan and Mīr, 1860). *Chavīr*, 1860. *Deli*, 1877. *Mīr-  
chandra Nāzī* (a collection of poems) Chavīr, 1863. *Chavīr*  
1880.

Wahī 'Alah, Shuh, usually known as *Wahī*, — *L'œuvre d'Alah* Les Œuvres de Wahī, publiées  
en Hindoustani par M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1864. *Œuvres*  
d'Alah Lucknow 1878. *Les Œuvres de Wahī, Textes et Notes*,  
par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1886.

Ward, G. E., — See Nagīr Ahmad

Wāḥ, — See Maghar 'Al Khān Wāḥ

Williams, Montier, — See Anuman, Mīr.

Yōga-dhyān Mītra, — See Lallū Lāl.

#### SECTION IV.—APPENDIX

##### *Early Translations of the Scriptures.*

Seantze, Hen., and Callenberg, J., — The first four chapters of Genesis in Hindustani  
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(To be continued.)



## MĀHĀRĀSHTRĪ AND MARATHĪ.

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Māhārāṣṭrī is the principal of the so-called Prākṛit languages. Dandin, in his *Kavya-lasā*, I. 86, states that it was based on the language spoken in Mahārāṣṭra — *Mahārāṣṭradhātum āśāhām prākṛitām Prākṛitām viduḥ*.

Mahārāṣṭra broadly corresponds to the country between the Vadhya and the Kṛṣṇa. According to the *Bhāṣyam* X. 7. p. 302, 18 ff. in the edition by G. V. Sastri, it comprised Vidarbha and Kuntala — in other words, almost the whole territory within which the modern Marathi is spoken.

The oldest extant work in Mahārāṣṭrī — the *Sattvaśil* of Hala — was, according to tradition, composed in Pratiśāhna, then the capital of Mahārāṣṭra, in the Godavari. Pratiśāhna is the modern Patan, the home of several well-known Marathi poets. The tradition according to which Hala was a king of Mahārāṣṭra, agrees with other occasional statements in Sanskrit literature. Another name of Hala is Satavahana or Salivahana, *Satāhna*. Compare H. Jacarand, *Abhandlungen* VII, 12. *Dśinamānana*, VII, 66—111, 7. According to the latter source II, 30, Hala was a Kuntala. A Kuntala Satavahana Satavahana is mentioned in Varāṣya's *Kaṇvaśāstra* (p. 154), and the name of Satavahana of the Satavahana family occurs in the Nashik cave inscriptions among the members of the Andhrakṣatṛa dynasty. Moreover the king Satavahana of Pratiśāhna was, according to the *Kaṇvaśāstrāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāsmṛiti*, the patron to whom Guṇaḍaya first presented his *Bṛhatkathā* — a fact which should not be overlooked in fixing the original home of the Pārsachi dialect of the Bṛhatkathā.

It seems impossible to doubt that the Indian tradition connects Mahārāṣṭrī with the Māhārāṣṭra country, so that the conclusion would be justified that Mahārāṣṭrī and modern Marathi are derived from the same base. This is also the opinion held by scholars such as Bhandarkar, Garrez, Jacob, Kuhn, Pischel, and others. Dr. Hoernle, on the other hand, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Iranian Languages*, London 1880, pp. xv and ff. gives a different explanation of the name Mahārāṣṭrī, incidentally used by the oldest Prākṛit grammarian Varāṣya to denote the principal Prākṛit dialect. He says, 'There are in reality two varieties of Prākṛit. One includes the Saurasēṇī and the (so-called) Mahārāṣṭrī. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Māgadhī. Dr. Hoernle is of opinion that Varāṣya's Mahārāṣṭrī simply was a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning 'the Prākṛit of the great kingdom' (i. e. of the famed country of the Doab and Magadha . . .) and therefore the principal Prākṛit. Mahārāṣṭrī is, he continues, 'not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindi.'

Dr. Grierson has also stated his opinion that the connection between Mahārāṣṭrī and Marathi has not yet been proved, and has pointed out that the latter form of speech in important points agrees with eastern vernaculars. (*Quinta*, Vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 563 and ff.)

It will be seen that the arguments against the derivation of both languages from the same base are of two kinds. In the first place it is argued that Mahārāṣṭrī and Saurasēṇī are two forms of the same dialect, it being admittedly impossible to derive Marathi from the same old vernacular as Saurasēṇī. On the other hand attention is drawn to the fact that Marathi in several points agrees with eastern forms of speech which have nothing to do with Mahārāṣṭrī. Both arguments are philological and they are not weakened by the facts drawn attention to above which clearly show that Indian tradition holds Mahārāṣṭrī to be derived from the old vernacular of the Māhārāṣṭra country.



It will, therefore, be necessary to deal with the matter from a philological point of view. In the first place we shall have to state the mutual relationship between the various Prakrit dialects. It will then be necessary to define the position of Marathi among the modern vernaculars of India, and only then we shall be prepared to decide whether Maharashtri and modern Marathi are related in such a way as the names of the two dialects and Indian tradition would naturally lead us to believe. Before doing so it will, however, be of use to state what the meaning is of the word Prakrit.

The so-called Prakrits are literary languages based on the vernaculars of various parts of ancient India. They were at an early date described by the grammarians whose works became the sources from which later authors learned Prakrit. In this way these dialects gradually ceased to be real vernaculars. Several rules laid down by the grammarians were probably only generalisations of tendencies in the spoken language so as to make them the common rule. On the other hand, one and the same Prakrit may be influenced by more than one spoken dialect. This was due to the fact that the Prakrits very early lost their character of local forms of speech and became the universal languages of various kinds of literature. Maharashtri almost monopolised the lyrics and the Kavya, so far as the latter kind of literature was written in Prakrit. Sauraseni and Magadhi became the dialects used by various characters in the dramatic literature. It is clear that a language such as Maharashtri, which was used by lyrical poets from all parts of India, would in course of time adopt words and perhaps also inflexional forms from other vernaculars than that which was its original base. On the other hand, it would naturally influence the spoken vernaculars. The language of lyrical poetry is, of course, more apt to exercise such an influence than that of any other branch of literature. Every Prakrit, and especially Maharashtri, should therefore be expected to be of a more or less mixed character. And this is also undeniably the case.

On the other hand, the Prakrits were no mere grammatical fictions, and the more we learn about the linguistic conditions of old India, the more we see that the differences between the various Prakrit dialects correspond to actual differences in the spoken vernaculars.

The principal Prakrit dialects described by the old grammarians are as follows —

1. Maharashtri, according to tradition based on the vernacular of the Maratha country. It is the language of lyrics and the Kavya, and, in the dramatical literature, it is used in songs by those persons who are represented to speak Sauraseni, in the prose passages.

2. Sauraseni, based on the dialect of Sauraseni, the country about Mathura. It is used as the prose dialect of certain categories of people in the plays.

3. Magadhi, based on the dialect of the Magadha country, and used in the plays as the dialect of certain lower classes, both in the prose passages and in the songs.

4. Ardhamagadhi, the dialect in which the sacred books of the Jains are written probably based on the old vernacular spoken about and to the east of the modern Allahabad.

Of these dialects Maharashtri and Ardhamagadhi are best known, less Sauraseni, and Magadhi only very unsatisfactorily.

Sauraseni is more closely related to classical Sanskrit than the other Prakrit dialects. Its vocabulary is essentially the same and free from the many provincial words which often makes the understanding of other Prakrit dialects so difficult. The inflexional system also agrees with Sanskrit in its simplicity while other dialects show the rich variety of various forms as the old Vedic dialects. The oldest Prakrit grammarian, Vararuchi, was already aware of this close relation between Sanskrit and Sauraseni, and he expressly states that the latter is based on the former.



In this respect Sauraseni differs widely from Mahārāṣṭri, which in the rich system of inflexional forms and the frequent occurrence of provincial words agrees with eastern languages, especially with Ardhamāgadhī.

On the other hand there is a certain relationship between Sauraseni and the so-called Magadhī. Vararuchi, XIII, 2, declares that the Prakrit or base of that latter dialect is Sauraseni, and similar statements are made by other grammarians. And in reality, both dialects often seem to agree very closely, in inflexional forms and a vocabulary. On the other hand there are also important points in which they differ. These points would probably be more numerous if we knew a little more about Magadhī. Our knowledge of this dialect is however very limited. It seems certain that several vernaculars were considered to be related to Magadhī. We may perhaps assign the whole eastern part of India to that language, and it is probable that the particular dialect which was described as Magadhī by the Prakrit grammarians was one of the westernmost which had been largely influenced by the language of the Donb. It should be remembered that the Brahmanical civilisation of Western India came very early to the Vindhya country, which is to this day a stronghold of Brahmanism, and Vindhya in early times formed part of the Magadhī kingdom. Brahmanical civilisation early pervaded the whole of North-Eastern India. The prevalence of the Uvāra-Riti is to a great extent due to the influence of an old civilisation which had been forced into narrow forms sanctioned by old tradition. The Vādarbha-Riti, on the other hand, is closely connected with the country of Malabar. It is therefore, perhaps allowable to infer that the apparent connection between Sauraseni and Magadhī was due to the influence of Sanskrit in the East, and that the vernaculars of the people were different. The modern dialects of the Magadhī and Vindhya countries seem to show that the old vernaculars of those districts were more closely connected with Mahārāṣṭri than with Ardhamāgadhī.

This latter dialect may be described as a link between Mahārāṣṭri and Magadhī, more closely connected with the former than with the latter.

It is very difficult to make a precise statement of the mutual relationship of the various Prakrit dialects, the more so because all later Indian authors usually confound them. An author like Rajasēkhara, for instance, who was a native of the Maratha country, freely mixes Mahārāṣṭri forms and words in his Sauraseni. And some of the most striking differences between the various dialects are by no means local variations, but simply different stages in the same development.

Everyone who has the most superficial knowledge of the Prakrits will remember that they apparently may be divided into two groups, Mahārāṣṭri and Ardhamāgadhī on one side, and Sauraseni and Magadhī on the other. Both groups are distinguished by the different treatment of sibilic consonants between vowels and by the different inflexional systems. I have already pointed out that the latter characteristic cannot be urged so long as our knowledge of Magadhī is so limited. With regard to the former the facts are as follows.

The Prakrit grammarians teach that an unaspirated mute consonant, if not a cerebral, is generally dropped between vowels in all Prakrit dialects, and a faintly sounded *y* or, in the case of *r* and *ḍ*, a *r*, *s* substituted for it. This is not, however, written in other than Jaina manuscripts. It seems certain that this rule of the grammarians was a generalisation of stray occurrences or of a phonological tendency and did not exactly represent the actual facts of the genuine vernaculars. The tendency to drop consonants in such positions must, however, have been rather strong as we find it a results largely prevalent in modern dialects. Compare Magadhī *kambāl*, Sanskrit *kumbhāḥkṛdā* a potter, *ṣāḍ*, Sanskrit *tadā*(*ṛ*)*ṇa*, a talk *say*, Sanskrit *śat*(*ṣ*)*ṇa*, a needle, *nēṇa*, Sanskrit *naṣṭ*(*ṇa*)*ṇa*, I don't know, *ḍi*, Sanskrit *b*(*ṛ*)*ṇa*, seed, *ḍi*(*ḍ*)*ṇa*, Sanskrit *as*(*ṣ*)*ṇa*, hair, *ḍi*, Sanskrit *pāḍ*(*ṣ*)*ṇa*, foot, *ḍi*, Sanskrit *ka*(*ṣ*)*ṇa*, a pasture and so on.



The Prakrit grammarians make one important exception from the rule. A *r* between vowels becomes *l* in Saurasēni and Māgadhi, but is dropped in other dialects. It will be remembered that this change of *r* to *l* and the corresponding one of *th* to *lh* in Saurasēni and Māgadhi is the most striking feature in which these dialects differ from Mahārashtri and Ardhamāgadhi. Compare Sanskrit *jānā*, Saurasēni *jānā*, Māgadi *jānā*, Mahārashtri and Ardhamāgadhi *jānā* as known. Sanskrit *gata* Saurasēni and Māgadhi *gata*, Mahārashtri and Ardhamāgadhi *ga* or *gapa*, gone, etc. In reality, however, this is not a difference of dialect but of time, the soft consonant being the intermediary step between the hard one and the dropping of the whole sound. To take a parallel from a distant language, every *r* between vowels is dropped in Norwegian. That language has been largely influenced by Danish in which form of speech every *r* between vowels is softened to a *d*, while *r* in the same position remains in Norwegian. In such words, however, which have been borrowed in the Danish form, a *d* between vowels is dropped even when it represents an old *r*. Thus Danish *late*, from *late*, to let, Norwegian *la*.

The change of *r* to *l* which is so characteristic of Saurasēni and Māgadhi is exactly analogous to the change of *k* to *g* in Ardhamāgadhi and Jaina Mahārashtri,<sup>1</sup> thus, *ariga*, as *ika*. The grammarian Vararuchi (II 7) also allows the change of *r* to *l* in Mahārashtri in some words. It thus follows that the different treatment of a *r* between vowels cannot be taken as the starting point of a classification of the old Prakrits.

The common theory among English scholars seems to be that the Prakrits can be divided into two groups one western comprising Mahārashtri and Saurasēni, and the other, the eastern, comprising Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi. Ardhamāgadhi is then considered as a link between these two groups. Compare Dr. Hoernle, *loc. cit.*, and Dr. Grierson, *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Dialect Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, p. 3, and in other later publications.

The principal points in which both groups differ are as follows:—

1. All *r*-sounds become *r* in the west and *l* in the east—thus, Saurasēni *kāśānā*, Māgadhi *kāśānā*, in the hairs.

2. Every *r* is changed to an *l* in the east—thus, Saurasēni *rāṭā*, Māgadhi *lāṭā*, a king.

3. Every initial *y* is changed to a *g* in the east, while the opposite change from *y* to *j* is the rule in the west. Thus, Saurasēni *jānā*, I know *jānā* as, Māgadhi *yānā*, I know, *ya lāṭā*, as. The manuscripts usually write *j* also in Māgadhi.

4. The nominative singular of masculine *n*-words ends in *ō* in the west and in *ē* in the east. Thus, Saurasēni *purishō*, Māgadhi *purishē*, a man.

Ardhamāgadhi agrees with the western languages in the three first points, while in the fourth it usually has the eastern form. The nominative ending in *ē*, however, is also used in the oldest text.

It will be seen that the features on which this classification is based are mostly of a superficial kind. The different pronunciation of various sounds cannot properly be taken as the starting point for a philological classification. We shall then, for instance, be justified in using the different pronunciation of an original *r* and the treatment of the old *th* in the future in Gujarati and Western Hindi in order to prove that both languages belong to quite different groups of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. With regard to the treatment of *r*-sounds in the east we know that it differed in different localities. In Dhaka, which shares some of the characteristic features of Māgadhi and would certainly have to be classed as an eastern Prakrit, we have two *r*-sounds, a dental *r* representing the dental and cerebral *r*-sounds in Sanskrit and a palatal *r* corresponding to Sanskrit *ṣ*. Thus, *r* = *ṣ* in *rāṭā*, *rāṭā*, etc.

Jaina Mahārashtri is the dialect of an unrecorded territory of the Śvētāmbara Jains. For our present purposes it may be considered as identical with ordinary Mahārashtri.



Dhakkī also shows that the substitution of *y* for *j* in Magadhī on *y* was a local peculiarity. Dhakkī has *y* thus, *yampada*, Sanskrit *alpita*, to talk. The state of affairs in the modern dialects of Magadhī tends to show the same.

The Dhakkī form *paśi*, a man also shows that the nominative in *i* was not used in the extreme east, and it cannot, therefore, be made the basis of a classification. The nominative in *a* was probably a local form, which has, in later times, spread over a much wider area.

The common change of neuter *s*-bases to masculines in Magadhī is of a similar kind. The subsequent linguistic history of India shows how cautious we must be in using such features as the distinguishing marks between different groups. The classification of dialects is continually modified by new developments, which, originating within a small area, afterwards spread in all directions.

The division of the Prākṛits in a western and an eastern group should therefore be dropped as artificial and based on considerations which are not fundamentally important enough.

It would seem much more natural to divide the Prākṛits in a Northern and a Southern group, the former comprising Saurasēni and Magadhī and the other Māharāṣṭri and Ardhamagadhī. The former would be distinguished by a greater simplicity in its inflexional system, and by the formation of its passive voice and conjunctive participle, in all which points it differs from the southern dialects. Such a classification cannot, however be earnestly urged, Magadhī being, after all, so different from Saurasēni that it is impossible to class both together.

The old classification was based on the theory that Saurasēni and Māharāṣṭri were essentially the same dialect. It is not any more necessary to prove that this is not the case. The phonetical laws of both are quite different, the inflexional system of Māharāṣṭri is much more developed and much richer than in the case in Saurasēni, and the vocabulary is full of peculiar words, while Saurasēni in this respect hardly differs from classical Sanskrit. We may add the different form of the future, of the conjunctive participle, of the optative of the passive and of the emphatic participle (Māharāṣṭri *chā*, Saurasēni *jā*). All these points are quite sufficient to make it necessary to distinguish both as different forms of speech.

It is a well-known fact that Māharāṣṭri in the characteristics just alluded to generally agrees with Ardhamagadhī. This proves that Māharāṣṭri has a decided leaning towards the east, and must be quite separated from Saurasēni. Māharāṣṭri and Ardhamagadhī are on the other hand, quite distinct dialects, but they have much more in common than Māharāṣṭri and Saurasēni. Moreover there are certain indications which show that Magadhī was based on a dialect of the same kind as those which gave rise to Māharāṣṭri and Ardhamagadhī. As has already been mentioned the principal distinguishing points with regard to the latter two dialects are the vocabulary and the free use of varied inflexional forms. In other words, they show the same relation to Saurasēni as the Vedic dialects to classical Sanskrit. The different vocabulary is already sufficient to show that they are radically different forms of speech. And the same is the case with their declensions and conjugations. It does not matter for our present purposes whether or not classical Sanskrit and Saurasēni are based on the vernacular of the same locality. It is sufficient to state that both seem to represent the more fixed form of the speech of the educated classes as opposed to the vernaculars of the masses. And in this connexion it is worth noting that low-caste people do not speak Saurasēni in the plays.

With regard to Magadhī it is of course impossible to make a definite statement about its vocabulary. The materials available are too scanty. On the other hand it seems to be certain that the dialect in question in several points agreed with Māharāṣṭri and Ardhamagadhī.



As regards phonology, we may note the change of *k* to *g* in Jaina Maharashtrai and in Magadhī and Magasēni thus, Ardhmagadhī, Jaina Maharashtrai *śāraṅga*, Magadhī *śāraṅga* a pupil. Compare, however, the remarks about *d*, *t*, above.

Though *s* sounds in Magadhī generally become *ś*, we also find instances of the change of *s* to *h*, which plays a great role in the formation of the future in Maharashtrai and Ardhmagadhī. Compare forms such as Magadhī *putrāha* and *putraha*, of a son.

We may further note the cerebralising of dental sounds and the change of *t* to *ṭ*, *ṭ* to *c*, *c* to *ṣ* in Maharashtrai, Ardhmagadhī and Magadhī. Compare Fischer, *Grammatica der Prakrit-Sprachen* Strassburg, 1900, §§ 219, 229, 238.

Such changes also occur in Saurasēni but only sporadically.

If we turn to the index and system we find several indications that Magadhī is based on a dialect with the same rich variety of forms as Maharashtrai and Ardhmagadhī.

Thus Magadhī, like the two last-mentioned dialects, preserved the old dative of *a*-bases at least in verses. (Fischer, § 361.) It has two different forms of the genitive of the same bases, thus *putrasa* and *putrāha* of the son, two forms of the locative, thus *gṛhē* and *gṛhāṇā*, in the village, in the well. There is even a third form of this case ending in *āha*. Thus, *kuśāha* is the family. The genitive plural ends in *āhaṃ* and *āhāṃ*, the vocative plural in *ā* and *āha*, etc.

Not so in the form *ā*, therefore, in a dialect with the exception of Saurasēni.

The Aṃśapadaṃ, which in Saurasēni is only used in the first person singular, occurs also in other persons in Magadhī, not, however, so often as in Maharashtrai and Ardhmagadhī. Consider, e.g. the ready materials for our knowledge of Magadhī this point is of importance.

But yes, such as *hara*, *ḍ* I may do, do not occur in Saurasēni but are occasionally found in Magadhī and are the common forms in Maharashtrai and Ardhmagadhī. Forms such as *anāṃ* or *ānā*, I may take, which are the only ones used in Saurasēni, in the other dialects occur in the other Prakṛits.

Verbs ending in a short *a* usually form their imperative in *a*, thus *pīṣa* drink. In Maharashtrai, Ardhmagadhī and Magadhī, however, we meet the forms such as *pīṣā*.

The suffix *-la* which plays a great role in Maharashtrai and Ardhmagadhī is related to *śāraṅga* Magadhī, *śāraṅga* Sanskrit *śāraṅga* in the modern dialects spoken in the old Magadhī country and at an *-s* suffix must have been common in Magadhī, Apabhraṃsa.

Such instances seem to show that Magadhī was based on a vernacular which was much more closely related to Maharashtrai and Ardhmagadhī than to Saurasēni. It should be remembered that it is used with a prose in verses, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Magadhī of the prose passages has been largely influenced by Saurasēni, the principal prose Prakṛit of the plays.

Though the so-called Apabhraṃsa will not be dealt with in these pages, it may be noted that the Saurasēni Apabhraṃsa, as also the so-called *lāṭā* Saurasēni, *lāṭā* is a form from Saurasēni Prakṛit and agrees with the other dialects. It may at first sight be explained by the fact that it is of a somewhat different origin. The Saurasēni Apabhraṃsa is properly known from Hēma-Chandra's *śabdāraṇa* and is a well-known fact that it is a dialect which agrees with the *śāraṅga*. Now, though it was regarded from Maharashtrai dialects, it was there, however, certainly not influenced by the speech of the former inhabitants. We do not know who these were. The many points of analogy between Gujarātī and Konkāṇī, however, make it almost certain that this dialect was closely related to old Marāṭhī.



It seems therefore necessary to divide the Prākṛits in two groups Saurasēni on one side, and Mahārāṣṭrī Ardhamagadhī and Magadhī on the other. The former agrees with classical Sanskrit in vocabulary and in its fixed inflexional system while the latter contains many words which are unknown to classical Sanskrit and approaches the old Vedic dialects in the rich variety of forms. On the other hand it should be clearly understood that the dialects of the group differed from each other in many points, just as is the case with their modern representatives at the present day. Our knowledge of Māgadhī is too limited to arrive at certain results with regard to that dialect. It may however be added that the position ascribed to it well agrees with the relationship of the modern vernaculars of the Magadha country. More definite results would be obtained if we would include the Magadhī of the inscriptions and Pali in the scope of our inquiries. I cannot however, now enter upon the many problems connected with these forms of speech.

The relation of Mahārāṣṭrī to the other Prākṛits must, therefore, be defined as follows.

In some characteristics such as the formation of the nominative singular of masculine nouns and in the pronunciation of some consonants it agrees with Saurasēni, and with Ardhamagadhī. Its whole character however shows it to be a dialect belonging to a group which comprised the vernaculars of the south and east.

The modern vernaculars of India have been classified in various ways. If we exclude the languages spoken on the north-western frontier, we may distinguish the following groups<sup>2</sup> —

- 1 North-Western Group — i. e., Kashmiri, Laloda and Sindhi.
- 2 Southern Group — Marāṭhī.
- 3 Western Group — Gujarāṭī Panjabī Rājasthānī Western Hindī
- 4 Northern Group — Western Pahari, Central Pahari, Nepali.
- 5 Mediate Group — Eastern Hindī.
- 6 Eastern Group, — Assamese, Bengali, Bihārī, Oriyā.

According to Dr. Grierson the third and fourth group must be considered as mutually connected and as forming one distinct branch which he calls the inner family. The first, the second and the sixth groups on the other hand have certain important characteristics in common and should be classed together as the outer family. Eastern Hindī forms the link between both.

It will be seen that Dr. Grierson's classification of the modern vernaculars agrees with that proposed above for the Prākṛits.

If we abstract from the north-western languages which have nothing directly corresponding to them in the Prākṛits, we find two great divisions, one inner corresponding to Saurasēni Prākṛit, and one outer, corresponding to the southern and eastern Prākṛits. To these must be added the dialects sharing some of the characteristics of both, the Mediate Group.

It is clear that such a classification can only be a very rough one. There are numerous cross-divisions, so that it is often a very complicated matter to define precisely the position of a given language. We are in this place only concerned with Marāṭhī and it will be necessary to go into some detail in order to illustrate the relationship of that language to other Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

Dr. Hoernle, *i. e.*, pp. xiv and ff., points out that Marāṭhī in some points agrees with the western (i. e., inner) and in others with the eastern (i. e., outer) languages. Moreover, it in

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Grierson, *Census of India, 1901 Indexes of Languages* London 1902. The denomination of the various groups has been slightly altered so as to agree with the system adopted in the Linguistic Survey.



many respects differs from both. He therefore considers Marāṭhī to form a group by itself. The facts may be broadly laid down as follows:—

### 1. Agreement between Marāṭhī and inner languages.

The pronunciation is generally the same. Thus *r* and *ḷ* are distinguished as in Gujarātī, Panjābī and part of Brāhūī. The short *a* is pronounced as the *u* in English, but the fact that Marāṭhī has two *a*-sounds cannot be adduced to prove a nearer connexion with western languages. The Bengālī *a* must be compared with the corresponding sound in Māgadhī Prakrit, which was used in all cases instead of every old *a*-sound without any attempt at being paid to the sound following it. The *a* in Marāṭhī, on the other hand, is only used before *i*, *ē*, and *ō*, in which cases it is due to the common pronunciation of a *y* before these vowels (compare *yānā*, *ēnā*, to come), a tendency which is hardly compatible with the phonetical laws prevailing in eastern languages which are averse to an initial *y* or *w*. The pronunciation of the palatals *na*, *ta*, *da*, etc. is not an exclusively eastern peculiarity. It is not only common in Bengālī but a similar pronunciation also prevails in some forms of Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Compare also Kāśmīrī. In Marāṭhī, this pronunciation is not the only one, the true palatal sound being preserved in the same cases as those in which a dental *s* becomes a palatal. The Marāṭhī system is the same as that prevailing in Telugu, and it is also possible to think of Dravidian influence. On the whole there can be no doubt that the pronunciation of Marāṭhī, as stated by Dr. Hoernle, *l.c.*, fully agrees with that of western languages of the inner family. It will be remembered that Maharashtra pronomology had the same relation to Sanskrit, the inner Prakrit.

The demonstrative and relative pronouns end in *ē* in the nominative singular masculine in Marāṭhī as in Western Hindi, while the Eastern dialects have forms ending in *ē*. Compare Marāṭhī *ā*, Bīṣāṭ *je*, who. In connection with this point it should be noted that the nominative singular of *a*-bases in old Marāṭhī ends in *a* or *ē*, which corresponds to *a* in the western Prakrits, and not to *e* in the eastern. Thus old Marāṭhī *nandana*, a son, *raja*, a king. The nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *a* in Marāṭhī. This *a* is, however, probably the direct development of an old *a-i*. An *a-i* or *a-u* would regularly become *ē* in modern Marāṭhī. It seems, on the whole, difficult to base any conclusions on the different forms of the nominative of these bases. Else we should be obliged to separate Marāṭhī from Konkani, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, from Panjābī and some dialects of Western Hindi.

It will be seen from the preceding remarks that Marāṭhī agrees with the inner languages in the same points as those in which Maharashtra matched with Sanskrit, etc., in pronunciation and in the *ā* form of the nominative singular of masculine *a*-cases.

Marāṭhī also agrees with the inner languages in two other important points, in the regular use of a case of the agent and the consequent passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs, and in forming the infinitive with an *a*-suffix.

With regard to the former of these two points it does not seem to be of fundamental importance. The origin of the past tense from a past participle passive, and the corresponding use of the past participle in all Prakrits as a passive form of the past, clearly show that the active construction of such tenses so often found in eastern vernaculars is a comparatively late development, and may thus be compared with the dropping of the neuter gender in most Indo-Aryan vernaculars. With regard to the second point, the formation of the infinitive by adding an *a*-suffix it should be borne in mind that Marāṭhī also possesses a *ṛ*-infinitive, corresponding to the *ṛ*-forms in the east and that this latter formation of the infinitive by no means is confined to the outer languages, but is quite common in Gujarātī, a language which certainly belongs to the inner family.







Marāṭhī thus agrees with western vernaculars in pronunciation, in the regular use of the case of the agent, and in a form of the nominative singular of *a*-bases which can be traced back to the old Maharashtra form ending in *ī*. With eastern forms of speech it agrees in two fundamental points, the oblique base ending in *ā*, and the past tense formed by adding an *i*-suffix. We may add that the inflexional system of Marāṭhī, at least to some extent, has the same richness of forms which characterises the eastern languages as opposed to the western ones.

The features in which Marāṭhī differs from the western as well as from the eastern languages do not concern us here. Compare Dr. Hoernle, *l. c.*

It will be seen that Marāṭhī occupies exactly the same position within the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars as Māhārāshtrī among the Prākṛits. The arguments adduced against the derivation of both languages from the same old vernacular have not proved valid, and we will have to adhere to the Indian tradition that Māhārāshtrī was based on the old vernacular of the Marāṭha country.

We are now prepared to turn our attention to some additional proofs which are furnished by occasional points of coincidence between both languages. It is unnecessary to aim at completeness in the enumeration of such facts, but it will be useful to select a few instances. For further details, we may refer the reader to two older papers, one by M. Garrez in the *Journ. Asiatique*, VI., xx., Paris, 1872, pp. 2v3 and ff., the other by Professor Kuhn in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXXIII., p. 478 f. M. Garrez's article must, however, be used with caution, compare Dr. Grierson, above, Vol. XXX., pp. 553 and ff.

It will be noted that many forms in which Marāṭhī will be shown to agree with Māhārāshtrī also are found in other modern vernaculars, especially in the east. This could not possibly be otherwise if the preceding remarks are correct. I have not, therefore, thought it necessary to note such instances, my present aim being to adduce additional proofs for the derivation of Marāṭhī and Māhārāshtrī from the same source, which seems to be necessarily inferred from the facts already adduced.

For our present purposes we must refrain from a comparison of the vocabulary of both languages, though considerable results might be derived in such a way. In the first place we know too little of Saurasēnī and Māgadhī, and in the second place it would be unsafe to compare the vocabulary of modern vernaculars so long as we have not good dictionaries in all of them. Something in this direction has already been done by M. Garrez in the article just quoted. Compare, however, Dr. Grierson, *l. c.* We shall therefore only draw attention to a few points of phonology and inflexion where Marāṭhī seems to agree with Māhārāshtrī.

**Vowels.**—Long vowels are often shortened in Māhārāshtrī and Ardhamāgadhī, thus, *kumāra*, Sanskrit *kumāra*, a boy. This form does not occur in Saurasēnī, but must be compared with Marāṭhī *kumar*. *Haridra*, turmeric, often becomes *halatā* or *halatā* in Māhārāshtrī. Compare Marāṭhī *halad*, dative *haladī-lā*.

The Sanskrit vowel *ṛ* is sometimes differently treated in the old dialects. Thus, Sanskrit *ṛta*, done, becomes *kas* in Māhārāshtrī and Ardhamāgadhī (compare Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī *kada*), but usually *kida* in Saurasēnī. Similarly, we find Māhārāshtrī and Ardhamāgadhī *kaśa*, Saurasēnī *ghaśa*, Sanskrit *ghrita*, clarified butter. Compare Marāṭhī *kāś*, i. e., *kāśa-nāam*, done (but Hindi *kayā*, i. e., *kāśa*), while *ghā*, clarified butter, which is derived from the form *ghāśa* and is quite common in Hindi, according to Molesworth is scarcely used in Marāṭhī and must be considered as a Hindi loan-word. In this connexion we may also mention Marāṭhī *bhā*, Māhārāshtrī *bhāna*, Sanskrit *bhrātṛka*, a brother. Also Saurasēnī has, however, *baśa*, but most modern vernaculars have *bhā*, which represents a Prākṛit *bhā*, a.

**Consonants.**—It has already been noted that one of the most striking features in which Māhārāshtrī and Ardhamāgadhī differ from Saurasēnī (and Māgadhī) is the treatment of



a Sanskrit / between vowels, which becomes *d* in the latter, and is dropped in the former group. Many verbal forms contain such a *i*, and this is the reason why the different treatment of it plays so conspicuous a rôle in the Prakrits. It has already been stated that no great importance can be attached to this point. Still it is of interest to note that modern Marāṭhi has dropped the *i* in all verbal forms, and there are no traces of participles such as Gujarāṭi *kṛtā* done, *līkḥā*, taken; *pīkḥā*, drunk. Old Marāṭhi *kḥāḍilā*, eaten, is quite different, the *i*, which belongs to the base, having probably been re-introduced through the influence of the Sanskrit form.

Soft consonants are occasionally hardened in the Prakrits. Thus, Māhārāṣṭrī *machchā* for *majja*, Sanskrit *māḍyati*, he grows mad; *vacchā* for *vajja*, Sanskrit *vrajati*, he walks. Compare Marāṭhi *maśāṇā*, to swell, to rise in force (Hindī *machāṇā*), Konkani *rotā*, to go.

Consonants are occasionally aspirated. Compare Māhārāṣṭrī *lasi* and *ḥasi*, Sanskrit *lāsā*, Marāṭhi *ḥasiā* (Hindī *ḥāsī*), stalk of the lotus.

The aspiration has apparently been thrown back in Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī *ghettā*, Sanskrit *grahita*, to seize. Compare Marāṭhi *ghāṭā*, taken. According to M. Garret, this word is peculiar to Marāṭhi as the corresponding Prakrit word was to Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī.

An initial dental *t* has become cerebralised in Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī in words such as *ḍasa*, Sanskrit *ḍasati*, he bites; *ḍaḥa*, Sanskrit *ḍahati*, he burns, *ḍāḥa* (probably from Sanskrit *ḍāḥa*, oscillating), an eye; *ḍāḥa*, Sanskrit *ḍāḥyati*, he swings; *ḍāḥāḥa*, Sanskrit *ḍāḥāḥa*, the longings of a pregnant woman; *ḍarā*, Sanskrit *darati*, he fears, and so forth. Compare Marāṭhi *darāṇā*, to bite; *dāḥā* (poetical), heat; *ḍāḥāṇā*, to be hot, *ḍāḥā*, an eye, *ḍāḥāṇā*, to walk nodding; *ḍāḥāḥā*, longings of a pregnant woman; *ḍarāṇā*, to fear.

The interchange between cerebral and dental *n* in Marāṭhi has been shown by Bhandarkar to correspond to the state of affairs in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and late Ardhamāgadhī. Every initial *n* and every double *n* becomes a dental *n* in Marāṭhi, while every medial single *n* is cerebral and represented by a cerebral *n* in Marāṭhi. Compare Bhandarkar in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII, 1882, p. 166.

We may add stray forms such as Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī *chāḥa*, Sanskrit *kaśā*, Marāṭhi *śā*, but Saurasēṇī *khēḥa*, Hindī *kāḥā*, a flea, Māhārāṣṭrī *kāḥa*, Marāṭhi *kā*, but Sanskrit and Saurasēṇī *kāḥa*, forsooth, Sanskrit *garḍha*, Māhārāṣṭrī *garḍha*, Marāṭhi *garḍha*, but Saurasēṇī *garḍha*, Hindī *garḍhā*, an ass; Māhārāṣṭrī *pañḍāṇa*, Marāṭhi *pañḍā*, fifty, and so forth.

All these instances show that Marāṭhi and Māhārāṣṭrī have many phonetical laws in common. When we find the same facts recurring in other modern vernaculars, it is so natural that we should find them in the east. Ardhamāgadhī shows that the phonology of eastern Prakrits was more closely connected with Māhārāṣṭrī than with Saurasēṇī. As regards the vernaculars derived from the same source as Saurasēṇī, the many instances where both differ cannot fail to show that the literary Saurasēṇī was based on the vernacular of a comparatively small area or of a definite class of people, and that the popular dialects of the Saurasēṇa country in many points differed, or have subsequently been largely influenced from other sources. We are still far from being able to trace all the elements which have contributed to the formation of the various dialects of Western Hindī, though we know enough to state definitely that their main base was a Saurasēṇa dialect.

**Nouns and Pronouns.**—It has already been pointed out that the nominative singular for masculine *a*-bases ends in *ā* in Māhārāṣṭrī (and Saurasēṇī), and that old Marāṭhi shows that the same was the case in the language of the Marāṭha country. It has also been mentioned that Māgadhī shows a tendency to change neuter *a*-bases to masculine. This tendency does not



exist in Māhārāṣṭrī, and modern Marāṭhī here again agrees in preserving the neuter gender, while most modern vernaculars, with the exception of Gujarātī and rural Western Hindi, have replaced it by the masculine.

The genitive of *-bases* often ends in *-tā* in Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī, thus, *agṇiśā*, Sanskrit *agnēś*, of the fire; but Saurasēnī only *agṇi*. Bases ending in *-in* have in the same dialects been confounded with them, thus *hastihāsa*, Saurasēnī *hastihāṣ*, Sanskrit *hastināṣ*, of an elephant. The only *-in*-base which has survived in Marāṭhī is *hātī*, an elephant, and the dative of this word is *hātī* which is the direct descendant of *hastihāsa*.

With regard to pronouns we may note that the typical Māhārāṣṭrī forms *mayka*, my, and *tujka*, thy, have survived in Marāṭhī *mālsā*, my; *tulsā*, thy.

**Verbs.**—With regard to the conjugation of verbs, it is of interest that Marāṭhī has preserved a good deal of the variety of different forms which characterized Māhārāṣṭrī. Marāṭhī here again proves to be a more conservative language than its neighbors. Thus we not only find the old present, future (see below), and imperative, but also some traces of the optative. Compare,—

*Dekhē indriyā dāhina hāpē tā sthēhēd-tā pāryā ānē mēhānūkkhē dēkējē āpana-pj.*

'See, if a man is dependent on his senses, then he will suffer cold and heat, and tie himself to pleasure and sorrow' — (*Jānēvārī*, II. 119.)

Such forms have usually been explained as passives used in an active sense. And there can be no doubt that passive forms are often so used. This seems, however, to be partly due to the fact that they were confounded with remnants of the old optative.

The old passive survives in forms, such as *lābhā*, to be got; *durjā*, to appear, and so on. In old poetry, however, a passive formed with the characteristic *-yā* is in common use. Thus, *codhāyati*, they are killed, *kyā*, it is done. In modern Marāṭhī only the forms *māhāyā*, it is said, namely; and *pāhāyā*, it is wanted, have survived.

It should be noted that such forms correspond to the Māhārāṣṭrī passive ending in *-ijjā*, while Saurasēnī has *tadī*. Jaina Saurasēnī has forms ending in *-ijjā*. That dialect in many respects occupies a position intermediate between Saurasēnī and Māhārāṣṭrī. Compare Gujarātī and Rājasthānī.

The Marāṭhī future is now formed by adding an *-i*-suffix, as is also the case in Rājasthānī and some northern dialects. In the first person singular *-ā* is in most dialects added instead, and in the first person plural no addition is made. The base of the future is identical with the old present, which is now used as a habitual past, but in poetry also has the functions of a present, a past, and a future. Thus, *ujhā*, I used to rise; *ujhāi*, I shall rise.

It seems probable that the habitual past is not only derived from the old present, but also from the old future. For though the modern future usually agrees with it, there are instances in the dialects where both differ. Thus Nagpurī *uśā*, I used to sleep, but *uśāi*, I shall sleep. A confusion between the old present and the old future might easily take place, as both would often necessarily have assumed the same form. In Māhārāṣṭrī the future was formed by means of the suffix *-ā*, which was often changed to *-i*. Thus, *hasāmi* and *hasatāi*, I shall laugh; *hasāsi* and *hasissasi*, thou wilt laugh; *hasāmi* and *hasatāi*, he will laugh. The forms *hasāmi* (or *hasāmi*), *hasāsi*, *hasāmi*, would regularly become *hasā*, *hasāi*, *hasāi*, in Marāṭhī, and it seems probable that they have contributed to the formation of the past habitual. This would account for the use of this tense in the formation of the future. In this connexion it should be noted that the difference in the formation of the future in the two conjugations in Marāṭhī seems to be artificial. In poetry and in the dialects both forms are used without any difference at all. Thus in the Marāṭhī dialect of Berar and the Central Provinces we find both *asāi* and *asā* (Standard *asāi*), he shall be. Forms, such as *ujhā*, *ujhāi*, *ujhā*, I used to rise, etc., would be the direct derivations of Māhārāṣṭrī *ujhāmi*, *ujhāi*, *ujhā*, and it seems to be allowed to



conclude that the *l*-form of the habitual past and the future is derived from the old present the *l*-form from the old future. I may add that dialectically the *l*-suffix is dropped in the Marathi future. Thus, *Karhāḍi mā'ne*, thou wilt strike, a form which seems directly to correspond to Mahārāṣṭrī *mārasen* or *mārikhet*, when it is borne in mind that a short *i* in the penultimate is regularly dropped in that dialect.

Marathi infinitives such as *mārā*, to strike, *utthā*, to arise, etc. seem to be directly derived from Mahārāṣṭrī *mārasen*, *utthasen*. The participle of necessity ending in *ena* in Mahārāṣṭrī (Sanskrit *lanya*) is used in the same sense in modern Marathi while in other dialects it has become a future. Thus Marathi *myā karāve*, Mahārāṣṭrī *myā karāreṇa*, it should be done by me I shall do.

The connective participle ends in *ne* in Mahārāṣṭrī and often also in Ardhamāgadhī but usually is in Sauraseni and Magadhī. Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī also uses the form ending in *na*, thus *kāhena* having told. To such forms corresponds the Marathi connective participle ending in *na* from older *u-nid*, i. e., *ū nid*, which contains the old *na* (compare old forms such as *karānā*, having destroyed and a second suffix *nid* which must be compared with *bhāratā* of *bhāra* old Marathi *karānā*, having done. The common *o* in such forms (compare *karānā* and *karānya*, having done) is due to the same reasons as *Apabhraṃśa* *lāhena*, *tākar*, etc. It is of importance to note that the different formation of this participle is very marked in the old Prakrits. Marathi as usual agrees with Mahārāṣṭrī.

We may add correspondence in the syntax, such as the use of the neuter in adjectives qualifying words of different genders the use of adjectives instead of adverbs the use of the present participle as a conditional; the frequency with which an *l*-suffix corresponds to an old *lla*, occurs, and, lastly, the use of the emphatic particle Mahārāṣṭrī *chā*, *ena*, *chena*, Marathi *chā*, *is*. The particle *chā*, etc., is only used in Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī, the corresponding word in Sauraseni being *ya*. Both forms have survived, the former in Marathi *chā*, *ena*, Chhattisgarhi *chā*, the latter in Gujarati *yā*.

Such instances of agreement would not prove much if they were isolated. Taken together, however, and considered in connection with the general reasons adduced in the preceding pages, they cannot fail to add strength to the conclusion that the Indian tradition is right in referring Marathi and Mahārāṣṭrī to the same locality.

One immediate consequence of this result is that Khândēsi can no more be considered as a dialect of Marathi. It would take us too far to enter upon this question in the present page. Suffice it to state that Khândēsi will in the Linguistic Survey be shown to be a dialect based on Gujarati and not on Marathi.

It will be borne in mind that Mahārāṣṭrī, though decidedly showing a leaning towards the east is a rather independent language, occupying a somewhat intermediary position. The same is the case with Marathi. And the conservative tendencies of that language have, to a great extent, prevented it from being influenced by its neighbours. Nowhere do we find it dropping gradually into a neighbouring form of speech. The frontier line between Marathi on one side and Rajasthani and Gujarati on the other is a very marked one. Only in the west we see that Marathi has largely influenced Khândēsi and some Lhasi dialects which might be considered as links between Marathi and Gujarati. They are not, however, in reality intermediate languages but mixed forms of speech which have borrowed from Marathi. The state of affairs in the east is similar. There is no link between Marathi and Chhattisgarhi or Marathi and Orissā. The Hindi dialect, which has sometimes been described as a dialect of Chhattisgarhi and sometimes of Marathi is in reality none of both. It is a mongrel form of speech adopted by a tribe of non-Aryan descent. The inner form of the dialect is Chhattisgarhi and Orissā. Marathi having contributed several suffixes which are added to the simple base and not to a form corresponding to the oblique base in Marathi.



EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIII<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from p. 139.)

Appendix I.

Despatches to Bengal.

1780 — 1796.

Extracts with regard to the Settlement at the Andamans.

**30th March 1791.** We shall postpone giving you any directions relative to the **New Settlement on the Andamans**, until after the receipt of Captain Kyd's Survey and investigation and the Report of Commodore Cornwallis.

**25th February 1793.** We have referred to your Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> July 1791, for information respecting the **Harbour to the North East of the Great Andaman Island**, and which, in the opinion of Commodore Cornwallis, is much superior, for a Fleet of Men of War, to Port Cornwallis [*i. e.* the modern Port Blair]; and direct that you transmit to Us a Copy of the Plan of this Harbour together with the former report of Commodore Cornwallis, the Surveys of Captain Kyd and Lieutenant Blair, with every other necessary material to enable us to come to a final decision respecting the fitness of this new Settlement over that which has been formed at Penang, or Prince of Wales Island.

**15th April 1795. Andamans.** In consequence of the decided opinion of Admiral Cornwallis in favor of the Harbour at the North East end of the Great Andaman Island, as a safe and convenient Port for a Squadron of Ships of War, we approve of your resolution for removing the Stores and every other part of the Establishment that was made at the **Harbour which has hitherto been called Port Cornwallis** [*i. e.* Port Blair], to the Harbour recommended by the Commodore.

We likewise approve of the measures that have been taken for effecting the New Settlement, and of the Allowances to the Officers and others employed in that service, as mentioned in your subsequent Despatches, and the proceedings to which they refer.

We direct that you send us Copies of all the Plans and Surveys that have been or shall be taken of this new Harbour. We observe that several have already been taken, and that others are expected to be made, and we desire that a regular List thereof may be transmitted to us. We observe that Major Kyd, appointed temporary Commandant and Superintendent of the Works to be erected on Chatham Island [in the modern Port Cornwallis] has been directed to prepare a plan of Fortifications for its defence of the Port, whether in the absence of the Fleet, or for the protection of any number of ships blocked up in the Harbour by a superior force. You will of course furnish us with Major Kyd's report, and an Estimate of the expense of the proposed works, that we may be enabled to give you such directions upon the Subject, as the situation of affairs both in India and Europe shall appear to require, and no works but such as may be deemed necessary for immediate defence are to be commenced without our previous sanction.

It appears by your subsequent Dispatch of the 12th August 1793, that in consequence of Captain Blair's report therein referred to, a more minute investigation is to be made of the Soundings at **North East Harbour** [now Port Cornwallis], and that you are endeavoring to ascertain the cause of the late uncommon sickness among the Settlers. We have therefore no further Directions to give you upon this subject at present.

Your recommendation for establishing Courts of Justice at the Andamans will be taken into consideration.



We approve of your determination that all Notorious Offenders sentenced to be confined for life shall be transported to the Andamans to be employed in clearing the Lands or on Public Buildings or Works.

3<sup>rd</sup> July, 1796. We approve of your determination for sending a Number of Convicts from the *Nizamut Adawlut* to the Andamans.

For the reasons stated we approve of your having taken up a Vessel, built by the late Colonel Kyd, for the Service of the Andamans.

For the forcible reasons that have been urged, we approve of the addition which has been made to Major Kyd's Allowances as Superintendent of the Andamans.

6<sup>th</sup> January 1796. We have perused the very able and impartial Report part the first from Major Kyd, referred to in the 6<sup>th</sup> Paragraph of your Letter in this Department of the 20<sup>th</sup> March last, upon the comparative advantages of the two Settlements at Prince of Wales Island and the Andamans. But as you have declared your intention of communicating to us your Sentiments upon this subject by the next Ship and as we had previously desired your opinion thereon we shall not enter at this time into the consideration thereof.

27<sup>th</sup> July 1796. For the reasons stated we approve of your Request to the Bombay Government that European Convicts should not in future be ordered to the Andamans.

We approve of the *Snow Druid* having been freighted for carrying Supplies to the Andamans.

9<sup>th</sup> May 1797. From the information contained in the very able Report of Major Kyd, referred to in these 73<sup>rd</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> Paras of your Letter, and for the reasons assigned in your subsequent Dispatch of the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1796, we approve of your Resolutions of the 8<sup>th</sup> February precluding for withdrawing the Settlement at the Andamans; and we are pleased to find by the 14<sup>th</sup> Paragraph of your Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> July last, that except the freight of a small Vessel stationed at the Andamans merely to keep possession, every expense on account of the Establishment had ceased.

## Appendix II.

Among a series of MS. Records at the India Office known as E. I. Co. Home Series Miscellaneous, are two of much interest in the present connection No. 454 giving M<sup>r</sup> La Beaume's remarks concerning the Andamans in 1790, and No. 388 giving Lieutenant Stokoe's 'Concise account of the Andamans,' with a plan of Port Cornwallis, dated 1793. Through the courtesy of the authorities I am now able to publish them.

### No. I

E. I. Co., Home Series. Miscellaneous. 434 J. Letters from M<sup>r</sup> George Smith to M<sup>r</sup> Dundas afterwards Viscount Melville on various topics.

Extract from letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> January 1790 introducing M<sup>r</sup> Melchior La Beaume, directed to William Cabell Esq<sup>r</sup>

"You will find him [Mr La Beaume] a sensible, intelligent, and well informed Man, who is capable of giving useful information relative to India, & its Commerce and on that account, I introduce him to you, and should be glad that you would for the same reason present him to M<sup>r</sup> Dundas. To Mr La Beaume is principally owing my late Discoveries which we may have made at the Andaman Isles, for to my knowledge he proposed to undertake at his own Expense the Discovery of these Isles and of placing a Colony there, & he succeeded in finding a proper Harbour or Port for the reception of ships of war, and a proper place for planting a Colony, he then was to be paid such sum as might be agreed upon between him & Government, if he did not succeed, he was to receive no recompense, a proposition of this kind he spotted Tendency, did I do really he set Spur Government to the Discovery of these Isles, what effects were attended it, I cannot say,



the officer sent on that Expedition being led down to Seersee. Ports however there certainly are, and whatever advantages we may reap from a possession of these Isles, are in a great degree owing to Mr La Beaume, and this I say from knowledge, for I translated for him the Memorial which he delivered to Colonel Rose for Lord Cornwallis on the subject of the Andaman Isles, and the conquest of the kingdom of Pegu in their Vicinity."

Enclosed in the above letter is 'Observations on the present state of the Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu and the means of joining them to the British dominions in India,' by Melchior La Beaume. In this paper occur the following remarks on the Andaman Islands —

"The two Islands Andaman opposite to Pegu deserve in a particular degree the attention of the English Nation for they would belong of right to the People who would be generous enough to make themselves masters of them and civilize their inhabitants. A Foreign Captain who passed through the Channel which divides the two Islands has assured me that he had found an excellent Harbour in it and nowhere less than seven Fathoms.

If the Universe applauds the medal which England caused to be struck for the Duke of Bedford for having planted Oak what would not be the reward of the illustrious Governour and Supreme Council who should order the execution of so glorious an enterprise.

My humble opinion is that their names would be immortalized and that thousands of their Fellow creatures would bless them for ever.

However notwithstanding I consider the success of this project as morally certain its importance should make me diffident of my own abilities, and I request that this memorial if found to have any merit may only be considered as an Essay, — offering my services and every good that can result from the experience of thirty five years residence in India, and the emulation I must naturally feel from my sincerest wishes to be an instrument in hastening its perfection and Execution.

N.B. Mr La Beaume in presenting the annexed Observations to my Lord Cornwallis offered to examine the Andamans at his sole expence, provided the informations were found to be unfavourable. The Success which those who afterwards explored it [lost with] were Superior to the most sanguine expectations.

Melchior La Beaume."

## NO. II.

E 1, Co Home Series. Miscellaneous. No 338. Letters from Sir John Murray to Mr Dundas chiefly upon military and political topics.

In Letter dated 16<sup>th</sup> May 1794. Sir John Murray sends four enclosures to Mr. Dundas. He describes No 2 as follows — "No 2 is a concise account of the Andamans. Mr Skokoe, of the Engineers, furnished me with this paper, which is drawn up by himself but he does not wish that public use should be made of it yet — as Major Kyd who commands on the Island is an intelligent able officer, deems another years residence there necessary before he delivers an official Report regarding it." Below I now give the "concise account."

### A Concise Account of Port Cornwallis, Andamans, with a Sketch of the Plan of the Harbour.

#### Situation.

The Situation of the Andaman Islands are too well known to require a Particular explanation in the slight Memoir, it may be sufficient to observe, they are a Continuation of the Chain of small Islands extending from Cape Nagrais to Atocheon Head, What has usually been called the Great Andaman stretches from North Latitude 11° 20' to 13° 38', it is however separated by Mac Phersons Straits, the East entrance of which is in N° Lat. 11°. 27', and the West in 11°. 30', and also by middle passage, the East entrance being in Lat<sup>d</sup> 12° 2', and the West in



12<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>m</sup> — Vessels drawing 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 fathoms water may go thro' either of these passages. At particular seasons of the year they occasion strong and dangerous Currents setting to Westward.

### Chatham Island.

**Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis**, on the Eastern side of the Island on which the present Settlement is Established, is situated in N Lat<sup>d</sup> 13<sup>o</sup>, 20<sup>m</sup> and in East Longitude from Greenwich 92<sup>o</sup> 55<sup>m</sup>, 55<sup>s</sup>. Its extreme Length, North & South, is a little more than 3000 yards. Its greatest Breadth at the North End is 900 yards. On this face the Colony is formed, the breadth varies considerably, until it approaches the South end of the Island, where it terminates in a narrow, unfathomable at low Water to the Main, about 400 yards across.

**Surface.** The Surface is extremely irregular, being a perpetual succession of Ridges & Valleys in all directions, the former are not very high, the sides of most of them are abrupt, and cut into deep Gorges by the Periodical Rains, the latter are in general narrow and confined, with a Ravine or Water Course in the Center of each. The whole Island is so thickly covered with Jungle, that it is difficult to calculate with accuracy the extent of level Land, judging from the few spots we have cleared there can hardly be more, than an eighth part level, or of an easy inclination. The high grounds are clothed with Timber Trees, some of them of an astonishing size their Trunks are mostly concealed from view by innumerable strong creepers, which greatly impede our progress in clearing they being interwoven in such a manner, as to render it impracticable to drag them down, or to get rid of them, except by fire. The Vambys abound with the wild beetle Nut, and various Trees of slight fibre, useless for the most part as Timber. The Shores of the Island, and all the neighbouring shores, are garnished with the Mangrove and other Aquatic Trees, some species of which afford good knees, and crooked Timbers for building boats and small vessels.

**Soil.** There is an artificial soil of rich black mould over the whole Island, evidently formed by decayed leaves and other vegetable matter, it is seldom deeper than five or six inches, except around the Roots of the larger Trees, where it is often more than a foot deep; beneath this is the natural soil, apparently of a stiff, fat, yellow loam, but experience has shown us that when tilled for Cultivation, and exposed to the force of the Rains, it becomes a mere sand, and probably will not prove very Productive as there is scarcely a Tree to be met with on the Island having a Tap Root, on the contrary the Roots extend to an incredible distance in search of the Artificial Soil, along the exterior Surface and have so sough a hold of the ground that it is imprudent to leave single Trees standing as they usually fall the first Wind that blows. It is a question whether in clearing for the Purposes of Agriculture, we may not deprive the Lands of the source of their most Prolific Soil, and when turned for Cultivation, whether the good Soil will not be washed away, as has been the case in our Garden at the expiration of the S. W. Monsoon, it was a mere bed of Sand, and we were under the necessity of collecting the Vegetable Mould from other places to restore its fertility. — The spot for this Garden was certainly ill chosen being at the foot of an extensive Ridge, and having a gradual slope to the Water edge, there are spots where we may reasonably expect a more favorable issue, one of which we have cleared, and put into cultivation, as an experiment the approaching Monsoon. A small quantity of Paddy planted, proved very productive, and some Madras Indigo seed afforded a most luxuriant Crop, and was from five to six feet high, and much superior in appearance to any I ever saw, either in the Deccan, the Douab, Bengal, the Carnatic, or Mysore Country.

**Trees.** Of Trees useful to an Infant Colony for common purposes, there are many sorts, (Muntern [sam] les) of which, with the Head Carpenters Account of them, accompanying have been sent to you) it does not appear that any of them are equal to Teak or Simsoo, and very few to Saale.

**Creepers.** There are an immense variety of Creepers, the wild Pawn has been an acquisition to the Native Settlers, and two or three different Species of Acetous Vines, have proved highly beneficial to the Scorbatic Patients, the Bamboo, Ground Kitten, &c. are all useful.



**Water.** There is great abundance of good fresh Water, the high Grounds are full of Springs, the neighbouring Shores afford plenty of Water, and as it every where oozes from the Hills, it creates a Reason for such at the foot of them, from whence, as it is still above high Water mark, it may be conveyed to the Casks, in the Boats, with great facility, either by a Trough, or Canvas Pipe.

**Quadrupeds.** The only Quadrupeds We have seen are Hogs, Rats and the Johnnucum [a writer's error for *schneumon*] the two former commit constant depredations in our Garden and Granary, the Guinna [an error for *guiana iguana*] a four footed Animal of Lizard Tribe destroys our Poultry &c.

**Birds.** There are many Birds of beautiful Plumage, in particular numerous Classes of Pigeons, Doves, Woodpeckers, and Fly Catchers, there is neither Crane or Wild Fowl of any kind; The only Bird of Prey, we have observed is the Fish Hawk.

**Reptiles.** There are many Species of Snakes, Scorpions, Centipes, Spiders, Lizards, &c several of the Labourers have been bit by Snakes, in no Instance has the bite proved Mortal, altho' the Patients were thrown into strong Convulsions. We have administered Eau de Luce and Opium, and the recovery has usually been accomplished in two hours.

**Fish.** In the North East Monsoon, Fish are caught in sufficient quantity to distribute twice a Week to the Settlers, of every description, Corkup, Mullet, Rock Cod, &c, and Solea are the best, there are a Variety of inferior sorts. The Torpedo and Seahorse, the Porcupine, the parrot, the Monkey, and other curious Fish, have been occasionally caught, there are no Oyster beds, in the Harbour, and few adhering to the Rocks. Pearl, Pelican, Hynge, & spondylus Oysters are sometimes found upon the Rocks, as well as Muscles, Cockles, Limpets, Clams, and a Variety of Gorgoneas, Madupores, sponges, Cowries, Whelks, Murex &c.

**Ore.** Iron Ore was once found and upon trial proved of a good Quality, it had evidently undergone the action of Fire, but there is no accounting by what means, how it came where it was picked up, it has since been sought after in vain. I am inclined to believe the Hills contain Minerals, of some kind, for in places where the Water lodges at the foot of them after hard Rains, there is a bloom upon it of a bright Violet Colour, resembling the gloss on breaking a piece of fine Indigo, and which I have observed on stagnant Mineral Waters.

**Stones.** Granite, Iron, Free and Limestone, and Slate are to be met with, on several of the Emergencies.

**Bricks.** We have made good Bricks, the soil in the low grounds answering well for this purpose.

**Lime.** We have also made remarkable fine Lime of Madrepores and of Shells, they both burn pure, and with less fire than Stone Chuncam can be made of and the former appears to be of as good a quality as the Swedish Lime. There are sufficient Madrepores to afford Lime for the most extensive Works of Masonry. (A Paper of each, containing a small quantity of Quick Lime accompanies this Memoir.

#### Climato.

The Andamans are situated in a very tempestuous Latitude within the Range of the full force of the South West Monsoon, during the whole of which they are deluged with perpetual Rain, and enveloped with obstructed clouds. The last Monsoon 1743, we had in May, Inches of Water 17, 94, June 11, 02, July 27, 25, August 16, 02, September 12, 67, October 7, 76, and November 5, 79, in all 98, 45. The Settlers were in general severely affected with the Scurvy during the dry weather many of them were carried off in the worst Stages of this dreadful disorder. It was attributed to a privation of Vegetable diet, and subsequent events shewed this opinion to have been well founded, soon after the Rains set in, several species of succulent and subacid Vines, and plants were discovered in the Jungle, and on being liberally distributed



to the Scorbatic Patients, they recovered their Health and strength sooner than could have been expected from the miserable situation in which they were. The Complaint resisted every effort of medical Treatment. The Ruins brought with them Complaints equally alarming, but subject to fewer Casualties — these were Fevers and Agues, attended with Induration and considerable enlargement of the Spleen, Violent Pains in the Head and joints, a diarrhoea and the greatest Depression of Spirits. The Fevers were slow, nervous and irregular, the Bark had no effect on them. Fevers and Agues have greatly prevailed the present N. E. Monsoon, these are more regular and intermittent than those before mentioned, and in general give way to the Bork. The Scurvy has again made its appearance, and would probably prove as fatal if a year, as the last if we did not take the precaution of sending all those in the slightest degree affected to Bengal. We have not had a drop of rain since November. In general we have had Clear Weather with regular Land and Sea breezes, latterly the winds are remarkably variable and the Clouds seem collecting fast. The Thermometer has not exceeded 94° the medium may be taken at 91° the last three Months, and at 84° during the Rainy Season. From the preceding observations it will appear that the Settlers have been hitherto rather unhealthy, how far their Indisposition may be attributed to various exhaustions arising from the thick Jungle and of putrid & corrupt Vegetable matter during the humidity of the atmosphere occasioned by the long continuance of the Rains, remains to be ascertained. The Crews of the different Ships in the Harbour have for the most part enjoyed uninterrupted good health, with the exception of the *Sea Horse*, who from remaining three Months in Port, from September to December began to be afflicted with the Scurvy. We may reasonably expect the approaching Season will prove more healthy, as the Jungle has been much opened.

#### Harbour, Outer.

The Harbour is very capacious, its whole length from the S. E. Entrance to the N. W. extremity being upwards of 11,000 yards, 2,000 of which at the N. W. end are Shoal Water. The breadth of the entrance of the Outer Harbour from Dundas point to Ross Island, is 3,000 yards. Its length from Ross Island to the Easternmost Point of the North End of Chatham Island, is 7,000 yards. Its extreme breadth N. E. & S. W. is 7,000 yards. The whole of the Harbour is well secured being Land locked from every wind that blows, in one part or the other. The general depth of Water is from 7 to 18 fathoms, there are Breakers round S<sup>t</sup> George Island, and a Shoal with 6 fathoms on it off Minerva Bay, every other part has sufficient depth of Water for large Ships.

**Harbour, Inner.** The Entrance to the Inner Harbour from Chatham Island to Perseverance Point, is upwards of 1,000 yards across from the North face of Chatham Island, to the South shore of the main, is 180 Yards, from the East side of Pitt Island, to the West Shore of the Main is 2,000 Yards, and this constitutes the principal body of Water of the inner Harbour. There is a narrow Channel along the South face of Pitt Island, to the South face of Wharf Island, where are 7 and 8 fathoms close to the Shore and which is remarkably well calculated for a careening Wharf.

#### Islands.

Chatham Island has already been mentioned at  $\frac{1}{2}$  Fath. Boats drawing three feet water may pass up the passage at the South end. Pitt Island has a small Flat at the Northernmost End, and a Valley across the Neck at the South end and two or three level spaces towards the middle, with a mill of fresh Water. We have a Garden on this Island, our Live Stock is kept here, and half the Convicts are employed clearing it. Wharf Island has little level Land, being high irregular ground, without a natural supply of fresh water. Ariel Island is without fresh water, and has little level Land. Mangrove Island is overflowed at high Water.



## Tides.

At full & change in the dry Season, the Tide rises 9 feet perpendicular, it is high Water a few Minutes before 10 O Clock. In the Rain the influx of the Freshes is so very considerable that the Neaps are scarcely discernable, and from the strength of the Outset, a Vessel seldom tends to the Flood.

## Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants of the Andamans seem to be dispersed in very small Societies along the Shores of their Islands, and in the Archipelago their whole numbers it is probable do not exceed 2,500 or 3,000 Souls, as their Subsistence is confined to the Fish left entangled amongst the Roots of the Mangrove, that they strike with a rice kind of Cog, or shoot with Bows and Arrows, and which fish collected at low water on the Reefs. It may be presumed the interior parts of the Island contain few or no Inhabitants, during the Rainy season they have few opportunities of exploring the Forests, and at that season they are constantly seen in small parties patrolling the Shores at night with lights of the Oil & Dammer Tree, in search of a Precious Meal the glare entices the fish to the surface, and those who follow the light, strike or shoot their prey. They must suffer exceedingly during the Heat, and from what has been observed in their huts by our working parties, we suppose them to live almost entirely on the fruit of the Mangrove, which has constantly been found used their Habitations, either boring on the fire, or macerating in fresh water, it is a very strong astrigent, harsh and rough to the taste, and can afford but little Nourishment. In deed their appearance sufficiently evinces the badness of their food. They are Caffres of a small stature, having most probably degenerated in successive generations, as there is little cause to believe them Aborigines of these Islands they being totally different in appearance and language, from every Race known in India. Their Arms, Thighs, and Legs are excessively thin, and they have all large protuberant, unsightly bellies, their Countenances depict Misery and famine in the extreme. They are absolutely in a State of Nature, having no other covering than Mud, which they cover themselves all over with, as a Preservation and defence against the bites and Stings of the Myriads of Insects swarming in the Jungles. They possess nothing that evinces strength in the formation of it, or ingenuity in the Contrivance. Their Canoes are contrived of a small sized Tree from 10 to 16 feet long, and from 8 to 14 Inches diameter, hollowed with fire, and prevented from overturning by a spar fixed at a little distance as an outrigger. Their Bows which occasionally serve as Paddles, are the neatest performance among them. Some months ago we found a man and a child so reduced by famine, as to be incapable of moving. We brought them home, and nursed them, our endeavours to save the Man were ineffectual, the Child is a remarkable fine good tempered Boy, and has quite lost that Prominence of Belly, apparently occasioned by bad food. From the deplorable Scenes we witnessed of their distress. We occasionally sent a few Carnicobar Coconuts, and a little Grain to their Huts in very bad weather they returned, when our People returned to their Boats, when they eagerly seized what had been sent to them. They will not voluntarily come near us, and those we take, either escape, or are damaged by ourselves, on observing our anxiety with trifling Presents. They appear to be a harmless inoffensive Race, they will not eat raw food, or touch any thing which a European belonging to a Vessel in distress gets into their Boat with some Lascares to seek for the Harbour at night they put on Shore and the Lascares run away with the boat leaving the European asleep he contrived to make his way thro' the Jungs the Caffres took his Canoe from him, but did him no further injury. The idea of their being cannibals is I fancy quite erroneous.

## General.

The necessity of an Harbour in the Bay of Bengal, or at some Eastern Port, where our Ships could occasionally retire to, and refit, is well known & generally admitted. Port Cornwallis has been Preferred to every other, yet discovered by so high an authority that it may be deemed excessive presumption in another person to speak of its Relative situation. It will be seen by inspection of the Plan annexed, and from preceding observations, that it largely



possesses those advantages most in Request with Naval Officers. Its situation in a central part of the Bay, promises a speedy communication at all seasons of the Year, with Bengal and the Coromandel Coast. The Harbour will contain the largest Fleet, which may work in and out with every Wind that blows. Wood and fresh water are to be had in the greatest abundance, and with the utmost facility. These advantages are conspicuous, and perhaps they are all a Statesman looks for it may be presumed he expects Administration will make his Port secure, and supply it with every necessary and Refreshment he may eventually require. It remains for the wisdom of our Superiors to consider the Climate, the Scale of Defence necessary, and the Resources their Settlements possess for erecting an extensive acquisition, and whether a Proportion of Foreigners can be obtained for this purpose. The Climate must create the larger part of the expense of labour, for whether Men are incapable of labour one half of the Year from Indisposition, or the inclemency of the Weather, it must be carried to the account the increased Wages of Workmen as an inducement for them to quit their Native Country and their Subsistence for some years at the expense of their Employers, must also be considered, and it is a question whether in time to come, Sufficient funds can be collected for a numerous population whose Principal diet it constitutes, in a Hilly Country and a Soil exposed to such heavy torrents of Rain for so great a part of the year, a period when Cultivation and Agriculture are at a Stand throughout Hindostan. A careful examination of the Plan will show its indefensible State, and that it cannot be made to afford protection to an inferior against a Superior Fleet, without an expense apparently disproportioned to the benefits to be derived. The outer Harbour must be abandoned unless a Scale of defence could be proportioned to its magnitude. The Entrance of the inner Harbour cannot be secured by any Works constructed on Chitham Island, and the fortifying Perseverance point, would at once require a double Establishment, as they must have every resource within themselves to make a separate resistance. A System of Fortification for this Port, therefore seems to be limited to Chitham Island, which possesses great choice of very strong Ground and a strong Fort well appointed would afford some protection to a few Ships, and certainly could not be taken, but by a regular Siege, in which the Opposers would have to encounter every disadvantage of Ground peculiar to a rugged Country.

It would be difficult to acquire a numerous Population for this Colony. The Carnatic is only recovering its Inhabitants since the Conclusion of the Mysorean War, the Northern Circars, are comparatively speaking almost in a State of depopulation, and I believe Bengal can afford spare so large a portion of its Inhabitants as this place would require to be settled on a grand Scale. Foreigners must therefore be sought at the expense of Government for the Andamans land at no other inducements to attract Voluntary Settlers except exorbitant Wages, cheap Living a demand for Manufactures and a Prospect of Commerce are wanting. The Position of the Colony, tho' at a first View favourable from its Central Situation does not in reality hold forth a Prospect of becoming an Emporium it runs cut of the customary Track of all Trade. The Shores of these Islands have ever been considered repulsive with dangers to Navigators, and the Reefs and Shoals discovered during the Survey of the Island, have not I imagine tended to exonerate the men of danger they are in themselves sufficient to deter Vessels approaching this Harbour except in cases of distress or necessity. It is impossible to say what the experience of another year may produce, the Magnitude of the Port has engaged much of my attention, and was I certain it possessed every advantage of Climate, Soil and situation, I should not be an Advocate for an extensive support of it. It is too far from Great Britain, and I cannot think it would prove advantageous to them that their vast territorial possessions in India, should be so closely connected as they would be, by the possession of an Harbour that would doubtless in those circumstances, become the Center of India Trade and promote too large a Maritime force this tho' a mere speculative idea may be worth the attention of Superior Wisdom. Should Port Cornwallis therefore be ultimately approved of, the Scale of



support may be limited to a small but well appointed Establishment. Sufficient ground only should be cleared for the cultivation of Rice, Beans, and Vegetables for the subsistence of the settlers, and occasional Refinement of the Sick of the Navy. There being so much fine ground we may reasonably expect pasturage would be extensively available for that Cattle and Sheep, would thrive and increase. A might be kept up of a small extension if increased by the Coast of Arracan, for the use of the Fleet, as it would be cost not only for the Navy stores for the accommodation of their own Armies. We should, while employed on the temporary repairs. The few Artificers of the Settlement and every assistance it offered would be given up to them for the time being. Hence rejected, the expense cannot be great and the Harbour may prove advantageous to the Company as well as a temporary Relief and assistance to a Mutual purpose. In case of Warfare, and this I think will have been their Design. Object in erecting the Marine Navy yards, years back. It is worth while to them to do so, and before they leave, I sincerely hope as of their true intention to do so, and their Service, that they will most rely even on the Pink Port by the end of the year.

# MISCELLANEA

## TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANJAB.

I

The question whether totemism can be said to have left any traces in the Panjāb is not an easy one to answer. There are many names of tribes or sections of tribes which denote animals, etc., but these may be mere nick-names. However, it will be best to first give a list of such names and then discuss their possible origin.

**Brāhmanas.**—In Kāngrā there is a Nāg or 'Snake' section among the Nagarkotā Brāhmanas, who rank highest of all, as well as among the Batāhrā, a lower group, who have sections called:—(i) Kharappā (or cobra) Nāg, a section of the Pakkā or First grade Batāhrā. (ii) Ghosāl (a species of fish or ? grass-snake) Nāg, in the Kachhā or Second grade. Pundrik is, it appears, also a snake section of the Nagarkotā. These snake sections are said to reverence the snake after which they are named and not to kill or injure it.

The Burāṛā (sometimes called Bhāṛā) are a Gaddi (hill-shepherd tribes) group, and hold the same position among the Gaddis, as Brāhmanas do among Hindus. The name seems to be connected with barāṛ, a thorny shrub.

In Hissār there is a section of Brāhmanas, called Bhāṛā or sheep. This is interesting, because on the Sutlej, at least in Kala Saraj, there is a small caste called Bhāṛā, who are hereditary victims in the sacrificial riding of a rope down the cliffs to the river. Further details regarding the Bhāṛā Brāhmanas would be of great interest.

**Khatris.**—We find among these Dandhal, a kind of weapon, Handā, a vessel; Chhōṛā, a large

knife; and Bārī, from Bār, a tree. The Bārī will not eat the fruit of the bār (in T. Diphār but in T. Gugerā this is said, however, not to be the case).

Further, in Gujrat, the following sections are noted:—

Pahrā, panther.	Mokhā, pebble.
Channan, sandal-wood.	Khajūrī, date-palm.
Harun, deer.	Amb, mango.
Apī, saw.	Lashā, lashed tree.
	Billā or Billi, cat.

**Arōṛās.**—The section-names of this important caste require to be fully investigated, as they are full of interest. I note the localities in which each is so far known to be found:—

Kōkar, cock, in Montgomery, Multan and Hissār
Kakfirhā, cock, Dera Ismail Khan.
Gidār, jackal, Dera Ismail Khan and Multan.
Ghōṛī, horse, Dera Ismail Khan
Nangulī, snake, Dera Ismail Khan, Nangpal, Multan; Nagpal, Montgomery.
Nangrā is also given, but no meaning is as yet.
Siprā, a serpent.
Ghīrā, dove, Montgomery and Multan.
Gorā, in Dera Ismail Khan, said to avoid the use of gerā, ochre.
Jandwānī, fig tree, Dera Ismail Khan.
Sālānī (?), pipal tree, Dera Ismail Khan.
Olāwālā, rice, Dera Ismail Khan.
Mahndirattā, kenna, Montgomery and Multan.



Kastūrī, in Dera Ismail Khan, said to avoid the use of musk, *Kastūrī*.

Chūtāl, bat: a child was once attacked by bats, which, however, left him unharmed. The section warab-pa bats' Bats (*chur-chill*) at marriages.

Mānak-tāliā, a section which reverences the *lāl*, or *shahum*, tree.

Mungl, a kind of tree, Hissār.

Galar, squirrel, Multan.

Pabrējā, a kind of plant, Multan.

Tanejā, tīra, a kind of grass, Multan and Montgomery.

Taraja, *torra*, a gourd: their ancestor once led to conceal himself among gourds, and they do not eat gourds.

Katāriā, *katir*, dagger, Multan. This section has a legend that a dagger fell from a well amongst a number of children who were playing beneath it, but did not hurt them. Hence the section became known as Katāriā, and worships the dagger, putting flowers before it at marriages.

Makar, locust, Gujrat.

Machhar, mosquito, Gujrat.

Bans, goose, Montgomery.

Lāmar, fox, Montgomery.

Mendā (P), ram, Montgomery, or Marāhā, long-haired, Montgomery.

Babbar, (P) Montgomery.

Katpāl, wood or timber, Montgomery.

Gāhā (P), a calf.

With regard to the sections mentioned as existing in Dera Ismail Khan, it is distinctly said that each shows reverence to the animal or plant after which it is named, thinking it sacred. The animal is fed, and the plant is not or injured. The Chāwālā, however, do not abstain from using rice or show it any respect.

In Multan the Mehndirālā abstain from the use of henna. The Kūkar will not eat fowls, but for the last 10 or 12 years the Mehndirālā have also refused to eat them. The Tanējā abstain from eating gourds (*P. tarif*) in Multan, or at least their women do, Montgomery.

Bhatlā.—Among the caste we find—(1) Dhaagge bullock. (2) Chabbak, called Bilikū, or cat-killer.

Said to be a M— section as Mr. F. G. B. has observed that a cat refused to eat the *Chabbak* or snake-gourd because his god was Chabbak.

Baniā. Here we find Mānāl, from *hāne*, bamboo. They never burn the bamboo: (but the bamboo is a valuable wood and not used in building generally). Mānāl is from *hāne*, a grass.

Rājputā.—The Kāngrā Rājputā have a sept or *khil* *Sūkh* from *su* a tree with a w-shaped, and never cut or injured by them. It is a *Chāwāl* section of the Rājputā. The name appears to mean 'rat.'

Jātā.—The Bagri Jātā of the South-East Panjāb have certain sections named:—

Karir, a tree. Kohār, a hatchet. Walhri, a young hoiler. Baniār, monkey. Gidar, jackal. Also 'Katāriā, sword, and 'Chāwāl, see, Piplā, *pipul*, and Jandā, *jand* tree, in Tahsil Hama.

The Jātā and other tribes of the South-West Panjāb, now almost exclusively Muhammadans, which occupy much the same tract of country as the Hindu Arōā, have quite a remarkable number of totemic sects:—

Gūhālā, horse, because they received as much land as a horse could compass in a day.

Khar, (Pora) donkey; the name is accounted for by a story.

Kalāl, *kāl* or *khāl*, a weed. This tribe is found in Bahawalpur, and is an offshoot of the religious sect or order of the Chāhālā. The story is that a child was born to a Chāhālā by the Indus close to a place where *kāl* grew. This tribe is quite distinct from the Kālā.

Kihāl, a tribe of fishermen, Indian Shāh Muhammadans, who eat alligators, etc., and derive their name from Sindhi *kehara*, lion.

Makora, a large rat. These Jātā throw sesamum and sugar on the ground near the holes of these rats.

Rohāpī, wild-duck. *Multani Glossary*, page 116.

K— a kind of *hāne* is now Jāhālā-d-Jin Kāngrā, their ancestor, saved a boat-load of people from drowning. This tribe cures hydrophobia by blowing on the patient.

Sahar, have, in Dera Ghazi Khan do not eat or injure the hare.



Among the Jat tribes of the Panjāb generally there are several other tribes which seem to have totemistic names, such as:—

**Chōng,** a handfol, **Siprā,** from *sap*, a snake (also an **Apūrā** section); **Chhichhārd,** from *chhichhārd* (*hutes frondosa*), a sub-division of the **Baywā** Jats, so called because a **Baywā** lost all his sons and was told by an astrologer that only that child would live which was born under a *chhichhārd* tree; for this the **Baywā** arranged, and the child lived. I may add **Gorāyā,** said to mean *allgai* (cf. **Gurāhā** above, however).

The **Labānas**, in the South West Panjāb, have a curious legend. They say a **Rathor** Rajput had a son who was born with a mouatache already grown, so he was called **Labāna**, or 'erickat,' an insect 'with formidable jaws,' which is tied round the neck of a child which has pimples (*paṭṭārd*) to effect a cure. **Labāna** or **Lobāna** appears, however, to be derived from *lābāna*, and to mean 'salt trader.'

**Gajara**—In **Huwar** (**Tahall** **Tokana**) there are sections called:—(1) **Mor**, peacock. (2) **Bhainā** ho-buffalo. (3) **Katāri**, dagger. (4) **Dol**, indie. Women of the **Mor** section veil themselves before a peacock. It is not killed or eaten by the section.

The **Chhichhārd** section:—(1) **Tōṭā**, a measure. (2) **Alā**, a sect. The **Tōṭā** section-name is explained by the story that their ancestor was so wealthy that he paid out money by the *tōṭā* or bushel. (3) **Khatānā**, victorious. (4) **Kiāri**, from *khuri*, basket.

**Chirtha** have a large number of *septs*—said to amount to 360 in all. A great part of these are named after villages. Others are named after trades or professions, etc. A very few are possibly totemistic in origin.

Among the **Chirth** sections occur the following names:—

#### A.—Names of animals or plants:—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) <b>Dhard</b> , fruit of the wild fig. | (4) <b>Gidar</b> , jackul.                        |
| (2) <b>Ghōṭā</b> , horse.                 | (5) <b>Gadchard</b> , a kind of bird.             |
| (3) <b>Khunā</b> , a kind of bird.        | (6) <b>Gārāri</b> , 'an animal like a small pig.' |

#### B.—Names of occupations or nick-names:—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) <b>Surengāḥi</b> , miner.                                  | (9) <b>Parāḥā</b> , born on the <i>Parāḥā</i> or 3rd <i>Bhādā</i> . |
| (2) <b>Nandā</b> , <i>nandāḥ</i> , dutch.                      | (10) <b>Bamī</b> , vegetable-seller.                                |
| (3) <b>Alōmār</b> , peafowl hunter.                            | (11) <b>Hutā</b> , stammerer.                                       |
| (4) <b>Jōkīnā</b> , weigh-man.                                 | (12) <b>Khāngar</b> , <i>khāngar</i> , a cough.                     |
| (5) <b>Pandāri</b> , <i>paṇḍarā</i> , waterman.                | (13) <b>Lahā</b> , charred or burnt.                                |
| (6) <b>Musand</b> , long-haired (said to be a <i>musand</i> ). | (14) <b>Tigā</b> , bought for a grain of grain.                     |
| (7) <b>Lakrā</b> , woodman.                                    | (15) <b>Kumbhār</b> , potter.                                       |
| (8) <b>Chōṭā</b> , jockey.                                     | (16) <b>Sāul</b> , <i>sāul</i> .                                    |

#### C.—Names of colours:—

- |                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (17) <b>Kāḥā</b> , black.     | (19) <b>Nilā</b> , blue. |
| (18) <b>Kahā</b> , red-brown. |                          |

The **Kanāts** of the **Sindh** Hills appear to have some tree totem *septs*, as, e.g., **Palāḥi** from *palāḥ*, **Kanush**, from *kanush*; **Pajnik**, from *pajni*, (all kinds of trees), **Nagaik**, from *naga*, snake, and **Malgār**, mullet. Of these the first four worship the tree or snake as an ancestor of the *sept*.

**Ohāmbas**, the 'cotton printers,' have the following sections:—**Bāḥ**, a pig; **Kasir**, a kind of tree; **Khurjā**, a knife or trowel.

**Satrāgiz**.—These have a *sept* or section called **Nimbarkī**, from the *nim* tree, which they reverence and abstain from cutting as they believe their *deotī* lives in it. But the **Harāḥi** clad in a leopard's skin is himself the most interesting instance of totemistic worship, for he probably wears the skin as personating the **Nar Singh**, or tiger incarnation of **Vishnū**.

**Bishnōts**.—Section **Rōja**, *roḥā*.

**Pathāns**.—There is one tribe of the **Lodhi** **Pathāns** called **Nader** or wolf, found in the South West Panjāb. (*Mullan Glossary*, page . . .)

The **Beshui**, or **Baloch**, have a **Gurgani** or wolf, a **Sherazi** or lion, and a **Gulzar** or rose *sept*.

**Castes unknown**.—There are a number of *castes* . . . . . I cannot assign to their *castes* because the *castes* are not stated. Instances are:—

- |                             |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| (1) <b>Gudar</b> , sheep.   | (3) <b>Khandā</b> , sword.  | } <b>Huwar</b> ,<br>} <b>Tahall</b><br>} <b>Tokana</b> |
| (2) <b>Kāsar</b> , saffron. | (4) <b>Gandā</b> , halbert. |  |
| (5) <b>Dhāḥā</b> , a tree.  | (6) <b>Kohār</b> , axe.     |  |

\* For convenience of the data are explained. For the names with explanation of each name will be interesting.



(7) Sihri, in Dera Ismail Khan, so<sup>o</sup> called because they eat the bird. But another note explains that the ancestor of the tribe was born while his mother was crossing a stream, (sahir = current)

(8) Jarāris, in Kangra, from a bush called jarāri. Like the Rajpūt Samakri and the (Brāhman or) Rāt Jarārū, the tribe does not cut or burn the shrub after which it is named.

Pathāns.—In Dera Ismail Khan the Barā Khāl of Dattā Khōl are also called Uldar; a Jaoual pursued by hunters took refuge in the house of Barā, their ancestor

Mirāns are said to have a snake-totem etc.<sup>2</sup>

The Dattā Lohāns too appear to be a section which has the snake for its totem. It is probable that many more instances could be found

It will be seen at once that many of the objects from which these names are taken are the subjects of ordinary tabus. Thus the peacock is sacred, the snake is often worshipped and it is unlucky to kill one; the jund tree is revered at marriages; there is a prejudice against eating fowls; and so on. Further, gldar, hāts, lamrd, and many others may well be snake names. So far indeed it can only be said that distinct relics of totem-sections are traceable among the Arōras and other tribes of the South West Panjab, but the information is far too imperfect as yet for any definite conclusions. Mr. Ibbetson 20 years ago noted that "some tribes are still to be found" (*Karnal Gazetteer*, p. 111).

Obviously then the greatest care is required in discriminating between totems and tabus. Thus the Gaba Arōra, or at least their women will not eat the egg-plant, but this is not their totem apparently, because at certain seasons the egg-plant is an unlucky food for Hindus generally. Before all things a precise note of the actual facts in each case is required, and the following points should be ascertained —

1. Is any form of worship paid to the object? and

2. Is it unlucky or forbidden to cut, injure or use it in any way?

3. If so, what is the reason assigned for the worship or abstention from injury?

4. Is the rule confined to the section of the caste which worships the object or abstains from injuring or using it?

5. Or is that worship or abstention common to other sections, or to other castes? If so, to what sections and castes?

The enquiry into the existence of totemism is likely to throw much light on the origin of the exogamous units. In a large number of cases it appears that a new god originates with a portent, or some sign of special supernatural favour. When such a portent occurs the thing associated with it, a tree, or an animal, or whatever it may be, becomes the object of a special worship or in a manner a totem. The above notes are published in the hope that some reader of this Journal will take up the enquiry seriously.

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab,  
4th April 1908.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### PENANG LAWYER.

As an addition to the information in Yule on the Penang Lawyer the following quotation is of much interest. In the Andamans I have heard the term applied to the long canes that fasten from tall trees in the jungles and are among the chief impeders of traffic. This application of the name arose, of course, under the old and false popular derivation thereof —

"1899. At Penang there were a considerable number of Indian convicts on tickets-of-leave,

who gained their livelihood in a variety of ways. Some of them were the first to discover the palm known to the Malays as *plac tikas* and to botanists as the *Khala aculeata*, a small palm ordinarily not higher than from five to six feet. From this palm, which grew mostly upon the Penang Hill, were constructed walking-sticks called Penang Lawyers." — McNair, *Prisoners their own Warders*, p. 24.

R. C. TEMPLE.

<sup>2</sup> Panjab Notes and Queries, II, § 535.



























Tenton answered: 'If you will treat me kindly, I will stay with you. I have no place to go to and am a wanderer.'

'Very good, we have neither a son nor grandson, so that when I go to the field to plough, there is no one to look after me. If you stay with us, I shall have company when I go to the field,' the Brahman said.

'Very good, I will stay with you,' Tenton replied, and he took up his abode with them.

Three or four days passed when the Brahman said, 'Let us go into the field and plough. I will go with you. After ploughing for a certain time, Tenton rubbed some mud on to the back of the old woman who was ploughing, and said to the Brahman, 'I am very thirsty. Give me a drink.'

The Brahman said, 'Go to the house and get a drink.'

'But what if Granny does not give me to drink?' said Tenton.

'If she does not then you must go and ask the Brahman. Then Tenton went to the house and asked the Brahman, 'If Granny, Granny, the old woman does not give me to drink, what shall I do?' The Brahman said, 'I will give you, we have a bullock already, why should we buy another?'

Tenton answered, 'Look there in the ploughing place, do you see the white bullock?'

The old woman said, 'I cannot give it you.'

Then Tenton said to the Brahman, 'She won't give me the bullock you.'

The Brahman came to the old woman bidding her give it. Then the old woman brought the bullock out with the new one and gave it to Tenton. When he had got home, he did not go back to the field, but ran away.

Then about noon when Tenton did not return to the field, the Brahman came home and asked his old woman where Tenton was. She answered —

'You told me to give you the bullock and I sent it by him, long ago I sent it.'

Then the Brahman said, 'She says he has run away with it, I must follow after him.' After taking his food he accordingly pursued Tenton.

Now Tenton was playing the Brahman's game with the King's son. At first he was the King's son, but the King's son was not a good player. Tenton was a good player, and he won the game. Then the Brahman came to the place where they were gambling. Tenton was the King's son, and he was the Brahman's son. The King's son said to the Brahman, 'It is Oag's turn to play.'

The Brahman told the King's son that Oag thought that he was perhaps really their nephew, and he was during the time as he was a great player, and he was the Brahman's son. They were gambling.

When Tenton was a great player, he was the King's son. The King's son was a great player, and he was the Brahman's son. The King's son was a great player, and he was the Brahman's son.

Then the King's son paid a visit to Tenton, and he was a great player. The Brahman was a great player, and he was the King's son. The Brahman was a great player, and he was the King's son.







NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, L.O.S. (Estr.), Ph.D., CLE.

The date of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgalāśa.

This record has been edited by me in Vol. XIX above, p. 7 ff., with a facsimile lithograph. I have had occasion to refer to the date of it in Ep. Ind. Vol. VII., in connection with the date of the Nāgārājū inscription of the time of Amoghavarsha I. And my remarks upon there about it were to be supplemented by a statement which proved too lengthy to be given in that place.

The date if it is contained in lines 14, 15 of the text. It runs, as given in my published version — *Uttarottara-pravariddhamūna-rajya-paṇchama-aryavarsha-pravaritāmad Siddhārtha Vāśaka-purnimādayam*. And the translation is — "In the fifth glorious year of (his) constant yugmentary reign, in (the year, Siddhārtha being current, on the full-moon day of (the month) Vāśakha."

My reading of the text of the date has been criticised by Dr. Bhaskar, in the following manner. He has said — "I have carefully examined the facsimile of the inscription given in the article and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. *Rājya* and *pravaritāmad* are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word *ari* also. But *paṇchama* is highly doubtful, the letter which Dr. Fleet reads *ma* is exactly like that which he reads *śa*, and there is some vacant space after *śa* and *ma* in which something like another letter appears. Similarly the *ari* of *siddhārtha* is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other inscription of the early Chalukyas does the cycle year appear."

But there is no sound foundation of any kind for so taking exception to my reading of the date. I have, indeed, before me now when I am writing this note, other and much better ink-impressions of the original record from which I hope to give, some day, a much finer reproduction of it. The wording of the whole passage, however, is quite clear and unmistakable in the already published lithograph, which is a facsimile of the ink-impressions then available. It would be difficult to point to many, if any ancient dates or stones, more easily capable of being read without any uncertainty. And the text of this date is, syllable by syllable, exactly as I gave it in my published version, at a time when I did not at all fall in with my previous notions about the exact period of Maṅgalāśa, and as I have now given it again above. In my introductory remarks to the record, I said (see esp. p. 8) — "The inscription itself consists of sixteen lines, and the first line is the lowest. Line 1 runs round the pillar on the same level; the other lines wind upward, with, in some instances, considerable irregularity in the directions along which they run, and, partly to show the way in which the end of one line runs into the beginning of the next, and partly because in a few instances an *akṣara* lies, not entirely on either the first or the last face of the stone, out on the dividing edge between them, the lithograph has been so arranged as to repeat an *akṣara* or two at the beginning and end of each line." If Dr. Bhaskar had paid attention to that statement before he "carefully examined" the facsimile, and had then examined the facsimile with a view to test my reading, and not simply to dispute it so as to set certain preconceived and quite erroneous ideas of his own, he could hardly have failed to see that the *akṣara*, standing in the first place on the left before the beginning of line 15, — in respect of which he has said that I read it as *ma*, but that it is "exactly like that which I read as *śa*," — is actually the *śa* itself, which stands last but one at the end of line 14, on the right, and has been reproduced in the lithograph on the left, before the beginning of line 15, in the circumstances stated by me, and that the supposed vacant space, after this supposed *ma* (really *mha*) and before the *ari*, is occupied by the real *ma* itself, which stands last at the end of line 14, on the right and, with the *śa*, similarly stands again in the lithograph on the left, at the beginning of line 15. For the rest, nothing could be plainer than, not only the



but also the whole word *Siddhārthā*. And in short, the whole date is distinctly and unquestionably legible from beginning to end, even in the published facsimile, and runs exactly as Dr Bhandardkar had it before him in my published text.

As regards the meaning and application of the word *Siddhārthā*, the following is to be said. There is nothing substantial in the suggestion made in Dr Bhandardkar's remark that "no other inscription of the early Chalukyas does the cyclic year appear." It is a fact, that the Mahākūṭa record is the only Western Chalukya record, as yet known, in which the use of the cycle is presented. But so, also, we know as yet of only one Western Chalukya record which presents the name of a week-day, namely, the Śaśa plates of Vṛyāntya, of A.D. 692, the date of which includes Śaṅga-charavara.<sup>2</sup> And again, among the records of the Early or Imperial Guptas, we have as yet only one which mentions a week-day, namely the Eṛa inscription of Rudragupta, of A.D. 484, the date of which includes Śurag-rudhava.<sup>3</sup> It would be just as unreasonable to say that, because they are isolated instances, the word *Nannachuravart* in the Śaśa record does not mean "on Saturday," and the words *Surag-rudhava* in the Eṛa record do not mean "on Thursday," as it is to suggest, because it also is an isolated instance, that the word *Siddhārthā*, standing where it does stand in the Mahākūṭa record, does not mean "in (the year) Siddhārthā." The sixty-years cycle was not invented by, or for the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; it was known to, and was used by, the Hīmaṇḍ astronomers long before their time, and also before the time of Maṅgaḍa, see, for instance, the *Āmṛtasaṁhitā* of Varahamihira (died A.D. 527), chapter viii, verses 28 to 52, which recite the names of all the sixty *samvatsaras*, — *Siddhārthā* among them, — and describe the astrological influences attributed to them. It can only have been from the astronomers that the Western Chalukyas, in, as far as we know as yet, the time of Maṅgaḍa's elder brother Kirtivarman I., obtained the use of the *Saka* era. The Western Chalukyas would naturally obtain, at the same time, at least a knowledge of the sixty-years cycle; and there is no reason why they should not have made occasional use of it in their records, though it does not seem to have recommended itself to them, for official purposes, as fully as it did to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas later on. The word *siddhārthā* was, of course, the adjectival meaning of "one who has accomplished an aim or object, successful, prosperous, &c." But the name of one some others of the *samvatsaras* can be translated and applied as adjectives. The name *Siddhārthā*, with the optional form *Siddhārthi*, is thoroughly well established as the name of the fifty-third year of the cycle. In the Mahākūṭa record, the word *Siddhārthā* stands in exactly the right position for the name of a *samvatsara* in a date recorded in prose. In the historical surroundings, there is nothing to render the date of A.D. 602 inadmissible for Maṅgaḍa, on the contrary it fits in exactly with the dates of his predecessor and successor, and with all that we know about the events of the period.<sup>4</sup> And it is not possible that the word *Siddhārthā*, standing where it does stand in

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. XIX. above, p. 150, text line 20, and Prof. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. Appendix, p. 6, No. 29.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89, text line 3, and Prof. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Northern India, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V., Appendix, p. 64, No. 454.

<sup>4</sup> I shall on another occasion explain the meaning and bearing of the date of the Goa plates — the *Saka* year 502 expired, — A.D. 610-11 coupled with the twentieth year of a certain *vijaya*, — which Dr Bhandardkar has mistakenly applied as fixing the commencement of the reign of Maṅgaḍa in *Saka-Samvat 502* expired, — A.D. 591-92 (see *Early History of the Dekkan* p. 382), as the result of which of course a date in the fifth year could not fall in A.D. 602. — As regards certain events, the following remarks are to be made. In the Mahākūṭa record, Maṅgaḍa claims that having set his heart upon the conquest of the *uttaravarta* or northern region he has in A.D. 602, conquered the Kalatūri king Baddha, and taken possession of all his subutance. And the same event is referred to in the Śaśa record, which describes him as having driven away from that part of the Konkan) Bhudharaja, son of Śaṅkaragapa, and has or killed a Chalukya prince named *Siddharaja* (see Vol. VII. above, p. 126). The Kalatūri king Baddha is the *kaṇṇabhar* king Bhidharaja, son of Śaṅkaragapa, whom the Śaśaṅgi plates seem to have been still to go on in the north of the Narbadā. In A.D. 610 (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 295 ff.) But it is to be noted that Maṅgaḍa does not claim to have slain Bhidharaja. I have said that, by his victory over Bhidharaja, Maṅgaḍa seems to have acquired the whole of the northern territory up to the river *Kṛm* or perhaps even to the *Mand* (see *Dyn. Son.*, *Intro.* p. 347, 352). We must now admit Maṅgaḍa's advance, to the *Kṛm* or possibly to the *Narbadā*. No further correction, however, is necessary in connection with him and Bhidharaja.



the Mahākūṭa record, can mean anything except "in (the year) Siddhartha," or "in (the) Siddhartha (samvatsara)!"

The actual equivalent of the date presented in the Mahākūṭa record is quite certain. In connection with the date there is only one point, a minor one, which is at all doubtful, namely whether the Siddhartha samvatsara is to be taken according to the actual mean-solar system, according to the so-called northern luni-solar system. According to the actual mean-solar system it ran from the 25th October, A. D. 601, to the 21st October, A. D. 602. Whereas, according to the other system, it ran, as a luni-solar year, from the 28th February, A. D. 602, to the 18th March, A. D. 603, and, as a solar year from the 13th March, A. D. 602 to the 13th March, A. D. 603. The point however is not at all material. In any of the three cases, the full-moon day of the month Vāśākha, in the Siddhartha samvatsara was the 12th April, A. D. 602. And, as the result of that the reign of Maṅgalēśa commenced on some day from the *amānta* Vāśākha kṛstaka 1 Śaka Samvat 513 expired in A. D. 597, to Vāśākha sukla 15, S.-S. 620 expired in A. D. 598.

### References to the Rashtrakūṭa king Krishṇa III. in the records of the Rāṭṭas of Saundatti.

In the epigraphic records of the period subsequent to the overthrow of the Rashtrakūṭa dynasty of Malkhēd, there are various passages which show that, of the kings of that line Krishṇa III., in particular, was well remembered in the Kanarese country, part of which formed the possessions of the Rāṭṭa princes of Saundatti. I here bring together some allusions to him in three Rāṭṭa records, and in another record which includes a long passage referring itself to the Rāṭṭa period, which are of special interest in connection with the claim at any rate that the Rāṭṭa princes belonged to the same lineage with him, and perhaps that they were actually descended from him.

1. — At Saundatti, the head-quarters of the Paragad taluka of the Belgaum District, there is an inscription edited by me in the *Jour. De Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X p. 194 ff., which was drawn up and put on the stone in, or very shortly after, A. D. 1096.

Lines 1 to 4 of this record register certain grants, of which one was an allotment of *śa* *śrīrāṭṭa* (of land) by a (Rāṭṭa) prince named Kanna, to provide for the *chara* (donation) to a certain god. This Kanna may be either Kannakara I. between A. D. 980 and 1040, or Kannakara II., about A. D. 1069 to 1067. And the passage thus mentioning him appears to be an afterthought, added when the rest of the record had been completed.

Then, after a certain verse in praise of the Jain religion, the record introduces a teacher named Mallabhattaraka (line 6), belonging to the Kīrtiya gana of (the sect of) the holy Mañjupatīśva.<sup>1</sup> It tells us that the disciple of Mallabhattaraka was Guṇakīrti, and that Guṇakīrti's disciple was Indrakīrti. It then mentions as a pupil of Indrakīrti, a certain Prithvirāma (l. 8), whom it describes as the eldest son of Meraka, and as "a worshipper of the water-lilies that were the lot of the glorious Kṛṣṇarājadēva (l. 9), before whom a crowd of kings bowed down." It then, in lines 12 to 14, recites that, in the year Manmatha, when the Śaka year 797 had expired, that is,

A. D. 875-76 according to either the so-called northern or the so-called southern *luni-solar* system of the sixty-years cycle, "by that long" (*tena bhūyasa*) a temple of Jaganātha was founded at Sugandhavartī-(Saundatti) and was endowed with eighteen *śrīrāṭṭa* of land. And it repeats part of the above information, in saying, in lines 14 to 18, that, "śaṃśata-bhūyasa āstavya āstavya" *śrīrāṭṭa* *valabha-maṇḍarājadhara-parameśvara-paramabhattaraka* *Rashtrakūṭa-kula-bhāskara* *brimat-Kṛṣṇarājadēva-vijaya* *rajyam* = uttermost and very old *pravara* *li* *amanam* = a chandravṛkka *tatara* *barah* *śa* *attam* *re*, "while the victorious reign of the avatara of the avatara of the avatara of Fortune and of the Earth, the Mahārājādharāja, Paramāvara, and Paramabhatta *śa*, the originator of the

<sup>1</sup> The figures "A. D. 49" or 48" in Vol. XIX above, p. 10, were a sufficiently obvious mistake, which was corrected in the list of Errata given in the same volume.

<sup>2</sup> Compare pages 218, 219, below.

<sup>3</sup> The word used here is *chhatra*. In the case of Guṇakīrti and Indrakīrti, it is *śa* *śa*.







yadō taci-āgūnār-wenī<sup>14</sup> mattam negaridī-arasūga[o]ti . . . . . Rājta vānā-ūbhara  
ārkkadh tū . . . . . Sōna-dhāttrivara.

Translation. — 'Jai to Achyuta (Vishnu), the husband of Sri, having driven away the fiercest demons for the welfare of the whole world, was generously born under the name of Krishna in the race of the Yadus, amongst the princes of this earth in the race of the Rājas there was a king, a born Kṛishnārāja, the favourite of the whole world. He who was called Tuliga the crest jewel of kings. Listen now! there are no others who resemble the genuine Kṛishna-Kandhāra, the jewel of the women the Earth in that it can be said that they possess, to ever so small an extent as much great bravery, great sagacity, a pleasant, pleasant, upright conduct, and daring in action as was that preeminent. That Krishna (the god) is this Kṛishna (the king). He is the crown jewel of the water-lily (blooming in the day-time) which was the family of the Rājas: how shall I describe him? In the royal lineage of Kṛishnārāja who, by reason of his (his) resplendent virtues, was very adorned by the characters of a king of the unexcelled appellations Gāḍa-mārtanda, Vikramachakravartin,<sup>15</sup> Kachchoga ("he who wears the garlands of prowess" and Tuliga<sup>16</sup> and among the kings who caused themselves to be spoken of as resembling him in virtues and who were otherwise famous, there was the prince Sōna (II), himself a son of the water-lily (blooming in the day-time) which was the race of the Rājas."

After this the record continues the genealogy of the Rājta princes as far as Kariavīrya IV., and so eventually passes on to its practical object.

4. — At Hāppikōro or Hāppikōri in the Belgam district there is an inscription which was drawn up and put on the stone in, or very shortly after, A D 1257. It has not been edited. But I have had occasion to refer to it before now.<sup>17</sup> And it will be convenient to give now the full purport of it, in addition to extracts bearing on the special matter that we have in hand.

Hāppikōro or Hāppikōri is a village about four miles towards the north west from Sāmpgaon, the head-quarters of the Sāmpgaon tānka, and about thirteen miles on the east of Belgam. It is shown as 'Hooncekehree' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1853). The exact form of its name is not quite certain<sup>18</sup> — The inscription is on a stone tablet, about 5 7/8' high by 1 1/4' broad, which stands against the east wall of the *mandapa* of a temple which is known both as the Sivālaya and as the temple of Brahmadēva. — At the top of the stone, there are the following sculptures. In the centre a Jina, in a shrine, seated, and facing full front, on the left (proper right), outside the shrine, a naked standing figure, facing to the front with the arm above it. and on the right (proper left), a cow and calf, with the man above them. — The writing covers an area about 3 3/4' high by 1 1/4' broad. It is in sixty-two lines. And it is very well preserved, except that the stone is broken in and along lines 16 and 17, and some letters have been destroyed along the line of fissure. Except for the opening exclamation *Oṃ Namah śiḥṇa śiḥṇa śiḥṇa*, the well-known verse *Sr mat pāṇa-gaṇāhī* &c., which follows it and some of the customary homiletic and imprudently verses further on in the record the language is Kannara, of the later archaic type, partly verse and partly in prose.

<sup>14</sup> This is to be pronounced as if it were written *anugūnār-wenī*. There are several similar orthographic peculiarities in this record.

<sup>15</sup> This has been established by any Rāshtrakūṭa records as an actual brand of Kṛishna III., or of any other Rāshtrakūṭa king. And the possessor of this record seems to have invented it as an imitation of the Western Chōlaka king Vikramāditya VI.

<sup>16</sup> The surname, also, has not yet been met with in the Rāshtrakūṭa records themselves, but it is put forward by Kṛishna I I among the spurious Wāṇasa plates (see Vol. XXV above p. 321). It seems to be connected with *tu* and to mean something like 'he who triumphs upon or crushes to pieces with the feet.'

<sup>17</sup> See my *Dynasties of the Kanara Districts*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* Vol. I Part II pp. 530, 536.

<sup>18</sup> See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 160, note 1.











have dates ranging from A. D. 940 to 961.<sup>24</sup> And evidently, it is also he who is spoken of as Krishnarāja in the Bhōj record of A. D. 1208, No. 2, page 216, and as Krishna and Krishnarāndhararāja in the Haggikere or Haggikōri record of A. D. 1257, No. 4, page 247.

The allusion, however, in the Saundatti record of A. D. 1096 or thereabouts No. 1, page 21, above to a Rashtrakūta king Krishnarājādēva in connection with the *Mahādānanta* Prithvirāma and in connection with the date of A. D. 875-76 for both of them, is not so clear and simple. Originally, I took this passage as furnishing a real date for the actual reign of a Rashtrakūta king Krishna,<sup>25</sup> — the one who is now designated Krishna II., — about whom not much was then known — and, it may be added, I naturally then took the king who is mentioned in the Naxargi record, to be also the same person.<sup>26</sup> Later on, I applied it as furnishing a date for Krishna II. as Yavardja under his father Yashavarma I.<sup>27</sup> for whom the date of A. D. 877-78 had meanwhile been obtained. Subsequently, I had to reconsider the matter again, and more fully.<sup>28</sup> And I endorse now the results at which I then arrived. The Saundatti record first in lines 8 to 14, mentions Prithvirāma as a pupil of Udayakīrti as well as a moral supporter of the fact that, as a servant or protégé, of Keshavarajadēva, and says that, on the *Mahādānanta* Samantata, Sakasamant 737 expired — A. D. 875-76, a Jain temple was built at Saundatti and was endow'd, by a person who, as far as that passage goes might be either Prithvirāma or Keshavarajadēva. In lines 14 to 18, however, where it mentions Prithvirāma as a *Mahādānanta* tributary to Keshavarajadēva, it distinctly explains that it was Prithvirāma who, as a *Mahādānanta* built and endowed the temple. And that was done, the first passage says, in A. D. 875-76. But that part of the record which relates to Keshavarajadēva and Prithvirāma is not a synchronous and original record — it was put together and transferred to the stone at the same time with the continuation of the record, and that was done, of course, at about the time of the date given in lines 39, 40, namely, in or shortly after A. D. 1096. Further the dice of A. D. 875-76 cannot be an authentic one for Prithvirāma — for we know, from another of the Saundatti records,<sup>29</sup> that he was the grandfather of a certain Santvarman, — bearing up, it may incidentally be remarked not to the Ratta family, but to the Baisa family — who was the ruling *Mahādānanta* in December A. D. 980, and the range of a hundred and five years for the three generations is far too great. And my conclusions about the record are as follows. The real patron and now-reigning Prithvirāma must have been Krishna III., whose earliest known date A. D. 940, is in quite sufficient agreement with the period of a person the *Mahādānanta* Prithvirāma, whose grandson Santvarman was a grown-up person, ruling as *Mahādānanta*, in A. D. 980. The Saundatti record makes a confusion between Krishna III. and his ancestor Krishna II. And in its first mention of Keshavarajadēva-Krishna III. and Prithvirāma, it serves as a date forward and connects with them a date, equivalent to A. D. 875-76, taken probably from some archive of the sect to which Prithvirāma's preceptor belonged, which, possibly did actually appertain to Krishna II. for whom as Yavardja, it would be quite admissible.

The Saundatti record of A. D. 1096 or thereabouts does not in reality assert any connection between Krishna III. and the Rattas of Saundatti, it only establishes a synchronism between Krishna III. and Prithvirāma, who we know from the Saundatti record of A. D. 980 belonged to the Baisa family. An assertion claiming a connection between Krishna III. and the Ratta princes first appears as far as our present knowledge of the record goes in the Bhōj plates of A. D. 1208 — but it is not very explicit — it may mean that Sēna II. belonged to the same lineage with Krishna III., whom in that case, it signifies as having specially counterfeited distinction upon that lineage — or it may simply mean that Sēna II. belonged to another family which had been patronised and raised to power by Krishna III. An assertion

<sup>24</sup> See Ep. Ind. Vol. VI pp. 178-80.

<sup>25</sup> Jour. As. Soc. Ben. Vol. X pp. 178-187.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 175.

<sup>27</sup> Ep. Ind. Ind. first version, p. 86. That work is of course now obsolete.

<sup>28</sup> Jour. As. Soc. Ben. Vol. X pp. 178-187. In the Jour. As. Soc. Ben. Vol. I Part II p. 41, note 1.

<sup>29</sup> Jour. As. Soc. Ben. Vol. X p. 264 and see Ep. Ind. Ind. p. 332.







the *chellakētana* or javelin-banner, who then at some time between A. D. 573 and 678, was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province, and the districts known as the Bolgali three-hundred, the Kundarage seventy, the Kundur five-hundred, and the Furigero three-hundred.

Other records supply further information about Baṅkōya and the family to which he belonged. And the following notes may be usefully put together here.

At Kōnnar, in the Nawalgund taluka of the Dharwar district, there is an inscription on stone, cited by Professor Kuehner in *J. Ind. Arch.* Vol. VI p. 25 ff., which purports to reproduce the substance of a copper plate charter. It was written about the middle of the twelfth century A. D. And, as has been pointed out by me in Vol. XX above p. 21<sup>1</sup>, it is not altogether a reliable record, because it makes certain misstatements and omissions in respect of the Rashtrakutas. But taking it for what it may be worth we learn in the first place that in a family, the name of which is given as *Mukula-kula*, there was a certain person named *Erakōrt*. His son was *Adhōra* or *Ādhōra*, lord of *Kolanūra*, that is *Kōnnār*, whose wife was *Vijayānkā*. And their son was *Baṅkōsa*, otherwise called *Solinkōtāna*, whose name is presented as *Baṅkōya* and *Baṅkōyārāja* in subsequent parts of the record.<sup>2</sup>

In respect of this *Baṅkōsa*, who is the *Baṅkōya* or *Baṅkōyārāja* of the *Nawalgund* inscription, and the *Baṅka* of a literary reference which will be noted further on, the *Kannir* record makes the following statements. It asserts that, by the favour of *Amogavarsha* I, he received and ruled "the thirty-thousand villages of which *Vanavāsi* is the foremost." It further indicates that *Baṅka* had been employed in some operations against the Western Gangas of *Talakad* in seeing that, by the desire of *Amogavarsha* I, he met "a given to exterminate" that lofty forest of big trees — *Gangavādi* — which it is said was "And it came that *Baṅka* at once ascended the rocky peak of his fort named *Kōdaja*," difficult to be reached on account of its ramparts — *mes. de* — and that having occupied that country, he drove away "the host of *Talavanapura*," that is, of *Talakad*. And further in the same passage it is stated that "the mouth of *Amogavarsha* I," which is to be reproduced in full from Professor Kuehner's appropriate translation of the text,<sup>3</sup> "declared that 'when a lion springing from the *Kāvāri*, most difficult to be passed, is seen out of its forest bounds — he comes bearing to devour me, I am even who was able to shake the world. On that occasion when the tiger entered into a lion's lair has arisen near me, then, on that day, I will of me, a lion's return — having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I the *Vallabha* lord, should defeat the *Chennas*, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world and by chance the fortune of victory should be in the *Chennas*, he would enter into the flames of a roaring fire, — he arrived near me after a few days. Having said that also he certainly would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not shake his master from his throne and his anger or mental distress — after my son, whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery backened by the

<sup>1</sup> In line 56 of the record, the stone marks the vowel of the second syllable of this form of his name as the long 'i'.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Kuehner has suggested *J. Ind. Arch.* Vol. VI p. 25 that this may be a place shown to the map in Mr. Ramesh Mysore's *Inscriptions of the Western Rashtrakutas* which is to be found in the *Atlas* sheet N. C. N. E. 104. It is shown as *Banavasi*, a place added to the list of ancient settlements from Inscriptions for the first time in the *Tamil* inscription in Mysore. The position is not far from the *Chennas* and appears to have been the capital of a state. But we are to, in the same place, that the former name of it is said to have been *Chennas* and that the present name is *Banavasi*, which is explained as meaning 'the restored land' in connection with a legend about *Chennas* that is the same appears in *Banavasi* in records of A. D. 1100. And there is nothing in the map to indicate that the place is or has been a fortified place. The identification is, thus, not certain.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 25, verses 27 to 31, and 31.

<sup>4</sup> "According to the writers on mountains, *śūla* is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental distress."



"smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped perchance sent away by the rest, — he completely defeated the princes who remained and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, and thus fulfilled his promise." . . . And so, "like a Brahman, having sacrificed the enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many libations of streams of melted butter — the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, Viranārāyaṇa, this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his expiatory rite — the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficacy of his apāi — the restoration of my fortune." And finally it recites that, "at the request of this my dear servant Baṅkōya," Amoghavarsha I. granted a village named Talejūra, in the Majjantiya seventy śākhā, to a Jain ascetic named Dēśendra, who had been appointed to take care of a Jain monastery founded by Baṅkōya at Kojanaka-Konner, and to whom Baṅkōya had given the temple.

The record says that this grant made by Amoghavarsha I. at the request of Baṅkōya, was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full moon tithi of the month Śaṣṭya of the Vikrama samvatsara, which was the Śaka year 762 expired, and was "the eighty-third current year." And Professor Kischore has shown that the corresponding English date is the 3rd October A. D. 800, when there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India.<sup>40</sup> And thus the record presents a date which not only is a true one for Amoghavarsha I., falling well within the limits of his reign, but is so correct in respect of its details. But we know enough, now, about Hindu dates, to be quite well aware that, neither does a date which is incorrect in respect of its details prove that a record is spurious, nor does a correctly recorded date prove that the record in which it is put forward is genuine, or that the matter recited in connection with it is authentic. And we know, as has already been said, that some of the statements made about the Rashtrakutas themselves in this Kōnnār record, are not correct. Still, the assertions made in respect of Baṅkōya and his family and achievements, ring genuinely. We know of nothing opposed to them. And we have a certain amount of confirmation of them, in the mention of Baṅkōya, in the Viṅgundi inscription, as the governor of a very large territory under Amoghavarsha I., and with a date with which the date put forward in the Kōnnār inscription is quite compatible. And we may, therefore, accept them provisionally as probably authentic. And we may to the same extent, accept the indication, given by the Kōnnār inscription, that there was a rebellion against Amoghavarsha I. by one of his sons. Whether, however, that son was Kṛṣṇa II., his successor, or another, we cannot at present decide.

The Nidugundi inscription mentions a son of Baṅkōya named Kundatto, who at that time was governing the group of villages known as the Nidugundago twelve. We do not know, as yet, anything further about this person. But he may perhaps be the son of Baṅkōya who is mentioned as Chelladhvaja in the literary passage referred to in the next paragraph.

Of Baṅkōya we have another mention, and a quite authentic and reliable one, in the *prastāva* of the *Īṭarapurāṇa* of the Jain writer Guṇabhadra, in connection with which reference may be made to the text given by Dr. Bandarkar in his *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 188-89*, p. 42<sup>a</sup>, verses 32 to 37. The *prastāva* tells us that the *Purāṇa* was completed on a certain date in the *Pigala samvatsara* Śaka-Samvat 820 (current), corresponding, as determined by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshat,<sup>41</sup> to the 23rd June, A. D. 897. And it adds the information that the king Akavarsha, that is Kṛṣṇa II., was then reigning, and that a certain Lokāditya, of the *Mukula kula*, was then enjoying the whole of the *Vanasava* province (*desa*) which had hitherto been for a long time free from troubles. It further mentions Lokāditya as Chellapatika, which may be taken either as meaning "having the chella banner," or as a secondary personal name, and as being a younger brother of a person whom it calls Chelladhvaja and a son of a person whom it calls Chellakṛṣṇa.<sup>42</sup> It describes Lokāditya as enjoying the *Vanasava* province, — *tat-pṛithivya nāma kṛtā kanyatā Banakapurē purāśhvadhike*, — "at the famous town

<sup>40</sup> *Fr. Ind. Vn.* VI. p. 23.<sup>41</sup> See Dr. Bandarkar's *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 188-89*, p. 320.<sup>42</sup> See the extract given on page 228 below.



of Bakātura, superior among towns, which had been made by his father (by his wife) mother that is, which had been named by his father after himself, and perhaps had also been founded by his father. And we thus recognize that Lokāditya's father, the Chōlakōtāna of the *prashasti*, had the name of Bākka, and was the Bākka of the Nālagundi inscription, and the Bākka-Bākka of the Kōnnār inscription.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the *prashasti* of the Chaturpurāṇa gives for Bākka's son Lokāditya, otherwise called Chellapattāka, a date in June A. D. 807, when under Akāṇavaraha, that is Krishna II, he was governing the Banavāsi province of that time of Bākka-pura, which is the well-known Bākka-pur in the tanks of the same name, of which, however, the head-quarters town is now Sarggāon, in the Dhurwar district. And there are the following records, plainly to be attributed to Lokāditya, which I quote from the *prashasti*. Two fragmentary and mutilated inscriptions at Sahād in the Bākka-pur tank, refer themselves to the time when Kannaradova, that is Krishna II., was reigning, and Lokāditya was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. And another mutilated inscription at the same place, mentioning him by another form of his name, refers itself to the time when during the reign of that same king, Lokāṣṭha was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. Another, found at Kunnār (hall), in the same tank, refers itself to the time when Kannaravallaha, that is Krishna II., was reigning, and the Mahāśāntatithyāni Lokāṣṭha was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, and gives forward a date in the month Jyāishtha 1000 Śaka Samvat 818 (expired), falling in A. D. 898. Among other points it never then record places the word Mahāśāntatithyāni in such a position that it ought strictly to apply to Kannaravallaha, earlier than to Lokāṣṭha, and connects with the Bākka year a *śāntatithyāni* the name of which it possesses in the amended form of Hāṣṭha. And it is, therefore, not certain that the record is genuine, or even that the date is authentic.\*

Another inscription at Kunnār or Kunnāpur in the Kunnār tank, and which I quote from the *prashasti*, refers itself to the time when Akāṇavaraha, that is Krishna II., was reigning, and a certain Rājāni, that is Rājāditya, was governing the Banavāsi and, and presents the date of the Prabhāva *śāntatithyāni* Śaka Samvat 818 (expired). We want any further details. Whether however, this Rājāditya was a son or of the Mahāśāntatithyāni family, is not yet known.

After this we have a second Bākka, belonging most probably to the Makāṇa or Makāṇa tank family. At Sahād, in the tank of the tank, there was obtained a stone inscription, now at Sarggāon, which supplies the following information. The record refers itself to the date when Nityavaraha, that is Indra III., was reigning, and that for the first time, a *śāntatithyāni* Mahāśāntatithyāni and various names (which I have not yet been able to decipher) were used. The record is in the following words:—

\* I have not only given the form of the name of Lokāṣṭha, but also the form of the name of the record itself, which is the name of the record itself. But in the *prashasti* of Lokāṣṭha, it is quite distinctly so, with the ligature.

And the date of the record was in the month Jyāishtha 1000 Śaka Samvat 818 (expired) and the Prabhāva *śāntatithyāni* was in the month Jyāishtha 1000 Śaka Samvat 818 (expired).

At the same time, in the tank of the tank, there was obtained a stone inscription, now at Sarggāon, which supplies the following information. The record refers itself to the date when Nityavaraha, that is Indra III., was reigning, and that for the first time, a *śāntatithyāni* Mahāśāntatithyāni and various names (which I have not yet been able to decipher) were used. The record is in the following words:—

And the date of the record was in the month Jyāishtha 1000 Śaka Samvat 818 (expired) and the Prabhāva *śāntatithyāni* was in the month Jyāishtha 1000 Śaka Samvat 818 (expired).











by him, 'a javelin-banner.' Professor Kieffer has already quoted, in the same place, from the Kapilwanj plates of A. D. 910-11, the proper name *Sollavidyādharma*, and the corrupt expression, in the verse which presents it and offers to account for it, *śeṭṭhā dāṭṭāpāṇā*, which he has explained as standing for *śeṭṭhā dāṭṭā pāṇā*, 'the javelin-banner whose hand is fondled by the javelin.' And I have cited, from the Saugatār plates of A. D. 1090 the *śeṭṭhā*, applied to the Yauvata prince Bhadama II of the Sengga country *Sollavidyāga*, which, I should say, means 'he who throws, or wields, the javelin.' To this I may add that an inscription of A. D. 1189 at Mottag in the B. gowāṭṭa, B. gowāṭṭa, describes the Devanāga Valaya king B. gowāṭṭa as *śeṭṭhā dāṭṭāpāṇā*, which may be appropriately rendered by 'a javelin to (wield) the breasts of hostile kings.' It remains to be added that, while the *prasaṅga* of the *Itaraparāṇa* certainly presents the words Chellavijaya and Chellakertana as proper names, and perhaps also presents Chellapatana as a second proper name of Lokatana rather than as an adjective qualifying his name, the Kumbhar inscription presents the form *Sellakertana* in such a way that the latter it may certainly be taken as a second name of Baskēya. It might also be rendered as an adjective meaning 'he who has the *śeṭṭhā* or javelin-banner.' But, in line 41. of the Nagand inscription, the word *chellakertana* is plainly used to denote the banner itself.

## AN INDEPENDENT HINDU VIEW OF BUDDHIST CHRONOLOGY.

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SOME Orientalists, from Sir William Jones in the XVIIIth century to the late Professor Max Müller, have assumed that the *Sandracottus*, who defeated Seleucus Nicator in about 310 B. C., was the same *Chandragupta*, who, according to the Buddhist and Jaina chronicles, founded the Maurya dynasty in 163 A. B. and 155 A. V. (380 and 372 B. C.). But since this assumption involves a difficulty of about 60 years, they have, — I should say rather arbitrarily, — rejected the date of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa (death) from 543 to 477 B. C. Other Orientalists, however, do not agree with them, — each arriving at results, varying with all others. Thus Professor Westergaard says 365, Professor Kern, 380, Professor Riva Davala, 412, Mr. A. F. Carter 481 B. C. And so a sea of confusion has been created by the rejection of the simple and traditional era of Sakya Samvats. I was therefore bewildered and met with a great deal of difficulty in arranging and reconciling the historical facts I gathered, while writing the final *Report* on my excavations on the sites of the ancient Pataliputra in 1897-98.

This difficulty induced me to study on my own lines and to find out for myself who really was the *Sandracottus* of the Greeks. First I compared the Buddhist chronology of Burma with that of Ceylon — and the dynasty with that of the patriarchs, — and then again I compared these with the Jaina ones of the three kings, Nanda, Chandragupta, and Samprati, and the Jaina patriarchs. In this way, I found a remarkable agreement between all of them. Taking for granted the year 543 B. C. as the starting date of the Parinirvāṇa, I dated 214 A. B. (*Anno Fullen*) from the Southern (Sinhalese), and 231 from the Northern (Tibetan) since that was the year when Bindusara was and Asoka usurped the throne of Pataliputra. Since this difference of 20 years is explained away by noting the fact that the Northern Buddhists take as from Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* or *Parinirvāṇa*, which occurred, 20 or rather 21 years afterwards, I came to know that there is no actual difference between the Northern and the Southern dates as regards the death of the Buddha.



### The Date of the Buddha.

Before I discuss in detail the period of *Asoka the Great*, whom I identify with the Grecian *Sandracottus*, the date of *Gautama Buddha* has to be asked to refresh Bishop Bagnett in his *Life of Buddha* (from the Burmese sources) records the following date of Sakya Sutta in an era, which was commenced by "Araha, King of Devadaha, on the New Moon in the month of Jyestha March, when 2640 years known as *Kalāra* had expired —

(1) Conception on the full moon of Jan. August 1st (A. D. 1000) — 1st day of the month of *Magadha*, which is the 15th day of the 5th Chinese month according to the *Mahāsthāvira* School.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Birth. in 63 (4d. Tibetan) Friday *Wakha* was the month of May, the 1st day of the 1st year of *Vasudhā*, which corresponds with the 5th day of the 3rd Chinese month.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Great Renunciation, on 27 A. E. Monday full moon of July. *Uttarāṣṭhā*.<sup>3</sup>

(4) Attainment of Buddhahood, 103 A. E. Wednesday full moon of August (Wakha).

(5) Nirvāṇa 127 A. E. = 163 B. C.<sup>4</sup>

(6) Parinirvāṇa death, 148 A. E. Tuesday, full moon of Kārtika 1st, the Pārśvayana, according to general tradition, occurred on 15th of the 2nd Chinese month, *Vasudhā* 1st of 3rd month with us. But the *Sarvastivāda* say the 8th day of the 2nd month of Kārtika 1st of the 1st month with us. Different Schools calculate variously from the date of *Rāhula* some say 1200 years and more others 1300 and more, others 1400 and more others more than 1500, but less than 1000 years have passed.<sup>5</sup>

From the era "*Anno Buddhæ*," now current in Ceylon, Burmah and Siam, we find that 1898 A. D. corresponds with 2441 A. B., which shows that the Buddhists of the Southern School calculated the *Parinirvāṇa* Era from B. C. 543. The Tibetans possess certain dates, as 564 B. C. for the Nirvāṇa and 543 for the Parinirvāṇa, which were erroneously called by *Asoma Kōrō* as 576 and 540, and which strengthen the inference of the same era of the Southern sect. Besides these, two dates in the *Kōryū* era viz. 2541 and 2557 according to the *Sauramānā* solar calculation, have been found for the two events, ascertained in the Tibetan scriptures. Now since a solar year (*Sauramānā*) consists of 365 days, 15 *gha* 1 *ra*, and a *Brahmapeta-mānā* (Jupiter's year) of 361 days, 11 *gha* which appears to have been current in *Magadha*, the difference of six years is easily explained away by the excess of the solar year of 4 days 4 *gha* 31 *ra* — that is to say Buddha attained Nirvāṇa in 2557 and Parinirvāṇa in 2571 *Brahmapeta*, or ordinary *kalayuga* which two figures if the Christians are easily converted to B. C. 564 and 543.

The repetition of the several chronological statements in the different chapters of the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, the two well-known Singhalese chronicles, — which betray the differences — prove that they are traditional records compiled from various sources and cannot support one another. From them I have compiled three chronological lists, which are now

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2. <sup>2</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2. <sup>4</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2. <sup>6</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2. <sup>10</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Life of Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.



in which all the dates given by the chronicles are entered for easy comparison and reference, so that their value may at once be seen :—

## Masada, King.

	Singhalese.	Hermese.	Thietas.	Ju. un. A. V.	Duration of reign.	Accession in B.
1 Ajātasattu . . .	8 B. B.	8 B. B.	..	.....	65	551
2 Udayabhadda .. ..	25 A. B.	25 A. B.	27 A. B.	... .	10	519
3 Anuruddha ... ..	40 "	40 "	.....	.....	— 8	503
Manda at Pataliputra ..	.....	49 "	..	.....	.....	..
4 Nagaśasa ... ..	48 A. B.	53 ? ..	.....	.....	— 10 -24	490
Interregnum.						
5 Sasaśaga (Nanda) ...	72 A. B.	63 A. B.	63 A. B.	... .	— 10	460
6 Kālāsoka ... ..	90 "	81 "	..	60 A. V.	— 28	463
Vaisālī Council ... ..	.....	102 "	110 A. B.	.....	.....	441
7 His ten sons ... ..	118 A. B.	109 "	.....	.....	— 33	434
— Arya Convention ... ..	.....	137 "	137 A. B.	... ..	....	.....
8 Ugrasena and eight brothers ... ..	.....	142 "	.....	.....	— 92	..
9 Chandragupta ... ..	153 A. B.	163 "	... ..	155 A. V.	24	380
10 Bindusāra ... ..	187 "	187 "	.....	.....	27	356
11 Asoka .. ..	214 or 218	214 or 218	234 A. B.	... ..	37	320—5
12 Samprati .. ..	255	255	..	235 A. V.	... .	292

Stbavirus.

Thera	Ordination			Death		Patriarchate
	In A. B.	Magnatha regnal year	Ceylon regnal year	In A. B.	Regnal year	
Upul	..	..	.....	80	Indrabhadra 6	30
Lasaka	18	Ayatasatra—24	Vajra 16	80	Sisunaga — 8	50
Sonnaka	58	Nagadisa 10	Pandurāsa 20	124	Nanda 6 (9)	44
Sggava	109	Kulasaka 10 and ½ month.	Interregnum 11½	178	Chandragupta 14	52 (55)
Tissa	164	Chandragupta 2	Pakunda 58	244	Asoka 26	68
Mahindra	224	Asoka — 6	..	284	Uthiya of Ceylon 6	40



## The Ceylon Dynasty (Rājavalī).

	A. R.	B. C.	Reign.
Vijaya . . . . .	1	543	39
U'patissa . . . . .	37	505	1
Panduvāsa . . . . .	38	504	30
Abhaya . . . . .		471	20
Interregnum . . . . .	89	444	17
Pandukabhaya . . . . .	106	437	57
Ganathisa . . . . .		380	18
Mutasiva . . . . .		367	60
Devanapīya-Tissa, 17½ of Aśoka's reign . . . . .	238	307	40
Utiya . . . . .		278	267

## List of Stbāviras (Vinaya Chiefs).

	Years.	B. C.
Upālī . . . . .	1	543
Dāśaka . . . . .	30	513
Baṇṇaka . . . . .	80	513
Siṅḡava . . . . .	124	413
Tissa . . . . .	176	367
Mahendra . . . . .	244	299
Dies in 8th year of Utiya's reign . . . . .	284	259

It will thus be seen, that there is a remarkable agreement between all the lists shown above. The slight differences in the list of Magadha kings, between the Singhalese and the Burmese records, as also that of the Jains, prove beyond the possibility of any doubt, that the true date must be a mean between the varying ones. According to the Singhalese records Sissamanga ascended the throne in 72 A. B., but according to the Tibetan and Burmese authorities the date was 63 A. B. which appears to be correct, that is, 180 B. C. According to the Jains, Nanda usurped the throne in 60 A. V. equivalent to 407 B. C. which shows that this Nanda was the Buddhist Kāśāpaka, who succeeded his father in 465 B. C. a difference of only 4 years. According to the Buddhists, Chandragupta usurped the Magadha throne in 163 A. B. = 180 B. C., and according to the Jains in 155 A. V. = 527 = 155 = 372 B. C., a difference of only 8 years. According to the Lhamas of Tibet Aśoka usurped the throne in 234 Nirvāṇa Era (not Parinirvāṇa), from which deducting 21, we get 214 A. B. (327 B. C.), the year, when Bindusāra, his father, died, according to the testimony of the southern Buddhists. Aśoka's coronation was held in 218 A. B. = 325 B. C., and after a reign of 37 years, died in 292 B. C., when his grandson Samprati (Sambhūti, Eucrat) ascended the throne. According to the Jains Samprati ascended the throne in 235 A. V. = (527 - 235) = 292 B. C., showing no difference between the two dates. The slight differences in the above cases show that they were not derived from one source, and hence prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the true dates must be very close to the traditional ones. And so one cannot throw forward Aśoka, Chandragupta, and Buddha by about 88 years.

The Parinirvāṇa-date of Buddha in B. C. 543 is proved also by the synchronism of Mahāvīra, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jains, who was contemporary with him. And he died during the reign of Bindusāra Śiśūnqa and Ajatashatru-khanda. Now Mahāvīra died in 527 B. C., which date is arrived at by the Eras of Vikramāditya and Satvāhara, the Śaivite and Saka, which, according to the Svētāmbaras and Digambaras, the two chief sects of the Jains, respectively commenced from 479 and 555 A. V. (anno fira) that is to say, after the death of Mahāvīra. I assume as usual that the Śaivite commenced in B. C. 57, and the Saka in 78 A. D., and so 470 + 57 and 605 - 78 yield B. C. 527, as the date of the death of Mahāvīra.



### Asoka I., the Nanda.

Owing to some misconception most scholars have been led to the denial of two Asokas,—one of the Nanda, and the other of the Maurya Dynasty. The Asoka, better known as *Kittaka*, the black Asoka, whose spiritual guide was Upagupta, and who held the Vaisali Council in about 100 A. B. under Batha, cannot be the same person, who was crowned in A. B. 218, and who convened the third Buddhist Council at Patliputra in 335, under Tissa Moghaputra, the patriarch, whose date is given from 176 to 241 A. B. Asoka is expressly said to be the son of Siganaga, who was elected king of Magadha by the nobles of Patliputra and was named the immediate predecessor of the Nandas.<sup>1</sup> This ancient chronicle records, that in the 11th year of Siganaga's reign and in the 12th of the interregnum of Ceylon, Siganaga, the third patriarch of the Buddhist church, was 40 years old after his initiation as priest, when Siggava received *upasampada* (ordination). Now, calculating from 16 A. B., the 24th of Ajatasatru's reign, when Dāsaka was initiated into the order, who, in his turn, initiated Siganaga in his 40th year we get  $16 + 44 + 40$ , the number of years elapsed after the *upasampada* of the latter, = 100 A. B., which was the 11th of Kāsaka's reign. Again adding up the number of reigns of the Ceylon kings up to the 11th year of the interregnum, we get  $38 + 1 + 30 + 20 + 11 = 100$  years. And calculating the Magadha reigns from the 8th of Ajatasatru, we get  $24 + 16 + 8 + 24 + 18 + 10 = 100$  years after the death of the Buddha, when the Vaisali Council was held.<sup>2</sup>

### Chandragupta, the Maurya.

The next important point to determine is the date of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. Of this four independent dates are known: (1) the Brahmanical, the *Puranas* state that he ascended the throne of Magadha 100 years after the accession of the first Nanda. (2) the Jaina, — from their chronicles we find that he exterminated the Nanda dynasty 155 years after the death of Mahavira which happened in 527 B. C. (3) Bhadravasa (156 — 170 A. V. = 371 B. C.) was Chandragupta's Guru and the 8th Sam patriarch of the Jaina church, whose disciple and successor Sthulabhadra (170 — 211 A. V. = 357 — 308 B. C.), was the son of Sakatala. Sakatala was the minister of the ninth Nanda (Dana Nanda) — an important synchronism, which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars. These facts fix the inauguration of Chandragupta's reign in about 372 B. C. (4) From the Buddhist sources we learn that in 163 A. B. (380 B. C.) Chandragupta acceded to the throne of Patliputra. There is here a difference of only 8 years (380 minus 372 B. C.), a matter of no importance, which instead of invalidating rather strengthens the finding that the truth appears to lie between the two dates. But since the dates of the Magadha kings are given consecutively in the Buddhist chronicles and not fragmentarily in the Jaina, 380 B. C. appears to be the more reliable date for Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty.

In the *Deparama*<sup>3</sup> it will be observed that the 2nd year of Chandragupta's reign was the 68th of Pākanakas of Ceylon, when Tissa, the son of Maga, was initiated by Siggava in the 6th year after the latter's *upasampada*. The same fact is repeated on the very next page so that there is no doubt as to any clerical or traditional mistake, — especially so when it is added that Siggava, the Stavira, the head of the Buddhist church, died in the 14th year of Chandragupta's reign, when he was 76 years old, that is 32 years after Tissa's *upasampada*. Calculating as in the case of Asoka I. by referring to the Tables, we find that the 2nd year of Chandragupta was 164 A. B. = (24 + 16 + 8 + 24 + 18 + 28 + 22 + 22 + 2 Magadha regnal dates) + (38 + 1 + 30 + 20 + 17 + 26 Ceylon regnal dates) + (16 + 44 + 40) + 11 patriarchal years of Vāsa Chetaka. Thus the year 163 A. B. as the year of the accession of the founder of the Maurya dynasty to the throne of Patliputra is established beyond the possibility of a doubt which cannot on any theory be reduced.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. V. *Deparama*. <sup>2</sup> See the Chronological Tables given above. <sup>3</sup> Trans. by Prof. Quenstedt, p. 40.







Samprati his grandson, who, becoming the patron of the Jaina church, followed the example of his grandfather, by issuing the rock-edicts.

Now since the *Greena Sandracanthus* synchronizes with Asoka, who was once deputed by Bindusara to Taxila to quell a rebellion, we can safely identify him with the latter. For Chandragupta, literally the moon-protected appears to be a H'v'e, just like the one we have in the Gupta dynasty. The *Asokabharata* records that Kunala, Asoka's son, had the title of Chandragupta, and in the Tibetan tradition we find that several kings of the Maurya dynasty had this surname.

I need not enter into the controversy of the so-called identity of Priyadarsi of the pillar and rock-edicts with Asoka in this brief paper. But I may remark that there are great differences in the actual lives of the two kings. Firstly, why should not the author of the edicts proclaim them in his well-known name of Asoka, which is not found in even one instance? The first *Upanishad* conversion of king Priyadarsi occurred in the 9th year after his coronation, while in the case of Asoka, it was in his fourth regnal year. Priyadarsi undertook his *dharma-samiti* to the Magadha Samgha (religious assembly), being his second conversion, in the 11th year of his reign, while Asoka received Megasthenes and held the Third Buddhist Council in his 17th regnal year and thereafter retired from the world and became an ascetic in the 35th year two years before he died. Asoka appears as a Buddhist while Priyadarsi was equally respectful towards the Sarmans and the Brahmanas. No Orientalist has yet proved that Priyadarsi was a proper name and not a title monopolized by the Maurya emperor Asoka alone. I need not go further into details, but conclude with stating my strong conviction that the Pillar-edicts belonged to Asoka and the Rock-edicts to Samprati, who was contemporary with the five Yüeh Kings, of the then divided Greek empire.

## TIBETAN AFFINITIES OF THE LICHCHHAVIS.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.O.S. (Retd.).

ALL students of ancient Indian history are familiar with the name of the Lichchhavis, the ruling tribe or clan in the Vriji country, of which Vaisali was the capital. Several facts indicate a close connection between Tibet and the Lichchhavis, and give probability to the theory that the Lichchhavis were really a Tibetan tribe which settled in the plains during prehistoric times.

According to one tradition, the first Tibetan monarch was descended from Pradyota, king of Kosala, the contemporary and friend of Gautama Buddha. According to another form of the legend, the Sakya race, to which the Buddha belonged, was divided into three branches, represented respectively by Sakyanand, or Gautama Buddha, Sakya the Lichchhavi, and Sakya the Gandharva. Sakya the Lichchhavi, being the progenitor of the Tibetan kings, but, as Mr. Bock, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 204 points out, legends of this kind have little value.

Much more significant are the unbroken similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Lichchhavis, which are recorded in the important matters of sepulture and judicial procedure.

The notable custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals was common to Vacas and Tibet. When the Buddhista (vacant), was at Vacas, he is related to have observed a cemetery under a group of trees and to have questioned the Brahmins, who explained:—

"In that place the corpses of men are exposed to be devoured by the birds, and there also they collect and pile up the white bones of dead persons as you perceive they burn corpses there also, and preserve the bones in vessels. They hang lead weights also from the trees,



there are others buried there, such as have been slain or put to death by their relatives, dreading lest they should come to life again— whilst others are left there upon the ground, that they may return, if possible, to their former homes."<sup>1</sup> Whatever obscurity may exist in this passage, it certainly proves a belief that the ancient inhabitants of Vaisali disposed of their dead sometimes by exposure, sometimes by cremation, and sometimes by burial. The tradition is supported by the discoveries made at prehistoric cemeteries in other parts of India which disclose very various methods of disposing of the dead. The corpses hung to the trees may have been so treated for the purpose of desiccation, and subsequent dismemberment.

The practice of exposure of the dead seems to have extended beyond the Licchavi country and to have survived in Magadha as late as A. D. 400. Fa-hien says that at Rajagriha, near the old city, 'north of the village two or three there was the *Sian-shan*, which name means in Chinese, 'the field of graves into which the dead are thrown.' The contemptuous phrase can hardly refer to ordinary burial."<sup>2</sup>

The prevalence of the practice of exposure of the dead in Tibet is well known according to Ba-sour's summary of travellers' accounts (*Cyclop. s. v. Tibet*). "In Tibet, where the dead are not buried or burned, but are exposed on high places to be devoured by vultures . . . the bodies of the wealthy are carefully disposed of, they are carried in a litter to the top of a hill set apart for the purpose, the flesh cut in pieces, the skull and bones pounded in a mortar, and when all is ready a smoke is raised to attract the vultures, who collect in thousands to eat it up.

"The sovereign Lamas are, however, deposited entire in shrines prepared for their remains, which are ever afterwards regarded as sacred, and visited with religious awe. The bodies of the inferior Lamas are usually burned, and the remains preserved in little metallic idols, to which places are assigned in their sacred cabinets. Ordinary persons are treated with less ceremony— some are carried to lofty eminences, where they are left to be devoured by ravens, kites, and other carnivorous animals. But they also have places surrounded by walls where the dead are placed."

The last statement seems to refer to an enclosure like the *mausoleum* at Rajagriha.

It will be observed that in Tibet, as at Vaisali, cremation, burial, and exposure are all practised. Similarly, the Mongols are said to dispose of their dead in all these three ways.

Mr. Rockhill (*J. R. A. S.* 1891 p. 231) gives further interesting particulars of the regulative Tibetan customs— "*Funerals*. When a death occurs in Tibet, the corpse is tied up with ropes, the face being put between the knees and the hands stuck behind the legs. The body is wrapped in the every-day clothes of the deceased and put in a raw hide bag. The men and women having lamented in common over their loss, suspend the corpse by means of ropes from the rafters . . . . A few days later on the corpse is carried to the corpse-cutters' place, when it is tied to a post, and the flesh cut off and given to dogs to eat. This is called a terrestrial burial.' The bones are crushed in a stone mortar, mixed with meal and parched grain, made into balls, and also given to the dogs or thrown to vultures, and this latter mode of disposing of them is called 'a celestial burial.' Both these methods are considered highly decorable . . . . The poor dead are buried in the water, the corpse being simply thrown in it. This is not an esteemed mode of burial. The bodies of Lamas are burnt and cairns (*öbo* or *dobong*) erected over their remains."

Not in the case of specially holy Lamas the body after the flesh has dried upon the bones, is wrapped in silk and deposited in a mausoleum. At Lhasa dead bodies are thrown in a grove called the 'Cold Forest,' which recalls the *chitral* and of Buddhist monks.

So far as I know, the Tibetan practices do not survive in any part of India at the present day except perhaps in remote Himalayan regions.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Roman History* v. P. 116a, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the corpses hung on trees at Rajagriha.

<sup>3</sup> Legge, *The Treasury of P'ien*, p. 81.



Judicial procedure in Tibet and Vaisali offers a still more striking parallel.

The ancient judicial system of Vaisali is expounded in the *Atthakathā* or commentary ascribed to Buddhaghosha on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, or 'Book of the Great Decease,' which was summarized by Turnour in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1838. The modern Tibetan practice is explained by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., in his article on 'Tibetan Jails and Criminal Punishments' in the Proceedings of the same Society for 1894, p. 5. I think that the reader who peruses both accounts will agree with me that the ancient procedure at Vaisali is substantially identical with the modern procedure at Lhasa.

The *Atthakathā* promises that the description of the administration of justice at Vaisali refers to ancient times. The rulers, it said, when an accused person is brought before them, do not dispose of the case at once, but send it to the *Winickekhiya mahāmattā*, who examine the accused, and, if they find him innocent, release him. If they decide that he has committed an offence, they abstain from awarding a penalty and make over the accused to the *Wohārikā* (persons learned in law and custom), who are authorized to discharge him, if they consider him innocent. The prisoner, if found guilty by the *Wohārikā*, is transferred to the *Sattadhārā*, who make further enquiry, and are empowered to discharge the prisoner, if they are satisfied of his freedom from guilt. If, however, they consider him guilty, they pass him on to the *Aṭṭhakūlaka*, 'the eight castes or tribes.' This tribunal, if satisfied of his guilt, passes the prisoner on to the *Sēnapati*, or chief minister, who hands him over to the *Upādya*, or Vicegerent, who makes him over to the Rāja. The final determination of the prisoner's guilt or innocence rests with the Rāja, who is bound to determine the penalty according to rules laid down in the code, or *Pauṇḍripitthakā*.

The stages in this complicated procedure are eight in number, namely:—

- (1) Arrest and production of prisoner before the 'rulers';
- (2) Enquiry by the *Winickekhiya mahāmattā*;
- (3) Do. do. *Wohārikā*;
- (4) Do. do. *Sattadhārā*;
- (5) Do. do. *Aṭṭhakūlaka*;
- (6) Production before the *Sēnapati*;
- (7) Do. do. *Upādya*;
- (8) Final judgment by the Rāja, who is bound to follow fixed written rules in awarding the penalty.

The stages in the Tibetan procedure, as described by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, are exactly similar:—

- (1) The accused person is arrested and sent to the lock-up;
- (2) He is watched, treated kindly, and mildly interrogated;
- (3) He is subjected to a mild but minute interrogation called *Jamā*, and his answers are noted down;
- (4) He is examined more strictly and whipped at intervals, this is called *Tahan-ā*;
- (5) If he makes any kind of confession, true or false, he is subjected to further prolonged examination, repeated whippings, and cruel tortures of various kinds;
- (6) If the case is serious, and the Government becomes a party, he is taken to the Kalons, or Ministers' Court;
- (7) The Court suggests to the *Gyal-tshab* (Regent), which is the highest Court of the country, that one of the three punishments mentioned in the decision may be approved of;
- (8) The sentence may be mitigated, commuted, or revised by the Dalai Lama only. The Regent has no power to do more than select one of the three punishments suggested by the Court of the Ministers.



It is impossible not to perceive the very close resemblance between this procedure and the ancient judicial system of Varsah, and it is difficult to believe that the two systems have not a common origin.

Further information about the Tibetan criminal law will be found in Mr. Rockhill's excellent article on 'Tibet from Chinese Sources' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp 216-18).

### A CHINESE ASOKA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., L.R.S. (Barr.).

Is the first Minor Rock Edict, of which versions, more or less complete, exist at Rupnāb, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddhāpura, Aśoka says:—

"For more than two years and a half I was a lay-disciple without exerting myself strenuously. A period of six years, or rather more than six years, has elapsed since I joined the Order, and have strenuously exerted myself, and during this time the men who were never before regarded as true, have been, with their gods, shown to be untrue."

When recently discussing this passage (*Asoka*, p. 13) the only parallel to the monk-emperor which I could cite was that of the Jain prince, Kumārāpala Chaulukya, mentioned by Bühler. But I have since learned of the existence of a much more closely parallel case in China.

In his charming work on *Chinese Literature*,<sup>2</sup> Professor Giles writes (p. 137).—

"The original name of a striking character who, in A. D. 502, placed himself upon the throne as first Emperor of the Liang dynasty, was Hsiao Yen.

"He was a devout Buddhist, living upon priestly fare and taking only one meal a day; and on two occasions, in 527 and 529, he actually adopted the priestly garb. He also wrote a Buddhist ritual in ten books. Interpreting the Buddhist commandment 'Thou shalt not kill,' in its strictest sense, he caused the sacrificial victims to be made of dough.

"The following short poem is from his pen:

'Trees grow, not alike, by the mound and the moat;  
Birds sing in the forest with varying note;  
Of the fish in the river some dive and some float,  
The mountains rise high and the waters sink low,  
But the why and the wherefore we never can know.'

Some scholars have felt a difficulty in believing that a reigning emperor could become a monk without abdicating his temporal power. With reference to the imperfectly parallel case of Kumārāpala, I argued that, like him, Aśoka probably undertook vows of imperfect and limited obligation. It is also possible that he once, or several times, adopted the practices of a Buddhist mendicant for a few days at a time during which periods of retreat his ministers would have administered the kingdom. The Buddhist ceremony of ordination (*upāsampadā*) does not convey imperial orders, or involve a life-long vow. Both in Burma and Ceylon men commonly enter the Order temporarily, and after a time resume civil life. Aśoka could have done the same, and a proceeding which is easy for an ordinary man is doubly easy for an emperor. A formal compliance with the rules requiring the monk to beg his bread could have been arranged for without difficulty within the precincts of the palace."

The Chinese case in which the actual facts are recorded establishes the validity of these observations, and should finally remove the doubts of the most sceptical concerning the propriety of the literal interpretation of Aśoka's distinct and categorical statement that he joined the Order.

<sup>1</sup> From the Mahābhārata-Saundaryā text, ed. Bühler in *J. I.*, Vol. III p. 141. The words *anāgata ājāyicān* only mean 'not in the Order.'

<sup>2</sup> Heinemann, 1901.



## MISCELLANEA.

## DIVALI FOLKLORE.

BY B. A. GUPTA, F.Z.S.

HOLIDAYS in all countries have their folklore, and the Divall of India is no exception. The greater the number of folktales, the higher the stage of development in the society, and the greater the interest we find attached to the evolution of the festivities. In the case of the Hindu Divall, I have been able to collect the following half dozen different folk notions:—

## I.

Vishnu, says a priestly Brahman, apportioned four chief holidays between the four varnas or castes. The Brahmins of the alms-receiving class have to observe the *vikrāt pūrṇima*, or the full-moon day of the month of *Śrāvaṇa*, and to collect money by tying the well known *vīrkha* or protecting charm to the wrists of their masters, and every employer will testify that they have not neglected this opportunity! To the Kshatriya or warrior caste Vishnu gave the *Dussehra* holiday, to the Vaisya or trader caste, the Divall, when they are expected to worship goddess Lakshmi who presides over wealth, and to the Sūdra or servile class, *Phālgun* or Holi, the filthy and indecent rowdyism of the last month of the Hindu Calendar.

## II

The second idea claims Divall as the day on which Rājā Bali was deprived of his empire on earth. In Mahārāṣṭra, women prepare effigies of Bali, either in rice-flour or cow-dung according to grade, worship them and repeat the blessing "May all evils disappear, and Rājā Bali's Empire be restored [इहा विहा जावो, भावि बखीचें राज्य वेवो.]" There is no such worship in Bengal.

## III

It is believed that Vishnu killed Markasur or the giant of filth on the 14th day of the second Āśvin. On this day, all Hindus bathe very early before sun-rise after anointing their bodies with many perfumed unguents and oils. There are two baths taken, one after the other, just as is done on the death of a near relation. After the first bath, a lamp made of rice-flour and an oval piece of the same stuff called *muskā* are waved round each male by some girl or married woman, and the fruit of the cneorhitous plant, *chirai*, is placed in front of him. He then crushes the fruit under his left foot, extinguishes

the lamp with the toe of his left leg, and takes the second bath. He wears a new dress and partakes, with his friends and relations, of the numerous dainties prepared for the occasion. Thus, it is said, is in celebration of the victory of Vishnu over the giant.

## IV

The fourth explanation is but a variation of Lakshmi-worship, in which the Bengalis bring home clay figures of their dreadful Kālī and worship it as the place of the charming consort of Vishnu, represented by heaps of Rupees placed in trays. They say that Kālī is Lakshmi (Goddess of Wealth), is Saraswati (Goddess of Learning), and the procreative female power as well!

## V.

The fifth idea has a historical basis. It is that King Vikramaditya of Ujjain, a scion of the Gupta race, was crowned on this day, the 16th of Āśvin, and counted his era accordingly. This is thus a new year's day.

## VI.

It is asserted that after his return from Lanka, Rāma was crowned on this day!

Taking, however, into consideration the season or the time of the year, one is led to suspect that the primitive origin of Divall has connection with the movement of the earth round the sun. That imaginary passes the *twis*, the *libra* or the 'balance,' about this time and marks the beginning of the second half of its course. "He" is then seen going farther and farther from the Northern hemisphere, the nights become longer in proportion, snow begins to fall on the peaks of the Hérū or Himālaya mountains. At this time the desire to wish him (the sun) speedily return to enliven the North is natural and is possibly expressed in the vernacular quotation given above. The sign of the zodiac, *libra* or balance, may have influenced belief in the weighing of the harvest-products followed by "counting" the cash realised. Hence the joy felt by the Hindus.

We have thus (1) the desire to see the sun return to the land of the Aryans, and (2) the destruction of the giant of filth or farm yard and other manure-heap, which have to be removed or taken away from the house, heaped together, worshipped, topped by a burning lamp and offered a coin. This is done before the early



bath is taken and has possibly some connection with the sowing of wheat, gram, and oil seeds. The crushing of the cucurbitaceous fruit and the extinguishing of the lamp waved round the face of the bather, perhaps, indicate the death not only of the giant of filth or manure, but that of the first season,—producing rice. It is said that the Narkāsur (night-soil giant) was born of the goddess, Earth! So be (filth) always is!

The third stage of evolution may be perceived in the fact that the bladed crop is sold about this time, and the ubiquitous Banī has reason to be proud of the wealth it brings to his coffers. He therefore worships Lakahmī, or his accumulations heaped in trays.

Rāma's accession is a Puranic embellishment of the natural religion and the Kālī-puja is an innovation of the Aryans, who have systematically been cheating the non-Aryan races of the East of India, in spite of their admission into the sacred religion, in order to counteract the numerical strength of the Buddhists. Aryan Brahmins took the assistance of the non-Aryans when needed, but carefully kept them in the lower rung of the ladder by thrusting down their throats such irregular beliefs. They thus preserved a distinct line of demarcation and sank the 'converted' Bengalis deeper in their folkish about the worship of their local non-Aryan hideous deities.

In Bengal, it is likewise believed that the night of the pitris (ancestors) begins at this time, and that the lamps are lighted on the tops of poles to serve as a guide to these benighted souls. The śrāddhas, or offerings to ancestors, are also performed on this day, the 30th or dark night of Āśvin. It is this fact of the ancestors' souls being overtaken by a night, which extends over six months, that gives life in Bengal to a great feast on their account, to serve them for half the year.

The latest stage of the evolution need not surprise any one. It was quite possible to have selected for the celebration of Vikramāditya's coronation a day hallowed by the sacred memory of a similar grand ceremony ascribed to Rāma, whose glorious career has been the ever-enchancing and ever-inspiring theme of all Hindu poets.

I solicit the attention of ethnographers to the chief points I have thus been able to disclose out of the multiplicity of accounts of the origin of the Dīvālī, viz., the change of the season; (2) the

death of the rice-crop harvest; (3) the time of manuring the soil for the second crop; (4) the man reaching Lāsa, the seventh sign of the Zodiac; (5) the coronation of Rāma; (6) the selection of this coronation-day for the contentment of the nation and era-making day of Vikramāditya, the last of the Gupta;—and I quote further details with confidence. *Cricket's Popular History of the Folklore of Northern India* gives the legend of a king who was visited by a snake in the form of a snake that saved him from death by forging the figure '70' in the place of the '0' found in Yama's account-books, but as the lamps are not kept burning all the night, and as nobody keeps up all the night, corroborative evidence is wanting. The return of the spirit of the dead king sounds like the story of Vatasūyātri, whose husband, Satyārā, was restored to life at the devoted worship of his proverbially envious wife.

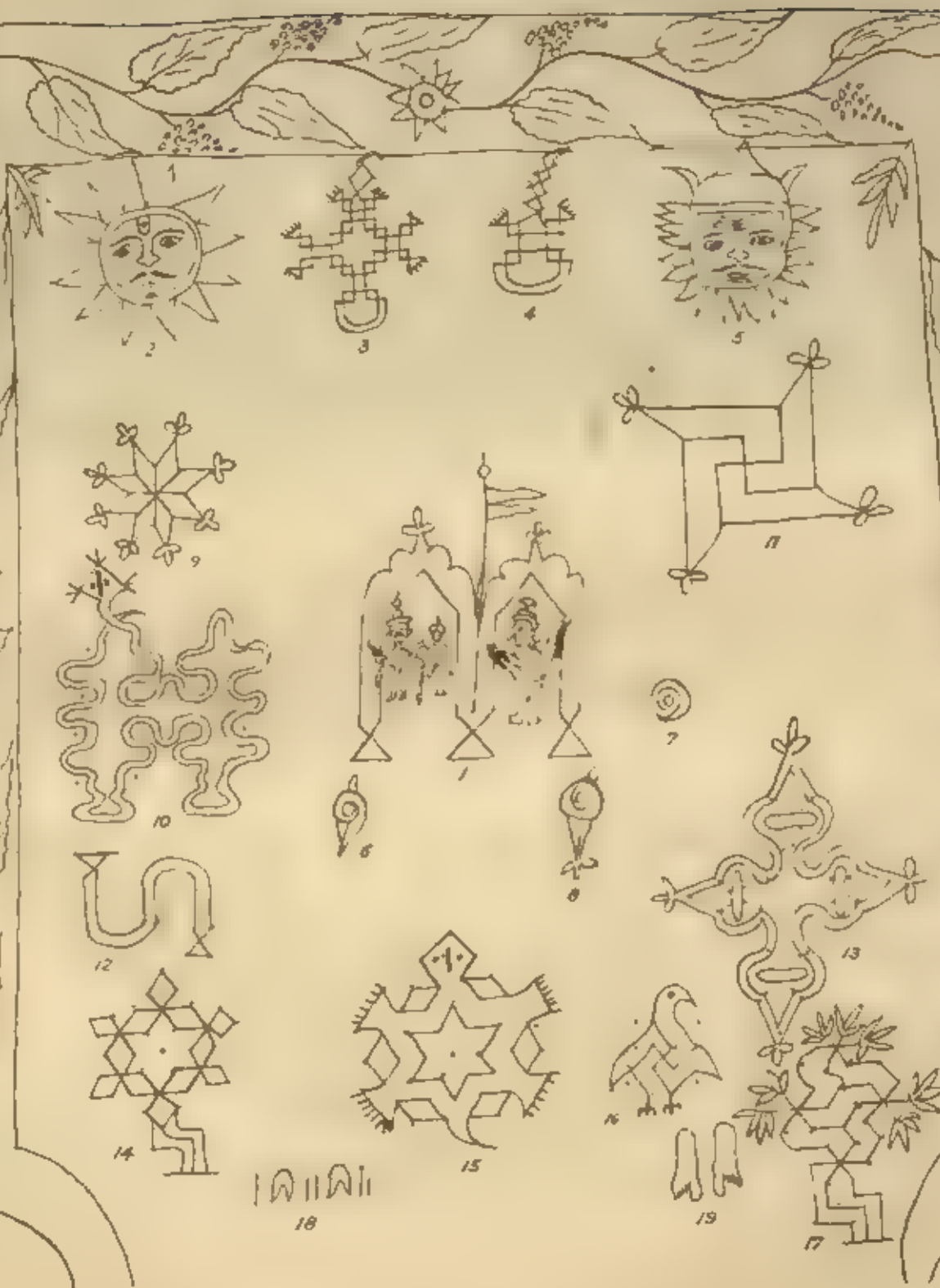
As a help to the elucidation of this interesting subject I add a note on some peculiarities of the Dīvālī Worship. There are many interesting details in this worship which are likely to reveal peculiar phases in the social strata of the Hindu society. For instance the Chandraśekhara Prabhū of Bombay mentions the effigies of Ball Bājā out of cooked flour, while the Mālis, or gardeners of Indor who are Śaivas use row-dong. In the houses of the former, the figure of the king and that of his consort are mounted on horseback, followed by a mounted minister, and saluted by four footmen, who stand like a guard of honour in a row. The whole scene is placed in a silver or brass tray, while the Śaivas mould a figure on the bare floor lying flat with its face upwards. The former draw from the 8th day of the second half of Āśvin to Dīvālī, a set of symbols in rice-flour on the floor of their compounds or verandahs and in front of the main entrance, vide Plate drawn by my wife, specially in the native women's style. She has, however, reproduced only those designs, neglecting the conventional border, which are considered absolutely necessary, omitting the more elaborate and complicated ones.

The central temple (1) is ascribed to Lakahmī-Nārāyan. In this compound name, the precedence given to the Goddess over her husband may be noted. Besides the usual (2) sun, (3) the moon, (4) and (5) the hanging lamps—the coconut shell, (6) the mace, (7) the lotus, (8) the wheel, (9) the śaśita, (10) the śhāke or thousand-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Acharya's mention of five "Kūla Brahmins" sent out from Kanak in Bengal to convert Bengal to Hinduism.



# DIVALI DRAWINGS.









hooded cobra, and (18) the cow's footprints, there are (16) sparrows, (17) the mango, (14) the bael (wood-apple) tree (*Eyle marmelos*), and (19) the footprints of Lakshmi.

The presence of sparrows at harvest time, the position of the threshing floor usually near a shady tree, and the mooming realisations of the sale-proceeds (wealth, as expressed by the footprints, are significant. This is, perhaps, the most primitive origin of the festival, subsequently elaborated as society advanced and wants increased.

The second part of the temple contains the usual figure of Garuda and (16) the turtle is an accessory of the structure placed just below the bells. No. 12 is called *dhavinda* (दाविका) and No. 13 *pāthavinda* (पाथविका), but I do not quite understand what they mean. The first may mean "reminder" from *dāva*, to remember, and the

second "sender off," from *pāthar*, to despatch. Some interest attaches to these symbols, because they are considered necessary in this group, and may signify the "reception" of the new season and the "bidding good-bye" to the old one.

In further explanation of the Plate, I would add that it is purposely drawn in native women's fashion without correction, to show how the subject is habitually represented. It is not intended to be a specimen of art. The red dots have a meaning and show the process of production. Women always put down a number of such dots and then join them together. The three figures in the niches of the temple are, (1) Vishnu with four hands holding a *śankh*, *chakra*, *gadda* and *padma*, (2) Lakshmi with her arms at her side and her hands pointing downwards, (3) Garuda facing them with folded hands.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### HINDUSTANI IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY

WITH reference to Dr Grierson's article on the Bibliography of Western Hindi (*ants*, p. 17), the following notes from T. B., *Asia*, etc., 1669-1679 (*vide*, *ants*, p. 25), may be of use as indicating the extent to which the various tongues of India were ordinarily recognised by Europeans in the 17th Century.

T B (now identified with Thomas Bowrey, for my previous identification with Thomas Bateman must be given up) makes the following remarks in his MS:—

Fol. 18 — "The Gentues accompt themselves a very antient people, as really they are, and that which they often boast of is, they alter not their Religion from the beginnings . . . Their Language is certainly altered since those days, for I have seen in many of these Pagods on the greatest Marble Stones thereof, Especially in the Pagod of Armagon, severall lines Engraven in the Marble which they doe acknowledge none in this Generation (or many before) can read, and as yet they have a large Chronologic kept in most Pagods that differ little from the Characters now Extant in their owne language . . ."

Fol. 19 — "There is another Sort of these Idolaters who are accompted to be of a higher Cast (then the Gentues be), these are called Banjans . . . their laws only differing in Some points . . ."

and their Language farre more different."

Fol. 26. — "The Malabars that reside on this Coast (Cheromandel) . . . doth much vary both in customs of Idolatry, Language, and what else . . ."

Fol. 33 — "Metchhpetam. Soe called from the Hindostan ore Moora Language, (the) word Metchh significinge fish, and petam or Patanam a towne."

Fol. 41 — "The Hackerses Sail without the Street dore, callinge us all Kings and brave fellows, . . . Singinge to that purpose in the Hindostan Language."

Fol. 54. — "The Aleoron . . . is written in Arabique Rhime . . . nor is it admitted to be written or read in any Other Language, but in it's Original tongue, Arabique, and in the Persian language for its antiquities sake, which is now become the Court language in the Courts of the greatest Emperors and Kings of Asia."

In addition to the above remarks, T B quotes from Bernier, whose travels were then a new and famous book (first French Eds., 1670, 1671 first English Eds., 1671, 1672) and especially the passage about the defeat of Dara Shikoh by Aurangzeb (1658), then quite a fresh tale, which is to be found at p. 53 of Constable's Ed. of Bernier (1891). In this passage there occur the courtly expressions *Mohbarah-bad Husari Salami*



*Elhaund-ullah* etc) which are translated in the English Ed. of Constable, following the old 1671 English Edition, by "May you be happy! May your Majesty enjoy health and reign in safety! Praise be to Allah, the victory is your own." The French Ed. of 1699 (Amsterdam), Vol. I, p. 76, runs thus:—"(*Caill-ullah-tan*, luy orna de toute sa force *Mohbarek-had*, le bien vous soit, *Hazaret*, *Salamet*, que vostre Majesté demeure saine & sauve, elle a remporté la victoire *Elhaund-ullah*."

There must have been many persons in the mid 17th Century who had a good working

knowledge of the Hindustani or Muz of the day. Bernier 1696-1708 and Tavernier 1686-1694 both evidently knew the language and T. H. (1687-1697) was a then famous master mariner and a competent knowledge of it. About the learned Fryer's actual knowledge of it (1672-1681) I am not so certain.

Men like Job Charnock and the numerous Englishmen recorded as "married to natives" must have known it intimately.

R. C. TAMPAR.

### BOOK NOTICE.

THE *Gadyachintamani* or *Vidibhasanika*. By T. B. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI and S. RUKMANIYASASTRI. Madras, 1902. (*Sanskrit Series*, No. 1.)

This is the *editio princeps* of a romance in Sanskrit prose, which resembles in style the *Kildambor* of Bāṇa. The first of the two editors is favourably known to students of Sanskrit literature by his valuable article on *Hāmabhadra*-*Dikabita* and his contemporaries (printed in the *Kāvyamālā* as a preface to the *Patalyalicharita*). He is one of the small handful of natives who could not only read but also write in Sanskrit, and his edition will be a boon to the student of modern Oriental research.

Ojayaddva, surnamed *Vādibhasanika*, the author of the *Gadyachintamani*, was a Southern Digambara and the pupil of Pushpadana. He also composed a poem entitled *Kakatrachintamani*, the beginning of which was printed at Bangalore a few years ago in an—unfortunately extinct—magazine of Jaina works. Both the *Gadyachintamani* and the *Kakatrachintamani* have their origin in the legends of Jivaka or Jivakaputra and seem to be connected with the *Jivakaputra* story. The same legend has been treated in the other works—the *Jivakaputra*—composed by Haribhadr and the Tamil poem *Jivakaputra* of Jivakaputra.

The *Gadyachintamani* is divided into seven *skandhas*. The first *skandha* relates that King Jayasimha of Kapur in Hindustan, a life enlivened through the friendship of an minister Kāshyapāyana. He was the nephew of King Jayasimha, then the king of the 22 parts of the 12 parts of Hindustan, 4 parts of that of Kapur, 12 parts of that of Jayasimha, and 22 parts of that of his great-grandfather. The king then escaped on a sort of flying-machine which had the shape of a peacock and gave birth to a daughter to, called *Jivaka* or *Jivakaputra*, was adopted by a Brahmin named *Santhakata* and, in the second *skandha*, was educated by *Aryasiddhanta*. In the third *skandha* the usurper *Kanabhadra* despatched an army against

robbers who had carried away cattle. As this army was repulsed, Nandagopa, the owner of the cattle, proclaimed publicly that he would give his daughter *Jivaka* in marriage to the victor of the cattle. Prince *Jivaka* accepted this test and received, as promised, Nandagopa's daughter, whom he made over to a companion *Padmanabha*. In the third *skandha* we are told that a merchant of Kapur, named *Siddhanta*, was shipwrecked on an island and thence carried away on a flying canoe by a man who turned out to be *Haribhadr*, the minister of the *Vijaydhara* king *Varahagopa* of *Nepesara*. The king possessed a daughter *Shakti* and, at her birth, had been foretold that she would become the wife of a prince of Kapur. Thence the king sent his daughter on a journey along with *Siddhanta*, who gave her out for a son's daughter and had a proclamation that she would be a son's daughter to any man who would marry her in playing the role. As was expected, prince *Jivakaputra* succeeded in this competition and the king afterwards gave him for her husband from the midst of his royal suitors. Ends the third *skandha*.

The above hasty notes will, I hope, induce others to pursue the interesting Sanskrit work which has been made accessible through the interesting labours of Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri and his collaborator. It may be said that the text of the *Gadyachintamani* is taken from a MS. and is edited and printed in a most scholarly manner. The rules of division of words and of interpunctation are carefully marked according to the standard European editions of Sanskrit books—a point which is greatly to be recommended in new works and recommends it for adoption as a text book for University examinations. Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri is now editing on his unpublished prose work, the *Vishnu Purana* of *Vasubandhu*.

Camp, 2nd February, 1903

E. B. HARRIS



## THE EARLY PUBLICATIONS OF THE SERAMPORE MISSIONARIES.

*(A Contribution to Indian Bibliography.)*

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S.

THE Missionary Carey landed in India on the 11th November 1793. His first translation of the scriptures was into Bengali; the printing of the New Testament being completed on the 7th February, 1801. Between that year and the year 1832 more than two hundred and twenty thousand volumes in forty different languages issued from the Serampore press. For these languages types were designed and set for the first time, ranging from movable metal types for Chinese, to types in the Sarma character for Kashmiri. Not only were there published translations of the Scriptures, but also texts, grammars, and translations in various languages.

The Missionaries issued during this period ten memoirs, each giving an account of their translation work up to date. These are now very rare, and as the dates of the various publications have often been wrongly quoted I give the following abstract of the contents of each. I have to acknowledge the assistance kindly given to me by Mr. Craydon Edwards of the British and Foreign Bible Society by Messrs. Janssen and Bernhardi of the India Office Library, and by the Rev. J. B. Myers of the Baptist Missionary Society.

I first gave an abstract of the information afforded by each Memoir, spelling Oriental words in the way in which they are given in each case. I then gave a classified list, arranged according to languages, of all the works dealing with Oriental languages which issued from the Serampore press between 1801 and 1832. This has been compiled partly from the Memoirs and partly from other sources.

**First Memoir.**

No copy of this is available. Neither the Baptist Missionary Society nor the British and Foreign Bible Society possesses a copy. On page 117 of Vol. I of the *Bay of Bengal Magazine* for 1809 there is, however, what appears to be an abstract of its contents. The following is mainly taken from it.

Bengal. 2000 New Testaments distributed, 1000 copies of the Pentateuch (1802) and Hagiographa (1803) printed. Prophets (printed 1806) and Historical books in the press, N. B. From independent sources we know that the printing of the first edition of the Bengali N. T. was completed on the 7th February, 1801. It was preceeded by the Gospel of St. Matthew to which were annexed some of the most remarkable prophecies in the Old Testament respecting Christ (500 copies, 1800), which was the first Biblical translation to issue from the press.

Oriental or Gueya. Nearly the whole of the N. T. and a part of the O. T. translated. The former in the press.

Teluga (i. e., Telugu). Translation of N. T. in progress.

Kannata. Ditto ditto.

Marathi. Translation of N. T. nearly finished, and of O. T. in progress. The former in the press.

Guzeratee. Translation of N. T. in progress. Printing commenced.

Hindoostanee. Two versions were found necessary; one of which the Books of Job, Psalms, and the Proverbs, and almost all the N. T. wait for revision; and in the other, the Gospel by Matthew is nearly printed.

Seek (i. e., Panjibi). Translation of N. T. advanced to the Gospel by John.

Sanskrit. The four Gospels printed.



Persian, N. T., and parts of the O. T. translated.

Chinese. Translation of N. T. advanced to the middle of Luke. Printing in this language found far from being impracticable in Serampore.

Burman. Nearly the whole of Matthew translated. A font of types is now being prepared.

On p. 505 of the same volume of the *Baptist Magazine* there is a letter from the Serampore Missionary, Ward dated 12th January, 1809. He says, 'I have been for the last five or six years employed in a work on the religion and manners of the Hindoos. It has been my desire to render it the most authentic and complete account that has been given on the subject. I have had the assistance of brother Carey in every proof sheet, and his acquaintance with a native country particular the same. You are aware that very pernicious impressions have been made in the past not only by the manner in which many writers on the Hindu system have treated it. My desire is to counteract these impressions, and to represent things as they are. I have evidently referred to the famous *View of the Hindoos*. The first edition (4 Vols., 4to) was published at Serampore in 1814. The second in 1815 (same place). The third (2 Vols., 8vo) in London, 1817.

**A Second Memoir of the state of the Translations in a Letter to the (Baptist Missionary) Society. Dated November, 1809. Describes the work during the two preceding years.**

Bengalee. A third (600) edition of the New Testament is in the press. 1000 copies.

Orissa Language. N. T. printed, and nearly the whole of the Psalm. 1000 copies.

Teluga Language. N. T. ready for the press. Translation of O. T. statement complete.

Kanara Language. N. T. translated and ready for revision. O. T. commenced.

Cozeratten N. T. Printing stopped for want of funds.

Mahratta Language. Four Gospels nearly printed off. The entire N. T. and a portion of the O. T. translated.

Hindustanee Language. More than half the N. T. printed. (The entire in Hindi.)

Sungskrit. N. T. printed. Printing of O. T. commenced. No. of copies not stated.

Burman. Translation commenced. A neat font of Burman type has been cut.

In the first Memoir they had rejected the translation of fonts of type in Bengalee, Nagri, Orissa, and Mahratta characters, because the font of Persian type received from England. Three more have since been added, viz., the Punjabi, the Chinese, and the Lanna.

### Third Memoir. Dated August 20, 1811.

Bengalee. Up to date, the whole has been printed in this language. Second Edition of the Pentateuch in press.

Sanskrit. Pentateuch printed, 600 copies. Historical books in the press.

Orissa Language. In last Memoir N. T. printed. Now two Volumes of the Old Testament (the Prophetic books) have been added. Historical books in the press.

Hindustanee N. T. printed, 1000 copies. First Edition. Pentateuch in the press.

Mahratta Language. N. T. printed, 1000 copies. Pentateuch in the press.

Seek (i. e. Pagan) version. In the press.

Chinese. Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark printed in a small octavo volume.

Kanara. Translation of the Pentateuch nearly finished.



Teluga Language. Three Gospels in the press.

Burman. Translation of N. T. progressing.

Magosa, the learned language both of the Burman Empire, and of Ceylon. Translations commenced.

Cashmire Language. Translation of N. T. commenced.

A font of type in Seok (i. e. Garmukhi) has been completed.

#### Fourth Memoir. Dated June, 1812.

This Memoir refers to the fire (on March 11, 1812) at Serampore which had such a disastrous effect on the translations. It contains a tabular statement showing all the work done up to date. From this I take the following new information :—

Sanskrit. O. T. Historical books partly printed. Partly a manuscrypt.

Chinese. N. T. St. John in the press. Rest printed.

Bengalee. Third Edition of N. T. printed. Second Edition of Pentateuch nearly printed.

Orissa Language. Historical books partly printed.

Hindee. Second Edition of N. T. in the press.

Kurasta. St. Matthew ready for the press.

Assam. N. T. partly translated.

Pushtoo or Affghan. Translation commenced.

#### Fifth Memoir. Dated 1813.

Sanskrit. Historical books nearly completed.

Hindee. Pentateuch printed. Historical books in the press.

Brij-bhass. St. Matthew going to press.

Mahratta. Pentateuch printed. Historical books in the press.

Bengalee. Fourth Edition of N. T. five thousand copies, the largest number ever printed in the press. Second Edition of Pentateuch printed. 1000 copies.

Orissa. Historical books nearly printed.

Teluga. New types cast, the former having been destroyed in the fire. A grammar printed. N. T. going to press. St. Matthew nearly finished.

Karnata. N. T. in the press. A grammar ready for the press.

Muhlavin. Translation of the Gospels finished. A font of types in this alphabet, 'which the name and figure of the letters bears a pretty strong resemblance to the Persian alphabet,' is nearly completed.

Guruttie. Translation which had been temporarily stopped resumed. Casting of Guruttie types begun. St. Matthew already printed in Nagari types.

Burshce. St. Matthew in the press. Translation of N. T. advanced to the Acts.

Pushtoo. St. Matthew in the press. Translation of N. T. advanced to Romans.

Pennia (called in former Memoirs Seok). New types cast, the former ones having been destroyed in the fire. Grammar published. N. T. printed as far as Romans.

Kashmeer Language. A font of types (in the Saraid character) has been prepared. Translation advanced to I. Corinthians. St. Matthew in the press.



**Assam.** Translation of N T nearly completed. Printing advanced to middle of St. Matthew's  
**Burmah.** Grammar in the press. Dictionary under preparation by Felix Carey  
**Pali or Magudha.** Felix Carey is at work on a translation.

**Chinese.** N T completely printed. More than half O T translated. New stereotype metal  
 Chinese types have been invented and are being prepared.

**Tamil.** A font of Tamil types had been prepared but were destroyed in the fire. Within  
 ten months a new font was prepared and an edition of 5000 copies of the N T prepared for the  
 Ceylon Auxiliary Bible Society.

**Cingalese.** A font of types prepared. A N T in the press.

**Armenian.** A font of types in preparation.

**Malay.** A Roman alphabet, with accented letters for this language in preparation. A version  
 of the whole Bible in the Arabic character from the five volumes completed at Batavia at the  
 expense of the Dutch Government in 1758, has also been undertaken for the Lieutenant-Governor  
 of Java.

**Hindoostanee.** H. Martyn's version in the Persian character has been undertaken for the  
 British and Foreign Bible Society and the Gospels are nearly through the press.

Fonts of type in other languages in reduced sizes are also being prepared. Attempts are  
 being made to improve the quality of native-made paper, so as to avoid the necessity of importing  
 that article from Europe.

#### Sixth Memoir. Dated March, 1868.

**Orissa Language.** Pentateuch printed off. This comprises the Bible in this language.

**Sanskrit.** Historical books completed. Hagiographa in the press. Poetical books nearly  
 translated.

**Hindee.** Second Edition of N. T. in circulation. Historical books printed. Hagiographa  
 the press. Translation of the Prophetic books completed.

**Mahratta Language.** Historical books nearly printed off. Pentateuch and N. T. have long  
 been in circulation.

**Shikhi (i. e., Panjābi).** N T printed. Pentateuch in the press.

**Chinese.** Pentateuch in the press. The new stereotype metal type, after many experiments, are  
 a complete success. An elementary work entitled *Chinese Syntax* printed. It has as an appendix the  
 text and translation of the *Tungshih*. *Mandarin Chinese Grammar* nearly printed.

**Teluga.** N. T. more than half through the press.

**Bru.** N. T. printed to near the end of Romans.

**Pushtoo or Affghan Language.** Three Gospels printed.

**Bahabee.** The same progress.

**Assamese.** The same progress.

Kannata.	Nepal
Kurkuna.	Cadizpore
Mondancee	Mariwar.
Sinhalee.	Jaypore.
Kashmeer	Khassee.
Biknawer.	Burman.

In these twelve the progress of St. Matthew's Gospels finished  
 or nearly so.



This statement is followed by the following important statement — 'In our prosecution of it, our object, we have found that our means relative to the number of languages which spring from the Sanskrit, were far from being accurate. The fact is, that in this point of view, India is to this day almost an unexplored country. That eight or nine languages had sprung from that great stock of a root, the Sanskrit we well knew. But we imagined that the Tamil, the Karnata, the Telinga, the Guzaratee, the Orissa, the Bengalee, the Mahratta, the Punjabee, and the Hindustanee, comprised nearly all the collateral branches springing from the Sanskrit language; and that all the rest were varieties of the Hindustanee, and some of them, indeed, little better than jargon scarcely capable of conveying ideas.

But although we entered on our work with those ideas, we were ultimately constrained to relinquish them. First, one language was found to differ widely from the Hindustanee in point of termination — then another — and to so great a degree, that the idea of their being varieties of the Hindustanee seemed scarcely to abide. Yet, while they were found to possess terminations for the nouns and verbs distinct from the Hindustanee, they were found as complete as the Hindustanee itself. And we at length perceived that we might, with as much propriety, term them dialects of the Mahratta or the Bengalee language as of the Hindustanee. And we have ascertained, that there are more than twenty languages, composed of nearly the same words, and as equally related to the common parent the Sanskrit, but each possessing a distinct set of terminations, and, therefore, having equal claims to the title of distinct cognate languages. Among these we mention the Juxaree, the Broj, the Chodhpyree, the Bikanere, the Merattanee, the Marwarie, the Magahie, or South Bhojpur, the Sagar, the Mith, the Wanch, the Kutch, the Haratee, the Koshap, &c., languages, the very names of which have scarcely reached Europe, but which have been recognized as distinct languages by the natives of India, almost from time immemorial.

That these languages, though differing from one another only in their terminations and a few of the words they employ, can scarcely be considered as distinct, will appear if we reflect that there is in India no previous language, except at which they can be supposed to be dialects. The Sanskrit, the parent of them, is at present so extinct a language, so rarely spoken by the learned natives themselves, that its grammar is forgotten, its terms almost obsolete, and complex perhaps in itself, so that you can hardly say it is various and complete. It is a relic of the Hindustanee, its position, with some of its own terminations, appearing now only in Persians and the Hindustanee words others approximate more nearly to the Marwarie. It is not to be denied that the Hindustanee is not exact as a classical language. Hindustanee has no country which it can claim as its own, as will be long the language of the Mohammedan courts and camps. It is spoken in these cities and towns which have been for many centuries the seats of Mohammedan princes, and to a great extent these Mohammedans were attached to the persons of their princes, and almost everywhere in India. Hence it is the language which must be understood before any other, and which, therefore, must be the first object of philological researches. To see a statement of this, it has a position, it is the language of the greater part of Hindustan, which is not so, it is not always understood along the coast, a people at the distance of only twenty miles from the great city, where it is spoken. These speak the two vernacular languages, the Bengalee and the Marwarie, that were so apparently the language of the country, which may be considered as an instance well known to those gentlemen who had the personal reputation of the persons of the Hindustanee Company. It is not to be denied that it is as well as can be seen, that it is objected to, on the ground that it is that language they would be obliged to the back of the people in the various provinces of Hindustan. Had this been followed up, it might have led to the knowledge of the fact that each of these various provinces has a language of its own, most of them nearly alike in the bulk of their words, though differing so widely in the grammatical terminations as when spoken to be scarcely intelligible to their next neighbors.



The Memoir (which is signed by W. Carey, J. Marahman, and W. Ward) then goes on to give a detailed proof of the foregoing remarks. Thirty-four specimens of thirty-three Indian languages are given. In each case the specimen consists of the conjugated present and past tenses of the verb substantive, and of a version of the Lord's Prayer. Each specimen is taken up separately and word by word, dissected, in order to show that it is not a specimen of a dialect, but of an independent language. The whole discussion is too long to quote, but it is very interesting reading, especially as it is the first attempt at a systematic survey of the languages of India. In this connexion it is well to remember that its date is 1816, and that its authors were Carey, Marahman, and Ward. The languages compared are following (I give the original spelling): Sanskrit, Bengalee, Hindoe, Khasia, Bengalee, Burmese, Chinese, Dutch, Latin, Sinhalee, Souda, Kutch, Gujaratee, Khasia, Pongee, or Sikh, Bokhar, Marwar, Jaja-poor, Oduya-poor, Haritee, Marawa, Brui, Bandahalee, Mahratta, Magadha, or South Bahar, North Koshala, Mithlee, Nepal, Assam, Orissa, or Oot Koo, Telugu, Karnata, Pushtoo, or Affghan, Ba'abee, Khassee, Barman.

#### Seventh Memoir. Dated December 1, 1920.

This is no longer directed to the Baptist Missionary Society, but is an independent publication, issued for the benefit of the public at large.

**Sanskrit.** Last volume of the O. T. issued two years ago. New edition of the whole Bible of 2000 copies, with 2000 extra of the N. T., under preparation.

**Burmes.** Last volume of the O. T. issued two years ago. A new translation of the N. T. by John Chamberlain is in the press. 2000 copies, in the Devanagari character and 3000 in the 'Kyt'hee' character. A font has been cast of the latter.

**Orissa.** A second edition of 4000 copies in the press.

**Mahratta.** The last volume of the O. T. was issued many months ago. Second edition of N. T. in the press.

**Bengalee.** Sixth edition of N. T. in the press.

**Chinese.** N. T., Pentateuch Hagiographa, and Prophetic books are now all printed. The Historical books are in the press. This will complete the Chinese translation.

**Sinhalee (Pahjoo).** Pentateuch and Historical books printed. Hagiographa in the press.

**Pushtoo or Affghan.** N. T. printed. Pentateuch in the press.

**Teluga,** often termed the Telugoo. N. T. issued two years ago. Pentateuch in the press. When this is finished, no more will be printed in Serampore. The task has been transferred to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.

**Khasia.** N. T. completed eighteen months ago. Pentateuch in the press. When this is finished the work will be transferred to the Bombay Bible Society.

**Wah or Montanee (i.e., Lahnda).** N. T. printed off eighteen months ago in its own character. Translation discontinued.

**Assam.** N. T. printed nearly two years ago. O. T. in the press.

**Gujaratee.** N. T. printed after thirteen years' labour. No more will be printed. The work has been transferred to the London Missionary Society.

**Bokhar.** N. T. printed after seven years' labour.

**Kashmeer.** N. T. will be issued in a month, after eight years' labour. Printed in its own character.

A large number of copy-presses specimens are now in the hands of the Baptist Missionary Society, but these do not come into the argument.



The N. T. is in the press in the following languages:—Karnata [no more to be printed — to be transferred to the Madras Society], Nepal, Harotee, Marwar, Bhugalkhand, Oojein, Jumboo [probably a misprint for 'Jumboo or Dogura'], Kanauj, Knaasee, Khoosha, Bhatunsee, Dogura or Pa pa, probably 'Dogura' is wrongly inserted here — see Jumboo, above], Magadha, Kumaon, Gudwal [i. e., Garhwal], Munipoora.

A paper factory has been started. After experiments lasting for twelve years paper equally impervious to the worm with English paper and of a finer texture, though inferior in colour, is now made of materials the growth of India.

A coloured map of the languages of India is given (see Ninth Memoir).

**Eighth Memoir. Dated December, 1821.**

Bengalee. A second and revised edition of the O. T. in the press.

Sanskrita. The second edition is still in the press.

Hindee. The Gospels in Chamberlain's translation issued. Work temporarily stopped owing to Chamberlain falling ill and having to go home.

Orissa. The revised edition of the N. T. nearly finished.

Mahratta. The second edition of the N. T. nearly ready.

Chinese. O. T. will be completed in three months.

Sikh. Hagiographa issued. Prophets begun in the press. This will complete the whole Bible.

Affghan. Pentateuch completed.

Tehnga. Pentateuch completed.

Kunkun. Completed.

Assam. O. T. issued.

Kashmere. N. T. issued. O. T. in the press. A new font of type on a reduced scale has been made.

Nepal. N. T. completed.

Harotee. Ditto.

Marwar. Ditto.

Bhugalkhand. Ditto.

Kanoje. Ditto.

N. T. is still in the press in the following languages — Karnata, Oojein, Jumboo, Knaasee, Munipoora, Bhatunsee, Magadha [Magadha in last Memoir], Paipa, Shreenagore [i. e., Garhwal], the Gudwal of the last Memoir] and Kumaon.

**Ninth Memoir. Dated December 31, 1822.**

Karnata. Printing all but finished.

Hindee. The edition of Chamberlain's translation in the 'Hythee' [Larnater is not completed. Chamberlain's death is a heavy loss.

Chinese. Printing finished in April 1823.

Pushtoo or Affghan. Historical books begun.

Other versions are being printed but, owing to the exhausted state of the funds, the progress is slow.







**Awadhi** (Dialect of Eastern Hind. Called Khoshal, &c.) 1820, Gospel of St. Matthew  
No. of copies, (?) 1000.

**Baghelī** (Dialect of Eastern Hind. Called Bāghelākhānd &c.) 1821 N. T. 1000.

**Bulôchī** (Dialect of Eastern Hind. Called Bulôchākhānd &c.) 1821 N. T. 1000.

**Bengali** (Bengali) 1800, Matthew to which were annexed some of the most remarkable prophecies in the O. T. respecting Christ, 500.

1801, New Testament, 1st Edn., 3000.

1802, Pentateuch, 1000.

1803, Psalms, 900. Job to Song of Solomon, 500.

1806, N. T., 2nd Edn., 1500.

1807, Luke, Acts and Romans, 1800. Protestant Books, 1000.

1809, Historical Books, 1000.

1811, N. T. (Folio Edn.), 100.

1813, Pentateuch, 1000.

1816, N. T., 5000.

1819, Matthew and Mark (Ellerton's Translation), 1000.

1822, Pentateuch (2nd Edn.), 4000.

1824, Matthew and Mark, 6000.

1825, Pentateuch and Historical Books, 4000.

1828, Matthew, 4000.

1829, Mark, 4000.

1832, O. T. (large 8vo), 1000. N. T. (large 8vo), 2000. Psalms (12mo), 3000. N. T. (8vo) (8th Edn.) (in the press), 5000. N. T. (12mo) (in the press), 1000.

A Grammar of the Bengalee Language, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Carey  
1st Edn., 1801; 2nd, 1805; 4th, 1818; 5th, 1845.

Dictionaries in several editions ('Colloquies') in the Bengalee and English,  
intended to facilitate the acquisition of the Bengalee Language  
compiled by the Rev. Dr. Carey (Title varies slightly in different  
editions.) 1st Edn., 1801; 3rd, 1818.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language compiled by the Rev. Dr.  
Carey. First Edition, Serampore 1825. It is two volumes but the  
second volume is in two parts. All Bengali, English.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language. In two volumes. The first volume  
is an abridgement of the preceding dictionary. The second is a Dictionary  
of Bengali, Bengali, compiled by Mr. J. C. Murdison. 1st Edn.,  
Vol. I., 1827; Vol. II., 1828; 4th, 1847.

The *Southern Dispenser* or *Mirror of Intelligence*. Bengalee and English in  
parallel columns. The first Mirror was commenced. Now published  
every Wednesday and Saturday morning. The paper the first number  
of which was published . . . in May, 1818, has been of  
great use . . . It proceeds through the Post Office for  
one anna or two, according to the distance.



- The *Mongghubodha* or Grammar of Vopa Deva. 1 Date. This is advertised as a Bengali publication in the Tenth Memoir. It is pronounced to be a Sanskrit *Mongghubōdha*, in Bengali character, published in 1817. See Sanskrit. I can find no other trace of it.
- The *Betrisha-Saughasun*, or 22-imagined Thrones, written in Bengalee by Mr. *Madhava Vidyasakar*. 1st Edn. 1822, 2nd, 1828.
- The *Hat-pustak*, or Solitary Instruction translated into Bengalee from the original Sanskrit, by *Madhava Vidyasakar*. 1st Edn. 1821, 2nd, 1821. A previous translation into Bengali by 'Gopal Nath Pundit,' was published at Serampore in 1802.
- Raja Vah*; a History of India, composed in Bengalee by *Madhava Vidyasakar*. 1838.
- The *Gooroodukhina*, containing the celebrated verses of *Chandrasekhara*. &c. translated into Bengalee by *Gopal Turkulunker*. ? Date. The notice is taken from an advertisement in the Tenth Memoir. An edition of the first chapter of the Sanskrit text, with a Bengalee translation by *Mathura Mohan Dutt*, facing it, was published at Serampore 1818.
- Kalidasa* or a Collection of the *Sanskrit* *prastava* most commonly introduced into conversation by the Natives, with a full account of them, and a translation into Bengali. By *Lakshmi Nal Ratan Dutt*. 1st Edn., 1825, 2nd, 1830.
- A set of large *prastava* tracts, and other publications for educational purposes, of which we have mentioned the *Prastava* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. Edited by J. C. Marshman. The editions were issued in Bengali and Bengali, and the other in Bengali only.
- Bhatnéri* (South Patna). A mixed dialect. Called *Bhatnéri*. 1826 N. T. 1, 100.
- Bhoja* of *Bhōtan* or *Lhokā*. 1826. A Dictionary and Grammar of the *Bhōtan* Language by the Rev. F. C. Carey. Edited by J. C. Marshman and W. Carey.
- Bikānēri* (North of *Rashtree*). Called *Bikānēri*. 1826 N. T. 1, 100.
- Brāj Bhakshā* (dialect of Western Hind). Called *Brāj* and *Brāj*. 1822, the Gospel 30. 1827, N. T. 3000.
- Burmese* (called *Burman*). 1815. Matthew, 200. 1826. Matthew (2nd Edn.), 350. John, 200. Acts, 200. Hebrews, 300. Epistles of John, 1000.
- A Grammar of the *Burman* Language by the late Rev. Mr. F. Carey. ? Date. It was in the press in 1813 and was not finished in 1814. After this I can find no mention of it.
1813. A Comparative Vocabulary of the *Burman*, *Malay*, and *Thai* Languages by Dr. Leyden.
1815. An English and *Burman* Vocabulary preceded by a concise Grammar, by G. H. Hough.
- Also four tracts.



Chinese. 1822, O. T. in four Vols., 1600 of each. N. T. 3000. Gospels 3000.

1823, Genesis and Exodus (2nd Edn.), 3100.

1802 The works of Confucius. Containing the original text with a translation to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Chinese Language and Characters. By Dr. J. Marshman. The Dissertation was printed separately in the same year.

1814, *Classica Sinica*. Elements of Chinese Grammar, with an Appendix concerning the Ta-hyob of Confucius, by the same.

1815, A Grammar of the Chinese Language by the Rev. R. Morrison.

Also an unknown number of tracts.

Dôgrî (Dialect of Panah. Called Jumbôo or Degra). 1826, N. T., 1600.

Gariwâli (Dialect of Central Pahari. Called Gariwâ and Shree-nagore). 1827, N. T., 1000.

Gujarâti (Called Gunzeratties, &c.). 1820, N. T., 1000.

Harâuti (Dialect of Râasthani. Called Harotee &c.). 1823, N. T., 1000.

Hindî (Form of Western Hindî. Called Hindee)—

1811, N. T., 1000 (Called Hindoostanee on the Title page, but Hindee in the Memoirs).<sup>1</sup>

1812, Pentateuch, 1000. N. T., 4000.

1815, Historical Books, 1000.

1816, Hagiographa, 1000.

1818, Prophetical Books, 1000.

1819, Gospels, 4000.

1820, Gospels (Chamberlain's translation), 4000.

1823, Acts to L. Cor. (Chamberlain), 3000.

Gospels (Chamberlain's translation in Kaithî type), 3000.

1824, ~~Gospels each separate, 4000~~ (A translation by T. Thompson Baptist missionary of Delhi.)

Also twenty-four tracts.

Except where otherwise stated, all the above are printed in Devanâgarî.

Hindôstânî (Form of Western Hindî. Called Hindostani &c.).

1814, N. T. (H. Martyn's translation for the University Auxiliary Bible Society) 2000. Also ~~extra copies of the Gospels and Acts.~~

Also six 'Oordoo' tracts for 'Mahometans.'

All the above are in the Arab Persian character.

Jaipurî (Dialect of Râasthani. Called Jaipoora. The Gospel of St. Matthew was printed No. of copies unknown. Probably before 1820. It was re-printed in 1845.

<sup>1</sup>In the Fourth Memoir in addition to the name Hindee, the name Hindoo was also used. We apply the term Hindoo or Hindee to that dialect of the Hindoo language which is spoken in the Punjab and which is the language of the Hindoo people. The name Hindoo was also applied to the Hindoo people in general, particularly among the common people.



**Javanese.** 1829 Brykner's translation of the N. T. was printed for the Batavia Bible Society, 3000.

'Several other' unnamed 'works' are also reported.

**Kannarese (Called Kurnata, &c.)—**

1822, N. T., 1000.

1817 A Grammar of the Kurnata Language, by Dr. W. Carey.

**Kanauji (Dialect of Western Hindl. Called Kanauji &c.)** 1821, N. T. 1000.

**Kashmiri (Called Cashmire, &c.)—**

1820, N. T., 1000. (Dated 1820 in Native Character, and 1821 in English.)

1827, Psalter, 1000.

1832, Historical Books (in the press), 1000.

All these in the Sîradî character.

**Khasi (Called Khasco). 1816 Matthew.** (2 No. of copies.)

1827, N. T., 500.

**Kumaoni (Dialect of Central Fahar. Called Kumaoon &c.)** 1821, N. T. 1000. In the press, 1000.

**Konkaui (Dialect of Marâth. Called Kunkana)** 1818, N. T., 1000. 1821. Psalter, 1000.

**Lahnda (Western Panjâb. Called Wuchana Moo-tawee)** 1811, N. T. 1000.

**Magahi (Dialect of Bihâri. Called Magadh Maghadd, &c.)** 1820, N. T. 1000.

**Malay** 1814, N. T. for Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society in the Roman character from the text of the Edition of 1731 for the use of Native Christians at Amboyna 8000 copies.

1817 The whole Bible in the Roman character 1000 copies.

1817, N. T. in Arabic character. See 1821, below.

1819, Matthew, in the Roman character, 500.

1820, Matthew in the Arabic character, 1000.

1821, The whole Bible in Arabic character. The following is the history of this Edition—It was decided by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society in 1814 to reprint the Bible in the Arabic character from the Edition of 1731, but the difficulty of finding trustworthy proof-readers added to the importance of the revision as to spelling and the introduction of a large number of Arabic terms, made a revision imperative. Messrs MacLure and the Rev. R. L. Hutchings, Chaplain of Penang, were entrusted with the revision. The N. T. was issued in 1817 having been revised by Major MacLure at Penang and afterwards by Mr. Hutchings at Serampore. Mr. Hutchings then went on with the revision of the O. T., which was issued in 1821 in two parts, one in 8vo, to form a complete Bible along with a reprint of the N. T. of 1817, and the other in 8vo uniform with a N. T. in 8vo. The numbers of these editions were 5000 8vo N. T., 2000 4to Bible, and 1000 8vo O. T.

1810, A Comparative Vocabulary of the Burmese, Malayan and Thai Languages, by Dr. Levlân.

1810, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, translated by Jabez Carey. 7 No. of copies.



**Maldivi** (Called Maldivian). 1813. It is reported that the Gospels have been translated, and that types are in g. case. No further progress seems to have been made.

**Malvi** (Dialect of Rajasthan). Called *Chopra, Ojjasenee, &c.* 1826 N. T., 1000.

**Manipuri** (Called Munipoor, &c.). 1827, N. T., 1000.

**Marathi** (Called Mahratta)—

1805, Matthew, 455.

1811, N. T., 1000.

1813, Pentateuch, 1000.

1816, Historical Books, 1000.

1818, Hagiographa, 1000.

1819, Prophetical Books, 1000.

1822, Gospels (2nd Edn.), 3000.

1823, Acts to Revelations (2nd Edn.), 3000.

1805, A Grammar of the Mahratta Language, by Dr. W. Carey.

1810, A Dictionary of the Mahratta Language, by Dr. W. Carey.

**Marwari** (Dialect of Rajasthan). Called Marawar, Marwar, &c., 1821, N. T., 1000.

**Mewari** (Dialect of Rajasthan). Called Oodunypooraj. The Gospel of St. Matthew was printed, probably in 1815-16. Probably 1000 copies.

**Nepali** (Dialect of Eastern Pahari. Called Nepal). 1821, N. T. 1000. Also a translation of Dr. Watt's Catechisms, ? Date and No. of copies.

**Oriya** (Called Orissa and Ooriya)—

1809, N. T., 1000.

1811, Prophetical Books and Hagiographa, 1000 of each.

1814, Historical Books, 1000.

1815, Pentateuch, 1000.

1822, N. T. (3rd Edn.), 4000.

1832, Pentateuch (2nd Edn.), 2000.

Also a number of tracts printed for the Baptist Missionary Society.

**Palpa** (Dialect of Eastern Pahari. Called Palpa). 1827, N. T., 1000.

**Panjabi** (Called Seek, Sikh, and Punjabee)—

1814, N. T. (finished 1815), 1000.

1817, Pentateuch, 1000. (Dated 1818 but in December 1817 the Serampore missionaries reported that it had long been printed, and was in circulation.)

1819, Historical Books, 1000.

1821, Hagiographa, 1000.

1826, Prophetical Books, 1000.

1812, A Grammar of the Panjabee Language, by Dr. W. Carey.

Also five tracts.

**Pashto** (Called Pushtoo or Affghan)—

1818, N. T., 1000.

1821, Pentateuch, 1000.

1832, Historical Books (in the press), 1000.



Persian. 1811, Gospels, 500.

Sanskrit (Called Sengskrit and Sengskrita)—

1808, N. T., 600.

1811, Pentateuch, 600.

1815, Historical Books, 1000.

1818, Hagiographa, 1000. Prophetical Books, 100.

1827, 1st to 1 Kings (in the press, 2nd Edn.), 2000.

1804, A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language. Other Editions, 1806 and 1808. By Dr. W. Carey.

1806, The Ramayana of Valmiki in the original Sanskrit with a Free Translation and Explanatory Notes, by Drs. Carey and Marshman.

1807, The Moogdhubodha, or Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, by Vopra Deva (Bengali character), 1807.

1808, Cosas, or Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language, by Ananda Saha, with an English Interpretation and Annotations, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. 1st Edn., 1808. Kosas, or Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language by Ananda Saha, with an English Interpretation and Annotations by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. 2nd Edn., 1825.

Date Sankhya Pravaचना Bhashya. The Doctrines of the Sankhya School of Philosophy (In the Devanagari character) 2nd Edn., 1821. No trace of 1st Edn.

The Tenth Memoir also advertises a Treatise on Cosmography, entitled *Pravachana* (a translation into Sanskrit) (Date. I have failed to trace it elsewhere and it looks as if an edition of Bhaskara's well known *Pravachana* was meant).

Burmese (Called Thara). 1810, A Comparative Vocabulary of the Burmese, Malay, and Thai Languages, by Dr. Leyden.

Sindhi (Called Sindhi). The Gospel of St. Matthew was printed. No. of copies probably 1000. Printed in 1825.

Singhalese (Called Cingalese). 1813, The N. T. was printed for the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. 2000 copies. This was a reprint of the N. T. which had been issued by the Dutch Government in parts between 1771 and 1780, consisting of Acts by S. Cat. Romans to Revelation by H. Philpotts and the four Gospels revised by H. Philpotts and J. L. Heyrick. From a translation by W. Henry originally published in 1733 by the Dutch Government at Colombo. It was sent as a present by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society to the Common Auxiliary Bible Society.

Tamil (Called Tamil). 1818, N. T., for Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, 5000.

Telugu (Called Telinga)—

1818, N. T., 1000.

1821, Pentateuch, 1000.

1814, A Grammar of the Telugu Language by Dr. W. Carey.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE QORAN.

BY DR. HUBERT GRIMME

*(Translated by G. K. Nuriwan.)**(Concluded from p. 135.)*

## 2. The Qorân and the Second Epistle of Peter.

When the Qorân borrows from the Gospel only distorted figures of speech, known nothing of the history of the Apostles, seems to have been indebted to the Epistles of Paul for no great thought or striking phraseology, in short when it is a stranger to the bulk of the New Testament,<sup>21</sup> it is not a little remarkable that it accords in a series of instances with one of the smallest books of the New Testament, which leads to the conclusion that the latter was made use of by the Prophet. I refer to the Second Epistle of Peter. Since up to now no book has noticed the circumstance, passing over the less striking features, we shall here briefly discuss the principal points of contact between the Epistle and the Qorân.

The borrowing consists in the adoption of peculiarly pregnant thoughts and similes, and is to be found only in the *Sûras* or Chapters relating to the "Period of Grace" (*rahma*), especially in *Sûra* 22 and in the Mecca episode of *Sûra* 24. It seems to me less probable that Muhammad adapted them directly from the original. For the mode of imitation throughout corresponds to an oral communication, often based on a wrong interpretation of the text such as would have been impossible even to an indifferent student of the text of the Epistle. It must therefore be assumed that the Prophet owed his acquaintance with the Epistle to oral instruction emanating from a Christian authority that would appear to have read the Epistle itself, in what tongue cannot be determined. Let us now follow the points of similarity, chapter by chapter. In the first chapter Peter exhorts the order to be diligent with faith in the exercise of virtuous acts and to be mindful of them after his own death. Further, the Apostle has heard the Evangel from Christ Himself, who was declared by God the Father and by prophecy as of divine origin. The first main thought the Qorân has made its own, and, indeed, first gives expression to it in those *Sûras* or chapters of the Qorân, which were given out in Medina. The ground for this must be that Muhammad could sooner get the headmen of Mecca to perform good works than to be evil. Hence he had to emphatically lay down how futile was work without faith for a proselyte:

Verily, if thou go in partners with God (i. e. continue idolatry) thy work is as nothing and thou shalt be counted amongst those who shall perish. (39, 55.)

This is a simile of those who do not acknowledge the Lord. Their works are like unto ashes on which the wind blows violently on a stormy day. They will get nothing out of their works. (14, 21.)

Besides these thoughts some Biblical expressions seem to have been imitated. In verse 9 Peter calls those people *blind* who believe but do not practise virtue, who seem to have forgotten the fact that they were purged from sin and who thus render their exactness doubtful. The Qorân makes use of this figure of spiritual blindness repeatedly beginning with *Sûra* 11, and predates it first of those appeared to in vain to tread the righteous path, who hear the precepts but either repudiate or forget them. Later on, in Medina, the epithet is applied to those who are deprived of their light once kindled by God. (17, 2, 16.) Further, in verse 19 Peter institutes a long-drawn out simile between prophetic words and a "Light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day star arise in your

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Haddeth and New Testament in the Light of Muhammadanism, p. 44, 11, 322-29. — Fm.



hearts." This simile might have inspired the Prophet with a similar one with which *Sura* 24, verse 35, begins:

From the light of the Heavens and the Earth. The light is like a mirror in which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, the glass is like a shining star. It is equaled with the oil of the blessed tree, the Olive tree, the East and of the West.

Chapter 2 deals with the false prophets whom God shall visit in justice, as he once visited the sons of Adam, me. Noah, Isaac and Jacob, and Ishmael, whilst the prophets shall be raised. Amongst his enemies of Mecca Muhammad had named no predecessors. Indeed, however, he did concern himself with those who preceded him, as he mentioned, various of theistic doctrines about God and the resurrection age and his own teachings (i. e. p. 22, 3, 8.) Again these the Quran in the passages of the "Period of Grace" unambiguously refutes the threats of a judgment such as foretold the earlier prophets. Precisely, like Peter, and in opposition to what he had depicted of the coming Judgment, namely in Mecca, the salvation of the believers is prominently brought forward by the Prophet. To lighten the resurrection, the fall of the evening ages of the Babylon is cited as the first act of the Judgment. (15, 1.) Nor can we conceive of Satan without a numerous following. (16, 66.)

The imagery employed in verse 17 to illustrate the emptiness of the false prophets has a striking parallel to arrest the attention. "They are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved forever."

Several metaphors from this are adopted in the *Qorda* with more or less change. The figure of the empty wells might easily be shifted to the contiguous one of an expanse of water in a waste, behind which water is vainly sought, so that the comparison assumes the following shape:

As to the infidels their works are like an expanse of water in a plain (i. e., a mirage), which the thirsty take for water, until when he cometh unto it he findeth naught, but saith that God is false, Who falsly payeth him his account." (24, 39.)

The waiting of the unfaithful in the "mist of darkness" is to be found in a concrete form in the immediately following verse:

(The condition of the unbeliever) is like darkness at the bottom of the deep sea. Waves on waves cover it, and above these are still darker clouds one above another. When he releases forth his hand he cannot see it. He to whom God provides no light, has no light.

Finally, it cannot be altogether an accident that as in the Epistle, so also in the *Qorda*, clouds are spoken of as driven along by God, Who gives them in masses, till charged with rain and then they descend on those marked by divine decree.

More cogent proofs in support of the view I have advanced that Peter's Epistle was used by Muhammad, are furnished by the similarity or rather identity of thoughts and expressions from Chapter III, in which the Apostle explains, in regard of scoffing unbelievers, the delay in the Lord's coming. The Prophet was to a remarkable degree similarly circumstanced as the Apostle, when the *Sura* in question the 24th, was written. His opponents were long put off with evasive answers to their inquiry as to when the day of Judgment was to come. And now they went the length of deriding and branding him a liar. The Prophet appropriates to his own use Peter's reply. The latter declares it is not true that the Creation was continued without a change to the present day, since once already the world created out of water was annihilated by water and grew on to admit of it. "But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one

\* Not of earthly origin, therefore, but of celestial. A Muslim *Soran im Anasys Pharisist* note to 24, 35) is at a loss how to construe the passage — "It is difficult to ascertain what sort of an oil tree this could be."



thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning His promise . . . but is long suffering to us-ward." Out of this the Qoran makes the following *ay2*, 48-49. He gives out that the contemporaries of Noah and Abraham and five other peoples and not believers in the promise of their respective Prophets as the unbelievers now did in his own case and that thereupon God dealing with them for a while visited them in a wrath. If the inhabitants of Mecca were not Hindu catechists they could recognize God's visitation in so many cities in ruins blocked-up with rocks, and strongholds empty of their inmates.

They indeed wish that the punishment descend with speed. But God cannot fail His promise: a day with Him is as long as a thousand years, as ye reckon them. (22, 46, 32, 4.)

Here Muhammad has followed the argument of the Epistle almost to the letter, preserving however the most important part the letter and not the sense. This instance is truly the most characteristic of the superficial manner in which, wherever it was, some authority of the Prophet or his himself, that has appropriated and repeated the text of the Epistle.

The earth stood out of water and in the water, says Peter. (Verse 5.) The closing verse of *Sura 21* has, "And God created an heaven out of the water." The thought is thus eloquently stated in 22, 5. It is not improbable that this foreign loan was borrowed from Peter.

Verse 18 gives expression to another striking thought of the Epistle. "We, according to His promise, look for new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

It is not to be wondered after what has been said above, if this thought too lured the Prophet into imitation. But Muhammad having kept to the self-same words, it turns out to have not been understood by him.

Think not that God will fail His promise to His Apostle, for God is Mighty and He is the Avenger. On the day that the earth changes into another earth, and the heavens too, then shall come forth to God, the One, the Powerful. (14, 48.)

Whilst obviously Peter looks upon the new creation as an improvement and a reform Muhammad regards it as the annihilation of its former form with a view to invent the day of Judgment with a conspicuous feature. And, should he might have deviated from Peter's view on this account, that his Paradise, the dwelling of the blessed, he represents as neither similar to, nor any way connected with, heaven or earth.

The person of the Qoran entitled "The Period of Grace" is essentially based on two fundamental principles, *grace (rahim)*<sup>1</sup> and long suffering or forbearance (*had*)<sup>2</sup>. These have been indicated as an evidence of the introduction of Christian dogmas in Muhammad's precepts. From what has been discussed above we can infer that it was, above all, the Second Epistle of Peter, out of which these thoughts found their way into the Qoran.

### 3. The Future of Moslem Theocracy.

Muhammad's religious system has no great claims to originality nor to perfect unity. In its intimate essence it is eclecticism, which, being not sufficiently resorted to in the structure of the system, of an omissions and builds over again the edifice of religious firmament. Those who would understand Islam must seek to go back to the prime origins of his dogmas and where there is a remarkable divergence between the exemplar and the imitation, must tackle the matter in the light, firstly, of the world which surrounded the Prophet, and, secondly, of the change of his residence.

<sup>1</sup> See 4, 12, 15, 19, etc.

<sup>2</sup> First mentioned in 40, 3.



The groundwork of Islam was, and ever remained, that system at which Jewish theology, with its trivial formalities of the twaddledom and tweddledoo of the text of the Bible had arrived, and of which the Talmud may be reckoned as the prime authority. What Muhammad proclaimed in Mecca resembles it closely in the dogmatic views but also in his general moral canons.

On the other hand, the primitive Islam was unshackled by the mass of intricate ordinances on doctrine and conduct of life, into which the Talmud Jews had fallen as in a labyrinth, which rendered free movement well-nigh impossible. This divergence is characteristic. It shows that the Talmud, Babylonian or Palestinian, must not be looked upon as the direct model of early Islam. The latter contains isolated items which are conspicuous by their absence in the Talmud but are common in the earlier document of Judaism, the *Targum*. Muhammad never studied the ordinance of later Judaism, but learnt their contents from oral tradition. We must presume his instructor to be a Jew, but not one of the Rabbis whose whole life was devoted to hypercriticism of Law and strict observance of its minor particulars. Such Rabbis were very sparsely, if at all, to be found in Arabia. Muhammad's instructor was in all probability a man of spiritually intermeddled acquaintance: he was more in touch with the *Haggada*, the Hebrew world of anecdotes and thoughts, than with the *Halakia*, the repository of each and every law — an *Amor Hares* in short. Such a man endeavoured naturally to make Muhammad what he himself was, and Muhammad loved with a certain pride to bear the title of *Imam*, that is to be *Amir Hares* in complement to the Jews of Mecca, and put it beside his most exalted insignia *Nabi* or *Prophet*, styling himself *Nabi Ummi*.

But Muhammad shrunk from one consequence of his instruction, from being reckoned a Jew by his heathen countrymen or from comporting himself as such. His latent developed sense of patriotism was the underlying block. The hopes of resurrection and the kingdom of Israel were inseparably connected with the Jewish doctrine. Every proselyte therefore who would truly call himself a Jew, must abjure the convictions of his national religion. But nothing could induce Muhammad to make that sacrifice. He did not renounce the obligations he owed to the Jews in Mecca by hostile opposition against their leaders. Not a word was uttered offensive to them as a race, rather Muhammad was prompted by a spirit of courtesy when he christened an Arab prophet of his own creation *Hud*, which is Arabic for Jew. At the same time he was kept from going over to Judaism from the consciousness of a momentous mission of his own. He felt the impulse to communicate to his heathen compatriots the light that was vouchsafed to him — an impulse which soon assumed the shape of a positive duty to be fulfilled at whatever cost. Cogitating over the strange phenomenon he interpreted it to himself as a divine commission to turn Jewish verities into Arabic speech and sermons.

In the course of the Meccan period, with the Jewish rudiments of Islam are mingled, as supplements and modifications, new thoughts which have a near affinity to Christianity, and which would seem to have been borrowed from it. Thus the insipid rigidity of the conception of God till now entertained was relieved by emphatic declaration of divine love and mercy, belief in certain dogmas was inculcated as duty and many a figure of the new theology was put on a par with the saints and prophets of the Old Testament. But if Muhammad at this epoch betrays comparatively inconsiderable acquaintance with the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, still most of that knowledge which he displays at the Meccan period must have been previously acquired. He wanted not opponents and opportunity to open a polemic on the teachings of Christ, which were thrown away upon him.

If we take a review of whatever in the *Qur'an* accords with Christianity, the outcome of our inquiry is more negative than positive information on the sources from which Muhammad drew. In the first place, it seems certain that Muhammad had read as little of the Gospels as of



the Talmud, else he would not have fathered their authorship on Christ<sup>32</sup> and I would have had a more exalted perception of the nature and potency of the Saviour. Besides, the rest of the books of the New Testament were outside the pale of his knowledge, excepting perhaps the Second Epistle of Peter various scraps of the past fifteen years, period between its influence in their ideas and expressions. Of the secondary documents of Christianity there are only vestiges of the Gospel of Infancy in the *Qorân*.<sup>33</sup> But they are of a description such as could be straightway derived from folklore or legends. Yet there remains to be accounted for a series of observations on Christian dogma which are not in the remotest degree connected with any written authorities come down to us. They are the Trinity conceived as a triad composed of the Father, the Son, and Mary<sup>34</sup> the doctrinal account of the apparent death of Christ on the Cross,<sup>35</sup> the descending of the table for the Lord's Supper, etc.<sup>36</sup> These, considered as a whole, could not have been learnt by hearsay from any Christian source, for no sect, be it ever so much corrupt or degenerate, represented a like confusion of curious symbolism. They have to be looked upon as things learnt at second or third hand, with the pristine stamp blurred and rubbed off.

Some part of the sacred history as treated of in the *Qorân* had its roots in the creed of the Christians of Syria, to wit, the account of the seven sleepers, of Dhul Karmain, Alexander the Great and of his expedition against Yajuj and Majuj. It found its way into the *Qorân* not direct from the original but as filtered through popular legends.

The tradition mentions by name several Christians with whom Muhammad is alleged to have come in occasional contact, with the monk Nestor or Bahira, who greeted him, when the latter was in Basra on a commercial journey, as the future prophet, or with Abu Amir, the head of the Christian Settlement in Medina. But time and other circumstances tell against the assumption that the Prophet was any way influenced by this. The balance of probability points to one of the anchorites, not rare in Arabia then, to whom the *Qorân* in many places refers in terms of laudatory appreciation.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Sûra 27, 27.*

And we sent Noah and Abraham and placed in their seed prophecy and the book and some of them we guided, though many of them are workers of abomination. Then we followed up their footsteps with our apostles and we followed them up with Jesus the Son of Mary and gave him the Gospel, and we placed in the hearts of those who followed him kindness and compassion. — S. B. E. IX 289. — Tr.]

<sup>33</sup> *Sûra 3, 41 and 48; Sûra 4, 55; Sûra 5, 110.*

[When the angels said, 'O Mary, verily God gives thee the glad tidings of a Word from Him, His name shall be the Messiah Jesus the Son of Mary, renowned in this world and the next and of those whose place is aught to God. And He shall speak to people in His cradle and when grown up, and shall be among the righteous.' She said, 'Lord, how can I have a son, when man has not yet touched me?' He said, 'Thus God creates what He pleases. When He decrees a matter He only says BE, and it is. And He will teach him the Book and wisdom and the Law and the Gospel and He shall be a Prophet to the people of Israel, saying that I have come to you with a sign from God.' . . . — S. B. E. IX 52. — Tr.]

<sup>34</sup> *Sûra 5, 79 and 116.*

<sup>35</sup> *Sûra 4, 155.*

[. . . and for their mischief and for their saying about Mary a mighty calumny and for their saying, 'Verily we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary the Apostle of God' but they did not kill him and they did not crucify him, but a similitude was made for them. . . . They did not kill him, for surely say God raised him up unto himself, for God is mighty and wise. — S. B. E. IX 94. — Tr.]

<sup>36</sup> *Sûra 5, 112-115.*

[When the apostles said, 'O Jesus, Son of Mary, is Thy Lord now to send down to us a table from heaven?' He said, 'Fear God, if ye be believers' and they said, 'We desire to eat therefrom that our hearts may be at rest.' . . . So Jesus the Son of Mary, O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven to be to us a festival.' . . . God said, 'Verily I am about to send it down to you, but who so disbelieves amongst you after that, verily I will torment him with the torment which I have not tormented any one within the world.' — S. B. E. IX, 114. — Tr.]

<sup>37</sup> *Sûra 24, 34-37; 5, 55. See also Ibn Hisham, p. 348.*

[Thou wilt surely find that the strongest animosity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolaters and thou wilt find the nearest to them to those who believe to be those who say 'We are Christians' but is because there are amongst them priests and monks and because they are not proud. — S. B. E. VI, 149. — Tr.]

[For Abu Amir, see *Moir's Mahomet*, p. 174. — Tr.]







to another human being. If the concentration of exclusive rights and powers in the hands of a single individual like Muhammad guaranteed the successful issue of great political and martial enterprises, at that he had won for himself was imperilled the moment the bearer of those extraordinary prerogatives was dead and buried. On pragmatic grounds it was beyond the authority of the Prophet to invest a successor with them, so that it was through no inadvertence of his that he failed to make the *Qorān* provide for his succession.

Hence the consternation into which the tidings of his death threw the believers, a consternation comprehensible. The vast multitude of the companions acting in the interests of Islam though on their own responsibility, presently assembled together and resolved to elect a provisional representative or *Khalifa of the Prophet*, without being themselves clear as to what extent it was possible to have the latter represented at all. Their choice fell upon the modest Abu Beker whose conception of his high office was only that of *primus inter pares* in the brotherhood. In an inaugural sermon he said: 'I have been made your superior, though I am not the best of you. If I act justly, support me, but if not, oppose me.'<sup>42</sup> Fate rendered his function easy for him in that he elected to continue the belligerent policy begun by Muhammad whereby external events retarded the outbreak of internecine feuds. Abu Beker was succeeded by Umar whom he had recommended. His idea of the *Khalifate* was essentially different. He was the first to assume the title of 'Prince of the Faithful' which signified not less an exalted dignity than it constituted a position of power. Both his successors, Othman and Ali, too, rose to the *Khalifate* by popular suffrage. But soon their claims were repudiated, owing to their possession of a well-fortified and centralized central power. From the resultant civil wars of Islam sprang, on the one hand, a monarchy, and on the other a schism in the Church. In the eastern possession of the Empire too widely was the doctrine of the transmissibility of the spiritual authority, gaining more and more ground, that relative apparition of numerous Imams or *Imams*, who, in the most shadowy grounds pretended to succeed as well as regress to the *Qorān*. The west was cut in two halves. The west or Syria following the example of Muawiyah, their prince, saw in Islam a source of life for the contiguous kingdoms. The other half which embraced the eastern seats of Mecca and Medina and the first places of the Islamic world—Jahil, Kufa and Basra, occupied itself busily with the observance of the *Qorān*—rites and the enforcing of the Prophet's ordinances, aiming at the same time at political independence. The success of Yezid and Abul Malek over more united the two halves, calling into being a state governed by a hereditary and absolute potentate who was also the ecclesiastical pontiff. Soberly and the Islamic world rejoiced in such autocrats as Omar II. and Hisham devoted to the *Qorān*, their free-thinking successors later, the leaders of the *Umayyads*, based on the might of arms back in old days. In the east the sentiment of the *Sunnis* was: 'The *Khalifate* must revert to the family of the Prophet.' A revolutionary movement was set on foot. The wave of unrest passed over from the people to the throne. It swept the kingdom and the royal house of the *Umayyads* off the face of the earth. A descendant of the crafty uncle of Muhammad, Abul Abbas, the *Abbasids*, was undeservedly presented to the throne of the *Khalifa*. Now the *Khalifate*, in keeping with the *Qorān* exalted, had chosen at once to secular and religious sanctity, and steadfastly maintained its hold on both, though political exigencies compelled it to turn *Sunni*. But though this *Khalifate* was looked upon as a temporary institution which was at no time upheld by a united Islam, the *Abbasids* were, even down to the time of their decline a spiritual authority which no member of the posterior dynasties, either of the east or the west, bedecked with the title of *Khalif*, had ever enjoyed.

While theological erudition failed to define the term *Khalifa*, acknowledging to be the legitimate successor of the Prophet him whose who, being a son of the *Karshite* sept, combined the supreme virtues of knowledge and sense of justice with energy and bodily as well

<sup>42</sup> Sayyid, *History of the Khalifas*, Cairo, 1906 A. H., p. 27.



as mental vigor and sanity,<sup>43</sup> the confidence of the masses in the supporters of the tria gradually disappeared. Their yearning for a regulated conduct and policy of Church and State begot in their minds the image of the Mahdi, in whom we note a reflex of the Jewish Messiah with slight modifications. A man, it was hoped, at the end of time would arise from among the progeny of Muhammad to strengthen religion, restore justice, to put himself at the head of the faithful and to extend his empire over all Mussulman lands.<sup>44</sup> This singular expectation is still alive in the hearts of the bulk of the followers of the creed. Nor is it quenched by the appearance of pseudo-Mahadis and impostors. It was not quite a score of years ago that the world witnessed the spectacle of vast masses of people imposed upon by a beaughted fanatic.

Politically, Islam at present commands neither moral force nor physical resources, and is in the process of slow disintegration. Such circumstances, perhaps, point to the conclusion that the day is not at all too far off when the edifice of Islam will collapse at the impact of the culture of Christian Europe.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN HINDI, INCLUDING HINDOSTĀNĪ

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., LON.

(Concluded from p. 179.)

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<sup>43</sup> Ibn Khaldun, I, 161.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Khaldun, I, 250 seq.

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<sup>1</sup> There are entries which were omitted from the main list. I have taken the opportunity of giving lists so far as I could, of the works of the four acknowledged masters of modern Urdu, Asad Husain, Sarshir and Shams. For many of the entries I am indebted to Captain E. St. John, M.A., Tutor of Jaidpur, and Mr. J. F. Drummond, M.A., Teacher of Bengali, at the University of Oxford.



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Besides the above Novels, Ratan Nath has written translations of (1) 'Don Quixote', under the title of *Khushai Jang* for 2 Pts. Lucknow, 1894. (2) 'Russia' by Sir D. M. Wallace, under the title of *Tarikh-e Rusiya.* Lucknow, 1887. And (3) 'Letters from High Latitudes,' by the Earl of Dufferin. Lucknow, 1888.

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## THE MEANING OF PIYADASI.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., L.C.S. (Barr.).

The records commonly described as the Asoka inscriptions never mention the emperor's personal name Asoka, or Asoka Vardahana. The only inscription which mentions the great Maurya by his personal name Asoka is the celebrated Sanskrit document on the Jūnagarh rock, dated in the reign of the Satrap Rudradaman, and commemorating the restoration 'in a not very long time' of the embankment which had burst in the 72nd year (of the Saka era), equivalent to A. D. 150.<sup>1</sup>

In his own inscriptions Asoka invariably designates himself by mere titles or epithets. Sometimes he is content with the wholly impersonal royal title *Devānam-piya.* equivalent to 'His Sacred Majesty,' or 'His Majesty.' At other times he adopts the unpretending style of Raja Piyadasi, or Piyadasi Raja, and more frequently uses the complete formula, *Devānam-piya Piyadasi Rāja.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ann.*, Vol. VII p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.* 1902, pp. 485, 677, 930; Hook. Edict VII. *Asoka*, p. 124.



When 'Piyadasi' king of Magadha, sends greeting to the clergy<sup>1</sup> or 'King Devanāṃpiya', in the thirteenth year of his reign, borrows a cave dwelling uncertain as to the form used in each of these cases certainly produces the impression that the word Piyadasa must be interpreted in the Asoka inscriptions as having practically the force of a proper name.

Much the same impression is produced by the language of the Dipavamsa, a Ceylonese chronicle compiled in the fourth century A.D. The compiler states that "Piyadassana was anointed king 218 years after the death of the Buddha, and in a series of passages uses Piyadass and the nearly identical form Piyadasana as synonyme for the proper names Asoka or Asokadhamma."<sup>2</sup>

The form Piyadas with one s, used in the inscriptions, is, of course, the same word as Piyadasa, with the double s, used by the Pali writer. Both forms represent the Sanskrit *priyas* or *priyasana*, which is actually used in the Indian version of the inscription. The Pa. Piyadasana, which represents the Sanskrit *priyasana*, does not occur in the inscriptions.

In my book on Asoka I adopted a rendering published by Professor Kern many years ago, and stated that Asoka in his edicts uses the name Piyadasa 'which means 'the Humane' and I further interpreted this name, title or epithet as being the emperor's 'name in religion' and distinguished from his secular, personal name.<sup>3</sup>

M. Sylvain Lévi in a friendly review has criticized my translation and interpretation and stated that he considers Piyadasa (Piyadarsin) to be a generic epithet belonging to the formula of the royal style (*protocole royal*), and expressing nothing more individual than the words 'Majesty' or 'Sire.'<sup>4</sup> The learned critic has developed this proposition in his very suggestive article on certain terms employed in the inscriptions of the Western Satraps. I translate his observations into English for the benefit of Indian readers to whom French may not be familiar.

"The official value," he observes, "of the expression *bhadrakṛāṇḍa* as a mode of address to royal princes suggests a respectable history for this commonplace formula. In fact, it is difficult to distinguish this invocation of the 'propitious countenance' from an analogous title made illustrious by a famous example of its use."

*Bhadrakṛāṇḍa* is undoubtedly merely another notation of the idea expressed by the word *pratyakṛāṇḍa*—in Prakrit, *priyadasi*. *Priyadasi* is 'a person who looks amiable' or 'has an amiable appearance.' Whilst the Satraps bestow upon themselves the epithet *bhadrakṛāṇḍa* King Śālikarāṇḍa (Gotamiputra, the contemporary neighbour, rival and conqueror of the Satraps, receives in a posthumous panegyric the still current epithet of *pratyakṛāṇḍa* (Sanskrit, *priyadarsin*).<sup>5</sup>

The formula *devanāṃpiya piyadasa* of the Asoka inscriptions is therefore wholly composed of general designations borrowed from the royal style, without a single word referring specifically to the author of the inscriptions. Notwithstanding the current practice, it is no longer permissible to speak of 'King Piyadasa, any more than of 'King Devanāṃpiya.' Asoka, whatever his motives may have been must have intentionally avoided inserting his personal name in his inscriptions."

<sup>1</sup> Bhaskar Lalant. Dr. Bhaskar Lalant has pointed out that the word *śālikarāṇḍa* also read as *śālikarāṇḍa*. Vol. XX p. 455 must be taken as a. the 2 must be case. *Majadasi* seems to be the correct reading. The translation is in the same sense as the original.

<sup>2</sup> Bhaskar Lalant, p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> *Asoka*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Asoka*, p. 455.

<sup>5</sup> *Asoka*, p. 455.

<sup>6</sup> *Asoka*, p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> The passage was first quoted in J. R. A. S. 1901, p. 425.

<sup>8</sup> *Asoka*, p. 455.

<sup>9</sup> *Asoka*, p. 455.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal Asiatique* Jan. Fev. 1902, p. 105.



After the publication of M. Lévi's essay I consulted Professor Kern, who courteously replied as follows :—

"I do not see in *piyadarsan* a title, but an epithet. It means 'showing a friendly face' and 'having a pleasant look', passing into the meaning of 'promising something pleasant.' I had done better to translate it by 'friendly' than by 'humane.' *Bha-tramaka* is about equivalent to the Eng. sa 'my good friend,'—a phrase of kindly greeting."

I think it is clear that the compiler of the *Dīpavamsa* in the fourth century A.D. used the epithets *piyadasa* and *piyadasama* practically as proper names, but that in so doing he departed from the normal use of the words, which are, as Prof. Kern rightly observes, rather epithets than formal titles. In the Queen-mother Balasari's inscription (c. A.D. 176) *piyadasana* is merely one of a string of laudatory epithets applied to her deceased son, King Gautamiputra Varayakara, and is translated by Bühler by the phrase 'whose appearance was agreeable.'

Asoka, on the other hand, employed *piyadasa* more as a formal title than as an epithet, sometimes describing himself as Rāja Piyadasa, or Piyāsa Rāja, sometimes as Devānāmpiya, and sometimes by the combination of both titles or epithets.

Clear proof has been given that *darśanapada* is the equivalent of a phrase such as 'His Sacred Majesty,' or 'His Majesty,' but the shorter *Deva* preferred by the Gupta emperors in the fourth century.

*Piyadasa* is used by Asoka in the same way, and may be rendered correctly as 'His Gracious Majesty' or 'His Grace.' The translation 'the Humane' must be given up, and with it the interpretation of the title or epithet as being the emperor's "name in religion."

Asoka's full regal style, *Darśanapada piyadan Rāja* may be appropriately rendered by the formula 'The King's Sacred and Gracious Majesty.' M. Sylvain Lévi is right in saying that "it is no longer permissible to speak of 'King Piyadasa' any more than of 'King Devānāmpriya.'"

## A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 143.)

Dhooly, s. r. 242, i, 790, ii.	Dhow, s. r. 243, i and ii, 791, i, ann. 1837
Dhooly bearer, ann. 1883. s. r. Dhooly,	1863, 1873 (twice), and 1880 s. r. 243, i
243, ii.	Dhūp; s. r. Doob, 250, i, s. r. Ghurry, 801, i.
Dhoo; s. r. 212, ii twice, 791, i, s. r. Siwank,	Dhura, s. r. Jowar, 335, i.
309. s. ann. 1814 s. r. 242, ii.	Dhurgaw, ann. 1807 s. r. Durgah, 255, ii.
Dhoo-glurry, s. r. Ghurry 801, i.	Dhurnapattam, s. r. Faccry, 204, i.
Dhooties, s. r. Piece-goods, 535, ii.	Dharmalla; s. r. 243, ii.
Dhor s. r. Down, 793, i.	Dhura, s. r. 791, i, s. r. Tiga, 714, i, see
Dhotco, ann. 1848 s. r. Gingham, 801, i.	793, a footnote and 1747 s. r. Dacany
Dhoti; s. r. Dhuty, 243, i, s. r. Farazee, 267,	787, s. r. 741, i, twice, ann. 1808 s. r.
i, s. r. Loonghee, 336, i, s. r. Lungooty,	791, i.
400, ii.	Dhurna ann. 1869; s. r. Dhura 791, ann. ii.
Dhoty s. r. 243, i, s. r. Loonghee, 336, i, s. r.	Dhurna, to sit s. r. 244, i, ann. 1837 s. r.
Lungooty, 400, ii.	244, i.

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. W.* i, v. i, IV p. 108. The name or title Varayakara is obtained from the coins. My dissertation on the Andhra Dynasty is in the press and will appear in the *J. D. M. G.*



- Dhár Samand; ann. 1810: s. v. Doorsam-mund, 230, ii.
- Dhuti; ann. 1879: s. v. Dhuty, 243, i.
- Dhye; s. v. Dye, 232, ii; ann. 1810: s. v. Dye, 233, i.
- Diabolus; ann. 1328: s. v. Devil-bird, 790, i.
- Diatis angin; ann. 1553: s. v. Zerbud, 750, i.
- Diamond Harbour; s. v. 791, ii, twice, s. v. Rogue's River, 849, ii, twice, see 850, i, footnote; ann. 1753: s. v. Kedgeroe, 82, i.
- Diamond Island; ann. 17-7: s. v. Negro's Cape, 477, i, twice.
- Diamond Point; s. v. Diamond Harbour, 791, ii, see 850, i, footnote; ann. 1727: s. v. Passi, 517, ii.
- Diamond Sand; s. v. Diamond Harbour, 791, i, ann. 1643: s. v. Diamond Harbour, 791, i.
- Diamodna; s. v. Jumna, 358, i.
- Diamper; ann. 1604: s. v. Onimal, 770, ii.
- Diangl; ann. 1644: s. v. Hoogly, 322, ii.
- Diapers; s. v. Piece-goods, 536, i.
- Dikr; s. v. Deodar, 236, ii.
- Dirdanes; s. v. Burrampooter, 101, ii.
- D'o; ann. 1554: s. v. Maanar, 412, i.
- Dibojit; s. v. Maldives, 417, ii; ann. 851: s. v. Maldives, 417, ii, ann. 1150: s. v. Maldives, 418, i.
- Diba pâr; ann. 1450: s. v. Sutledge, 859, ii.
- Dibas; ann. 851: s. v. Maldives, 417, ii.
- Di-bawa; ann. 1553: s. v. Zerbud, 750, i.
- Di-bâwa-angin; ann. 1553: s. v. Zerbud, 750, i.
- Dichopsis Gutta; s. v. Gutta Percha, 309, i.
- Dickah; ann. 1783: s. v. Khyber Pass, 814, i.
- Dierurus macrocerous; s. v. King-Crow, 369, ii.
- Didbân; s. v. Didwan, 792, i.
- Didimus; ann. 1555: s. v. Brahman, 84, ii.
- Didwan; s. v. 792, i, ann. 1679: s. v. Triplicane, 716, i, ann. 1680: s. v. Anzildar, 759, i, s. v. Junes aer, 812, i.
- Diego Garcia; ann. 1769: s. v. Seychelle Islands, 617, i.
- Dien; ann. 1808: s. v. S. John's (s), 591, ii.
- Digby chicks; s. v. Hummelo, 96, ii.
- Diggory; s. v. 244, ii.
- Digon; ann. 1546: s. v. Dagon, 226, ii.
- Diger; s. v. Diggory, 244, i.
- Digne; ann. 1686: s. v. Bendameer, 62, ii.
- Dilli; ann. 1304: s. v. Dilla, 234, ii, ann. 1340: s. v. Coos, 230, i, ann. 1690: s. v. Cospetar, 22, i, ann. 113-4: s. v. Jretul, 540, ii, ann. 1872: s. v. Balander, 7, ii.
- Dilli; ann. 1334: s. v. Dera, 234, ii.
- Dily; ann. 1345: s. v. Sugar, 675, ii.
- Dj, ah; 701, ii, footnote.
- Dik; s. v. Dikk, 245, i.
- Dikk; s. v. 244, ii, ann. 1873: s. v. 245, i.
- Dikk; s. v. Dikk, 245, i.
- Dikk hood; s. v. Dikk, 245, i.
- Dik Rami; s. v. Turkey, 720, i.
- Dil; s. v. Dera, 788, ii.
- Dilemite; ann. 1821: s. v. Bendameer, 62, ii.
- Dili; ann. 1821: s. v. Delhi, 234, i.
- Dill; ann. 1554: s. v. Brinjâl, 87, i.
- Dilli; s. v. Delhi, 788, ii; ann. 1375: s. v. Delhi, 234, i, twice.
- Dilli; s. v. Delhi, 234, i, 788, ii; ann. 1375: s. v. Delhi, 234, i.
- Dilly Mount; ann. 1759: s. v. Dilly, Mount, 780, i.
- Dipat; s. v. Delh, 788, ii, twice.
- Dily; ann. 1430: s. v. Giraffe, 289, ii.
- Din; ann. 1580: s. v. Deen, 234, i, twice.
- Diniso Bernaldes; ann. 1538: s. v. Codavascam, 178, ii.
- Dimitie; s. v. Piece-goods, 535, ii, 536, i; ann. 1781: s. v. Guingam, 289, i.
- Dimity; ann. 1784: s. v. Soosie, 648, i; ann. 1878: s. v. Badjoe, 35, i.
- Dimarikê; s. v. Honore, 321, i.
- Dimûrikê; s. v. Malabar, 411, i.
- Dimyricê; ann. 80-90: s. v. Jangar, 349, i.
- Din; s. v. Deen, 234, i, 3 times.
- Dinagopora; s. v. Adawlut, 753, i.
- Dinapore; s. v. 245, i, s. v. Batta, 54, ii.
- Dinar; s. v. Tanga, 682, i, ann. 1203: s. v. Mahar, 401, ii; ann. 1340: s. v. Tomann, 863, i, twice, ann. 1554: s. v. Lack, 382, i, and ii (twice), ann. 1859: s. v. Dinar, 245, ii.
- Dinar; ann. 1350: s. v. Cowry, 209, i, ann. 1554: s. v. Lack, 382, ii.
- Dinar; ann. 1315: s. v. Crore, 214, i.
- Dinâr; s. v. Gosbeck, 803, i, twice, s. v. Pardao, 888, ii, see 839, ii, footnote ann. 1350: s. v. Cowry, 209, i.
- Dinâr; s. v. Dinar, 245, i and ii, s. v. Gosbeck, 803, i; ann. 1803: s. v. Mahar, 401, ii; ann. 1654-6: s. v. Ruble, 851, i.



- Dinār** ; s. v. 245, i, 4 times, s. v. Ashrafce, 28, i, see 51, i, footnote, s. v. Carat, 123, ii, s. v. Deanez, 233, i, s. v. Laok, 382, i, twice, s. v. Rupee, 585, ii, twice, s. v. Tanga, 682, i, twice, s. v. Tomaup, 707, ii, s. v. Xeraphne, 743, i, twice, s. v. Gosbeck, 808, i, s. v. Miscall, 623, ii, see 839, ii, footnote; ann. 1300 : s. v. Laok, 382, ii, twice; ann. 1333 : s. v. 245, ii, 4 times; ann. 1340 : s. v. Tanga, 682, ii, twice; ann. 1343 : s. v. Beramce, 61, i, s. v. Crora, 214, i; ann. 1344 : s. v. Fonam, 265, ii; ann. 1350 : s. v. Cowry, 299, s. v. 1504-5 : s. v. Pardao, 838, i; ann. 1513 : s. v. Xeraphne, 743, ii, ann. 1534 : s. v. Laok, 382, ii; ann. 1556 : s. v. Bulocob, 71, i.
- Dinār gela**, s. v. Rupee, 585, ii.
- Dināra**, s. v. Dinār, 245, i, twice.
- Dinār** s. v. Dinār, 245, ii.
- Dinār**, ann. 1310 : s. v. Pagoda, 500, ii.
- Dinār gela**, s. v. Gubber, 306, ii.
- Dinār kopck**, ann. 1444 : s. v. Pardao, 840, i.
- Dinār kopck**, s. v. Copeck, 195, i.
- Dinār Kopck**, ann. 1443 : s. v. Pardao, 838, i.
- Dinār kopck**, ann. 1390 : s. v. Copeck, 195, i.
- Dinawar**; ann. 1344 : s. v. Dondora Head, 249, ii.
- Dindigal**; ann. 1881 : s. v. Barramuhul, 762, i.
- Dindigul**, ann. 1601 : s. v. Sarboji, 601, i, ann. 1868 : s. v. Poligar, 544, i, ann. 1876 : s. v. Trichies, 715, i.
- Dindon**; s. v. Turkey, 719, ii.
- Ding**, ann. 1530 : s. v. Adjutant, 4, ii, twice.
- Dingū**; s. v. Dingy, 245, ii.
- Dingus**, s. v. Dingy, 246, i; ann. 1634 : s. v. Gallevat (b), 276, ii.
- Dinghi**; s. v. Gallevat, 275, i.
- Dinghies**, ann. 1878 : s. v. Dingy, 246, i.
- Dingy** s. v. Dingy, 245, ii, s. v. Launchway, 521, ii.
- Dingy**, s. v. Dingy, 246, i.
- Dingyes**, ann. 1785 and 1810 : s. v. Dingy, 246, i.
- Dingo**; ann. 1591 : s. v. Ruble, 851, i.
- Dingues**; ann. 1705 : s. v. Dingy, 246, i.
- Dingy**; s. v. 245, ii, s. v. Gallevat, 275, ii.
- Dingy**; s. v. Dingy, 245, ii.
- Dinheiro**; s. v. Sapaku, 600, i; ann. 1533 : s. v. Laco, 385, i and ii.
- Dio**; 839, ii, footnote; ann. 1537 : s. v. Steca, 633, i; ann. 1546 : s. v. Musteca, 462, ii, ann. 1547 : s. v. Aldca, 7, ii; ann. 1572 : s. v. Chalm, 139, ii; s. v. Din, 246, ii, s. v. Mogul, The Great, 437 : ann. 1614 : s. v. Gogo, 23, i, ann. 1715 : s. v. Cutch, 223, i; ann. 1644 : s. v. Monsoon, 442, ii; ann. 167 : s. v. Pig-sticking, 844, i.
- Dioguo**; ann. 1525 : s. v. Bombay, 77, ii.
- Diomedea**; s. v. Albatross, 6, ii.
- Diomedea exulans**, s. v. Albatross, 6, i.
- Dionysus**; ann. 210 : s. v. Pannh, 556, ii.
- Dioscorea**; s. v. Yam, 745, i.
- Dioscorea aculeata**; s. v. Goa Potato, 290, ii.
- Dioscorea purpurea**; s. v. Sweet Potato, 673, i.
- Diospyros Kaki**; ann. 1878 : s. v. Persimmon, 531, i.
- Diospyros kaki**; s. v. Persimmon, 530, ii.
- Diospyros melanoxylon**; s. v. Calamander Wood, 110, i.
- Diospyros quercuta**; s. v. Calamander Wood, 110, i.
- Diospyros virginiana**; s. v. Persimmon, 531, i.
- Dipa**; s. v. Denti, 789, ii.
- Dipā**; s. v. Downleca, 238, i.
- Dipāl**; s. v. Downly, 238, i.
- Dipālpār**; ann. 1582 : s. v. Sutledge, 859, ii.
- Dipāvali**; s. v. Dowally, 238, i.
- Dipāwali**; ann. 1651 : s. v. Dowally, 238, ii.
- Diphthera**; s. v. Dafter, 254, ii.
- Diphtheria**; s. v. Dafter, 254, i.
- Dipi**; s. v. Dubbeer, 253, i.
- Dipo**; s. v. Maldives, 417, ii.
- Dipterocarpus turbinatus**; s. v. Wood-oil, 741, i.
- Diraish**; ann. 930 : s. v. Pahlavi, 890, i.
- Dirderry**; ann. 1784 : s. v. Sikh, 633, ii.
- Dirdjee**; ann. 1810 : s. v. Dirzee, 246, i.
- Dirge**; ann. 1804 : s. v. Dirzee, 246, i.
- Dirham**; s. v. Dinār, 245, i, s. v. Rupee, 585, ii, s. v. Shroff, 830, i, s. v. Tanga, 682, i; ann. 1335 : s. v. Tanga, 682, ii, 3 times.
- Dirhem**; s. v. Fedca, 798, ii, s. v. Tara, 861, ii; ann. 1340 : s. v. Jeetul, 349, ii, s. v. Tomaup, 863, i.
- Dirhem hashikānī**; ann. 1340 : s. v. Jeetul, 349, ii.
- Dirhem shahitūnī**; ann. 1340 : s. v. Jeetul, 349, ii.
- Dirhem sultānī**; ann. 1340 : s. v. Jeetul, 349, ii.







- Dwan, *s. v.* Dwan, 732, i, ann. 1673; *s. v.* *Triphana*, 716, i.
- Diwān; *s. v.* Dawaan, 239, ii and footnote.
- Diwān, *s. v.* Dawaan, 239, i (3 times) and ii (twice); *s. v.* Dawaany 241; twice; ann. 1178; *s. v.* Downan, 240, i, twice; ann. 1440; *s. v.* Dawaan, 240, i, ann. 1834; *s. v.* Dawaan, 240, i.
- Diwānī; *s. v.* Dawaany, 241, ii.
- Dwānī, *s. v.* Dawaany, 241, i; ann. 1765; *s. v.* Dawaany, 241, i.
- Diwānī 'Adālat; *s. v.* Adawlat, 4, i, *s. v.* Dawaany, 241, i.
- Dwānā, *s. v.* Māchis, 406, i.
- Dzabla; 701, ii, footnote.
- Djalanga; *s. v.* Chelingo, 777, i.
- Dava, ann. 302; *s. v.* Java, 347, ii.
- Djāvah; ann. 1839; *s. v.* Java, 348, ii, twice.
- Djehaan; ann. 1712; *s. v.* Buzee, 104, i.
- Djempānā, *s. v.* Jompon, 353, i.
- Djeoglo; ann. 1878; *s. v.* Jungle, 359, i.
- Djerun; ann. 1442; *s. v.* Ormus, 403, i.
- Djekjocarta; *s. v.* Resident, 576, ii.
- Djekjo-Karta; *s. v.* Upas, 727, i.
- Djouachayeh; ann. 1551; *s. v.* Rhinoceros, 849, i.
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(To be continued.)

## MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE  
TAMILS

BY G. B. SUBRAMAN PANTULU.

(Concluded from Vol. XXVIII. p. 169.)

## XLIII

## THE CAT AND THE MOUSE.

## A Tale of Village Philosophy.

THERE was once a large banyan tree in the midst of an extensive forest, covered with many kinds of creepers, which was the resort of a number of birds and animals. A mouse of great wisdom lived at its foot, having made a hole there with a hundred outlets, and in the branches there lived a cat in great happiness, daily devouring many birds.

Now it happened that a Chandala came into the forest and built a hut for himself, and every evening after sunset he spread his traps, made of leathern strings. Many animals fell into his traps every night, and it so happened that one day the cat, in a moment of heedlessness, was caught.

As soon as his foe the cat was caught, the mouse came out of his hole and began to rove about fearlessly. While trustfully roving through the forest in search of food, the mouse after a little while saw the meat that the Chandala had spread in his trap as a lure. Getting upon the trap the little animal began to eat the flesh, and even got upon his enemy entangled hopelessly in it. Intent upon eating the flesh, he did not mark his own danger, until suddenly he saw another terrible foe in the person of a restless mongoose with fiery eyes, standing on his haunches, with head upraised, licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue. At the same time he beheld yet another foe sitting on a branch of the banyan tree in the shape of a sharp-beaked night-jar.

Encircled on all sides by danger, and seeing fear in every direction, the mouse, filled with alarm for his safety, made a high resolve. Of his three enemies the cat was in dire distress, and so the mouse, conversant with the science of profit and well acquainted with the occasions on which war should be declared



or peace made, gently addressed the cat, saying

"I address thee in friendship, O cat! Art thou alive? I wish thee to live! I desire the good of us both. O amiable one, thou hast no cause for fear. Thou shalt live in happiness. I will rescue thee, if indeed thou dost not slay me. An excellent expedient suggests itself to me, by which thou mayest escape and I obtain great benefit. By reflecting earnestly I have hit upon the expedient for thy sake and for my sake, for it will benefit both of us. There are the mongoose and the owl, both waiting with evil intent. Only so long, O cat, as they do not attack me, is my life safe. Possessed of wisdom as thou art, thou art my friend and I will act towards thee as a friend. Without my help, O cat, thou canst not succeed in tearing the net, but I can cut the net for thee, if thou abstain from killing me. Thou hast lived on this tree and I have lived at its foot. Both of us have dwelt here for many long years. All this is known to thee. He, upon whom nobody places his trust, and he who never trusts another, are never applauded by the wise. Both of them are unhappy. For this reason, let our love for each other increase, and let there be union between us. The wise never applaud endeavour when the opportunity for success has passed away. Know that this is the proper time for such an understanding between us. I wish thee to live, and thou also wishest me to live. This our compact also will bring happiness to us both. I will rescue thee and thou wilt also rescue me."

Hearing these well-chosen words, fraught with reason and highly acceptable, the cat spoke in reply. — "I am delighted with thee, O amiable one, blessed be thou that wishest me to live. Do that, without hesitation, which thou thinkest will be of use. I am certainly in great distress. Thou art, if possible, in greater distress still. Let there be a compact between us without delay. If thou rescuest me, thy service shall not go for nothing. I place myself in thy hands. I will wait upon and serve thee like a disciple. I seek thy protection, and will always obey thy behests."

Thus addressed, the mouse, addressing in return the cat who was completely under his control, said these words of grave import and high wisdom:—"Thou hast spoken most magnanimously. It could scarcely be unexpected from one like thee. Listen to me as I disclose my expedient. I will crouch beneath thy body and so shalt thou save me from the owl and the mongoose, and

I will cut the net that entangles thee. I swear by Truth (Dharma)

The mouse, having thus made the cat understand his own interest, trustfully crouched beneath his master's body. Possessed of learning and thus assuredly so cat the mouse trustfully and unawed thus under the breast of the cat as if it were the lap of his father or mother. Beholding him thus enarconced the mongoose and the owl both became helpless of seizing their prey. Indeed, seeing the close intimacy between the mouse and the cat, the owl and the mongoose became alarmed and were filled with wonder and felt themselves unable to waken the mouse and the cat from their sleep. So they both left the spot and went away to their respective abodes.

After this the mouse, conversant with the requirements of time and place, began, as he lay under the body of the cat, to cut the strings of the net slowly, waiting for a fitting opportunity to finish his work. Distressed by the strings that entangled him, the cat became impatient and said:—"How can I amiable one, that thou dost not proceed with haste in thy work? Dost thou disregard me now, having thyself succeeded in thy object? Cut these strings quickly! The hunter will soon be here."

But the mouse, possessed of intelligence, replied with these beneficial words fraught with his own good:—"Wait in silence, O amiable one! Chase all thy fears away. We know the requirements of time. We are not wasting it. When an act is begun at an improper moment, it never becomes profitable when accomplished. If thou art freed at an unreasonable moment, I shall stand in great dread of thee. Do thou therefore await the opportunity. When I see the hunter approach the spot armed with weapons, I shall cut the strings at the moment of dire fear to both of us. Freed then, thou wilt ascend the tree. At that time thou wilt not think of anything but thy own life, and it is then that I shall enter my hole in safety."

The cat, who had quickly and properly performed his part of the covenant, now addressed the mouse, who was not expeditious in discharging his part. "I rescued thee from a terrible hunter with great promptness, so thou shouldst do what is for my good with greater expedition. If I have ever unconsciously done thee any wrong, thou shouldst not bear this in remembrance. I beg thy forgiveness. Be a little quicker."



But the mouse, possessed of intelligence and wisdom and knowledge of the Scriptures, replied with these excellent words:—"That friendship in which there is fear, and which cannot be kept up without fear, should be maintained with great caution, like the hand of the snake charm rat the snake fangs. He who does not protect himself after having made a covenant with one that is stronger finds that covenant productive of injury instead of benefit. Nobody is anybody's friend, nobody is anybody's well wisher. Persons become friends or foes only from motives of interest. Interest enlists interest, even as tame elephants help to catch wild individuals of the same species. When a kind act has been accomplished the deer is scarcely regarded. For this reason, all acts should be so done that something may remain to be done. So when I set thee free in the presence of the hunter, thou wilt fly for thy life without ever thinking of seeing me. Behold, all the strings of this net but one have been cut by me, and I will cut that in time. Be comforted."

While the mouse and the cat were thus talking together, both in serious danger, the night gradually wore away, and a great and terrible fear filled the heart of the cat. When at last morning came, the Chandala appeared on the scene. His visage was frightful. His hair was black and lank. His lips were very large and his aspect very fierce. A huge mouth extended from ear to ear, and his ears were very long. Armed with weapons and accompanied by a pack of dogs, this grim looking man appeared on the scene. Beholding one that resembled a messenger of Yama, the cat was penetrated through and through with fright. But the mouse had very quickly cut the remaining string, and the cat ran with speed up the banyan tree. The mouse also quickly fled into his hole. The hunter, who had seen every thing, took up the net and quickly left the spot.

Liberated from his great peril, the cat, from the branches of the tree, addressed the mouse:—"I hope thou dost not suspect me of any evil intent. Having given me my life, why dost thou not approach me at a time when friends should enjoy the sweetness of friendship? I have been honored and served by thee to the best of thy power. It behoveth thee now to enjoy the company of my poor self who has become thy friend. Like disciples worshipping their preceptor, all the friends I have, all my relatives and kinsmen, will honour and worship thee. I myself, too, will worship thee. Be thou the lord of my body and

home. Be thou the disposer of all my wealth and possessions. Be thou my honored counsellor, and do thou rule me like a father. I swear by my life that thou hast no fear from me."

But the mouse, conversant with all that is productive of the highest good, replied in sweet words that were beneficial to himself:—"Hear how the matter appears to me. Friends should be well examined. Foes also should be well studied. In this world a task like this is regarded by even the learned as a difficult one, depending upon acute intelligence. Friends assume the guise of foes, and foes of friends. When compacts of friendship are formed, it is difficult for either party to understand why the other party is moved. There is no such thing as a foe. There is no such thing in existence as a friend. It is the force of circumstances that creates friends and foes. He who regards his own interests covered as long as another person lives, and thinks them endangered when another person will cease to live, takes that other person for a friend and considers him such as long as those interests of his are not interfered with. There is no condition that deserves permanently the name either of friendship or hostility. Both arise from considerations of interest and gain. Self-interest is very powerful. He who reposes blind trust in friends, and always behaves with mistrust towards foes without paying any regard to considerations of policy, finds his life unsafe. He who, disregarding all considerations of policy, sets his heart upon an affectionate union with either friends or foes, comes to be regarded as a person whose understanding has been unhinged. One should never repose trust in a person undeserving of trust. Father, mother, son, maternal uncle, sister's son, all are guided by considerations of interest and profit.

"Thou tellest me in sweet words that I am very dear to thee. Hear, however, O friend, the reasons that exist on my side. One becomes dear from an adequate cause. One becomes a foe from an adequate cause. This whole world of creatures is moved by the desire of gain in some form or other. The friendship between two uterine brothers, the love between husband and wife, depends upon interest. I do not know any kind of affection between any persons that does not rest upon some motive of self-interest. One becomes dear for one's liberality, another for his sweet words, a third in consequence of his religious acts. Generally



a person becomes dear for the purpose he serves. The affection between us two arose from a sufficient cause. That cause exists no longer. On the other hand, from adequate reason, that affection between us has come to an end. What is that reason, I ask, for which I have become so dear to thee, besides thy desire of making me thy prey? Thou shouldst know that I am not forgetful of this. Time spoils reasons. Thou seekest thy own interests. Others, however, possessed of wisdom, understand their own interests too.

"Guided, however, by my own interests, I myself am firm in peace and war that are themselves very unstable. The circumstances under which peace is to be made or war declared are changed as quickly as the clouds change their form. This very day thou wert my foe. This very day again thou wert my friend. This very day thou hast once more become my enemy. Behold the levity of the considerations that move living creatures. There was friendship between us as long as there was reason for its existence. That reason, dependent on time, has passed away. Without it, that friendship has also passed away. Thou art by nature my foe. From circumstances thou becamest my friend. That state of things has passed away. The old state of enmity that is natural has come back. Through thy power I was freed from a great danger. Through my power thou hast been freed from a similar danger. Each of us has served the other. There is no need of uniting ourselves again in friendly intercourse. O amiable one, the object thou hadst has been accomplished. The object I had has also been accomplished. Thou hast now no need for me except to make me thy food. I am thy food. Thou art the eater. I am weak. Thou art strong. There cannot be a friendly union between us when we are situated so unequally. I know that thou art hungry. I know that it is thy hour for taking food. Thou art seeking for thy prey, with thy eyes directed towards me. Thou hast sons and wives. Seeing

me with thee, wilt thou not thy dear spouse and thy loving children cheerfully eat me up?"

Thus soundly rebuked by the mouse, the cat, blushing with shame, addressed the mouse — "Truly I swear that to injure a friend is in my estimation very censurable. It doth not behave thee, O good friend, to take me for what I am not. I cherish a great friendship, for thee in consequence of thy having granted me my life. I am, again, acquainted with the meaning of duty. I am an appreciator of other people's merits. I am very grateful for services received. I am devoted to the service of friends. I am, again, especially devoted to thee. For these reasons, O good friend, it behoveth thee to re-unite thyself with me. O thou that art acquainted with the truths of morality, it behoveth thee not to cherish any suspicion in respect of me."

Then the mouse, reflecting a little, replied with these words of grave import:—"Thou art exceedingly kind. But for all that, I cannot trust thee. I tell thee, O friend, the wise never place themselves, without sufficient reason, in the power of a foe. Having gained his object, the weaker of two parties should not again repose confidence in the stronger. One should never trust a person who does not deserve to be trusted. Nor should one repose blind confidence in one deserving of trust. One should always endeavour to inspire foes with confidence in himself. One should not, however, himself repose confidence in foes. In brief, the highest truth of all in reference to policy is mistrust. For this reason, mistrust of all persons is productive of the greatest good. One like myself should always guard his life from persons like thee. Do thou also protect thy life from the Chandalas who is now very angry."

While the mouse thus spake, the cat, frightened at the mention of the hunter, hastily leaving the tree ran away with great speed, and the mouse also sought shelter in a hole somewhere else.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### PROPOSALS FOR A GLOSSARY OF INDIAN MILITIOUS PHRASEOLOGY.

It has been well observed that 'the vocabulary of ordinary life is almost useless when the region of mysteries and superstitions is approached,' in the case of races in a different stage of civilization from our own, and the difficulty has been felt

in attempting to merely translate accounts of religious rites, beliefs and superstitions. I propose then to attempt the compilation of a *Glossary of Modern Religious Terms*.

In collecting material for such a Glossary it will have to be borne in mind that the two great religions, Hinduism and Islam, have totally



different vocabularies, and that it is important to distinguish them.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, to be on the safe side, it will be best to distinguish all the religions, noting against each term if it is confined to the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Muhammedans (Sunnis or Shias), or to any sect or order among these.

To illustrate what is required, I take a few words from the *Glossary of the Multani Language*, 1881, and other sources:—

#### Specimens for the Glossary

**Akharha**, a m. — Literally, an arena, a court. **Kharha**, special meaning, an indigo ground consisting of one or more sets of indigo-vats; the hole into which the water from the vats is run off, and the place where the indigo is dried.

**Autark**, a. m. — A childless man. **Autari**, a. f. — A childless woman. Panjabi "ant" and "ant"; Hindi "at."

**Buhal**, a. m. — A yearly gift made to a *murshid*, or spiritual teacher. The *murshids* go round to their disciples' houses and demand their buhal in the most shameless manner, and even carry off articles by force. If the disciples are slow in giving, the *murshids* curse them and pour most filthy abuse on them. Refusals are rarely made. The *murshids* known as "*phulanga-walas*," i. e., who give amulets to their disciples, are notorious for this kind of extortion.<sup>2</sup>

**Paluta**, a. m. — An evil wish, a curse. It is the fear of the Paluta of religious mendicants that makes the people so subservient to them.

**Palita**, a. m. — A piece of paper on which a *murshid* writes some words or marks, and which he gives to a person attacked by *fiat* to drive them away. The possessed person sits with a sheet round him, and the Palita is lighted, bran and *karnal* are added, and allowed to smoulder under him.

**Parova**. (Not traceable in dictionaries)

**Phul**, a. m. — (1) Literally, a flower. **Phul Chunnan** literally, to pluck flowers; is part of the ceremonies at Muhammedan marriages which are distinct from the religious service. A *mirasin* places on the bride's head a flock of cotton which the bridegroom blows away. This is done seven times. (2) The bones which remain after the corpse of a Hindu has been burnt and which are collected and taken to the Ganges. (3) An amulet, a charm. The belief in the power of amulets is universal. Those who give, or rather

sell, amulets are firstly, Sayyids and Qureshis, who are considered more pleasing to God than others, secondly the incumbents of shrines and their sons, thirdly, impostors who can persuade people of the efficacy of their amulets. It is not essential that a person should be either learned or moral to establish his character as a giver of efficacious amulets. Amulets are asked and given for almost every human want or to avert every possible ill, and to cure every kind of sickness. The following are the most common:—(1) *Bidanin da phul* — A charm to win the heart of a woman. (2) *Dushmani da phul* — To make two persons quarrel, especially a married couple, and the husband to divorce his wife. (3) *Halakat da phul* — To make an enemy lie. (4) *Nazar da phul* — To avert the evil eye. (5) *Mafid da phul* — To produce much butter in the caurn. (6) *Sinkari da phul* — The charm of the churdashar to attract all the butter in one's neighbour's chaur into his own. (7) *Mala da phul* — To avert "mala," a blight. Amulets are written on pieces of paper and on leaves, and sometimes consist of legible words as "*ya Allah*," but more often of unintelligible signs. The price paid is called "*malik*," and whenever the desired result is attained a present is made in addition.

**Pokhu**, omen (Western Panjabi). *Bhura-pokhu-wala*, a child born under a good omen. *Halka-pokhu-wala*, a child born under a bad omen.

**Topu Jopu**, Kangra. (Meaning unknown.)

**Chapri**, a. f. — A small flat piece of wood about a span long and of the width of a finger. Spiritual guides, "*murshids*," sell to their disciples *Chapris* of ak wood with the following words written on them:—"*Gherk shud laakar* : *Parwar darya* : *Nil*." "Downed was the army of Pharaoh in the river Nile." The disciples wear these *Chapris* round their necks as prophylactics against remittent fever.

**Chung**, a. f. — (1) A handful; (2) that share of the crop which under former Governments was paid to the *hotwal* or incumbents of shrines either by Government or land-owners. It is still given in some parts to incumbents of shrines.

**Chhanchhan**, a. m. — (1) The planet Saturn, Saturday; (2) a small mound at the cross streets of towns on which Hindus offer oil and lamps on Saturdays in order to avert the evil influence of Saturn. Sindhi, "*Chhanchhan*"; Hindi, "*Sasichar*" "*Chhanchhan dula Kul dula tale*,"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *phul* below.

<sup>1</sup> See *Panjab Census Report*, 1902, ch. VI. § 18, p. 387.



"when *cānāchhān* burns, all calamities are averted." Hindus repeat these words as they place the lamps as offerings.

**Chelri, s. f.** — A woman possessed by a *jinn*, or evil spirit. Women so afflicted repair to certain religious shrines, — Jalalpur in Multan, Shahr Sultan in Muzaffargarh, Uch in Bahawalpur, Pir Katal in Dera Gham Khan, — to have the evil spirits cast out. The patients sit together, bare-headed, on the ground, and sway about their arms and bodies to the beating of a drum. An attendant of the shrine goes round beating them with a whip, while another gives them scented oil (*phateli*), on their heads, and to drink. The performance ends by the exhausted women being dragged away by their relations. *Chelri* is the feminine diminutive of *chela*, a disciple.

**Rakhri, s. f.** — (Literally, a little protectrix, from "*rakhan*," to keep or guard.) A protecting amulet. The incumbents of Muhammadan shrines sell to pilgrims scraps of paper, with the name of God or a text written on them, which are inserted in wooden lockets and tied round the necks of cattle to protect them from harm. Skeins of cotton or woollen threads are similarly sold at shrines and worn by pilgrims round the neck. Hindus also buy skeins of thread from Brahmans and wear them round the wrists. All such amulets are called *Rakhri*.

**Rangin, s. f.** — (1) The vessel in which cloth is dyed; (2) a bath of heated sand. At the shrine of Pir Jahanian in the Muzaffargarh district people suffering from leprosy or boils get the incumbent to prepare baths of heated sand in which the diseased part or the whole body is placed. The efficacy of the remedy is ascribed to the saint.

**Sami, s. f.** — The niche or shelf in the western side of a Muhammadan's grave. The corpse lies in the *Sami* with its head towards the north and its face to the west. Hindustanis and Panjabis use the Arabic "*Iskaf*" for a grave-niche.

**Sava, adj.** — Green, grey. The feminine form *sari* is euphemistically used by Muhammadans for *dhag*. Hindus, also availing the name *dhag*, call it *sutka*, the pleasurable. [The Jogi call *dhag*, *bijia* or *Shirsi-ki-buti*, and *charas* they call *cuta*. These various names for hemp are of interest and a complete list is wanted.]

**Saga, s. m.** — A thread or rag given by spiritual advisers to disciples as a charm against evil. They exact a price for each.

**Saran, v. a.** — (1) To ask aid of a saint or spiritual adviser, (2) to add fuel to a fire.

**Ganesh, s. m.** — The share of a commercial enterprise, or of the harvest, which is given to the Brahmans. It is given from the harvest by both Muhammadans and Hindus.

**Nirgun, a worshipper** — God, as opposed to *Surgun*, a worshipper of images. (Not in dictionaries.)

#### Remarks

1. The ordinary dictionaries are practically useless in this connection.

2. The difference in meaning between *chelri* and *chela* will be noted. Has *chelri* any other meaning? We may compare *Jogni*, which, though apparently the feminine of *Jogi*, seems to have acquired at least one very different meaning. What are the meanings of *Jogni*?

3. *Avatarek*, *Avdani*, seem clearly derived from *avatar*. A connected word (in Gurgaon) is *avagan*, transmigration. Any other connected words might be noted together with their various meanings.

4. It is of special importance to note all the words for 'life,' 'soul,' 'spirit,' etc., with all their meanings.

5. Terms like *panth*, *phirka* (? sect), *dhama*, *mat* (? order), *gachha*, *gana* (?), *amasi* (? sect), etc., have hitherto been translated at random. A complete list of all the words denoting a religious sect, order, or school is wanted, with a precise definition of each.

6. Words for religious offerings, rites, spells, charms, spiritual beings, — in short, all words connected with religion and popular beliefs might be included.

7. I should be glad to receive lists of religious terms, with such notes on each word as can be conveniently sent on the lines of those quoted above from the *Muslim Glossary*.

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July 21st, 1902.























*Ethnography.*

The people after whom the land is called Iran is a racial stock and the Turanian countries, and who rose to be the ruling nation, had not been always living there. They gradually supplanted more primitive tribes, whom they to a great extent absorbed into themselves. They designated themselves *Aryans*, just as the Persians designated their own people by the native appellation from the rest of the masters of the Indian peninsula. In the latter case occasionally we come across *Aryans* and *Aryan* (see page 100). The *Aryans* were a people of various descent being not Persians merely sons of Persians but also Aryans, sons of Aryans, and, as a puny remarked the Miles, a story of Herodotus, were not only called *Aryans*. It does not follow from this that the Miles were the only ones to bear the name, because the historian was aware that, for seeds, the land came to it. Even the sparse dwellers of the Caucasus, who speak an Iranian language, assume the designation of *Aryans*, and a whole host of other people of pure blood the indigenous. Whatever the diversity of the nations they early discovered as they came together, they all spoke the same language. Its dialects all passed into one large group, of which one has spread from Afghanistan in the South over the whole of Asia, Iran and the North. To the *Aryans*, however, two others, the *Araks* and the *Indians*, were the chief swayed, the West, that is to speak with greater precision, Media and Persia. No recent data are yet known concerning the people of the *Aryans*, speaks it as that of Media. To judge by the names of the Miles famous to us, this is a very old name, but have recently suffered from the Persian. This is a fact is a matter of the fact that the large inscriptions which Darius the Great had engraved on the rock and metal, the *Persa* and *Persa* have been composed in old Persian, not Median, and Assyrian or Babylonian tongues. Had the current language of Media been today other than the Persian, he would have substituted the latter by the former. For the assumption that the second of the languages of the world was Median is a very old and in this apprehension. It is certainly the language of the Median, most certainly akin to the others, in which the inscriptions are preserved in two dialects, and in the ancient times. Now it is quite possible that the language of Media, as spoken by the Aryans, was a dialect of the same family with the *Araks* but at the time of the *Aryans* and the *Aryan* supremacy it was unquestionably not the recognized speech of any country. The language of Media was *Aryan*. The names of the vast majority of kings of whom Herodotus makes mention, and some of which occur in the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, go to prove this. Oppert's attempts to explain the names presented by Ktesias (in view of these inscriptions) by means of the *Sanskrit*, i. e., the so-called Median, must, despite all the ingenuity expended over them, be reckoned abortive.

In reference to religious Iranian customs, a final duty — we have not of recent personally been acquainted with — among the people about whom we know very little, the *Araks*. And as antiquity duty of the *Araks*, we have not a hand with the duty of the *Araks*. They all adopted, if not without modification, the *Mazdayasna* creed. *Aryans* as to Darius and his successors, as to the *Araks*, the *Sanskrit* Duty to the Creator of all, and the *Araks* their perpetual veneration and worship of the *Araks* in the name of the *Araks*. And however Cyrus and Ktesias, as conquerors and rulers, may have shaped their *Araks* policy, there are no grounds to warrant the supposition that they were not a *Mazda*. The *Mazdas*, a Median sect as to the *Araks*, were not both the *Araks* and the *Araks* the sole and only main centers of the *Araks* and the guardians of religious usage. With the *Araks*, the *Araks* could be easily performed. The *Araks* makes that a *Araks* the *Araks* were not distinguished from the Persians. In this regard they were off-handed from the other *Araks* — at least from those among whom the *Araks* originated. Among the latter the sacerdotal class are styled *Araks*, or the priests, a designation which Strabo connects with a *Araks*. The name of the

\* Dr. Hübschmann contributes a dissertation on their language to the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*. \* In



Mazda in the sense of priests does not occur in the *Avesta*.<sup>52</sup> The prevalence, however, even in Media of the Zoroastrian religion is attested from the names of two of the most considerable kings, Fravartius and Uukrashtara (Phraortes and Cyaxares), names which both include *avarta* = Mazda. Zoroastrianism appears to have been the 'pre-essor' and 'the promoter of growth.' And the undenial of its early history in the East and North of Iran, where say at an event most of the lands within the *Arta*. *Fravartius* of the *Uukrashtara* enumerates as created by Ahura Mazda for his worshippers and provided with all blessings. Moreover, the legendary accounts trace it to Atropaten, the birthplace of Zoroastrianism. It is assumed on all hands that the service of Mazda was extended as far as Armenia.

We have naturally no records of the religion of the Iranians anterior to the genesis and introduction of Zoroastrianism. But that it was the same in all the tribes may be considered certain. The Iranians constituted one of the two septa of the Aryans, of which the Indians were the other. And we purpose to show that both originally were adherents of a common worship, wherefrom it directly follows that the ancient religion of the Iranian tribes, apart from local divergences, was one and the same, being a ramification of the more primitive Aryan faith.

When and whence the Aryans immigrated into Iran, and how they diffused themselves over the country, is a problem admitting of no conclusive solution. At first it was held that the opening chapter of the *Arta* furnished a clue to it. In this catalogue of countries,<sup>53</sup> beginning with the lands of the Aryan Fraternity and ending with the valleys of the Indus and the Ranga or Oxartes, some read a narrative of the exodus of the primordial Aryan settlers in Iran. Others combat this view on various grounds, and, *inter alia*, because of the inclusion in the list of mythical territories. But the latter objection is yet far from substantiated. *Aryanam Vaejo*, the Aryan *stem land*, is decidedly not a fanciful region, notwithstanding that latterly and also to the present of the *Paropamisadae* became a legendary land, the recollections of Ahura Mazda, Yima, and Zoroastrianism—in other words, a paradise. It is a very real country where the weather is arid, arable, and which on that account appears to have been abandoned of men. Subsequently the pliancy of latter-day generations came to glorify it. Varuna too (Indra) we are quite to verify its site, is as much or as little imaginary as the ancient countries figuring in the military annals of Egyptian and Assyrian princes, the situation of which is obscure to us. Nor is it to be relegated to the domain of the unreal because it was the theatre of the legends of Tharastana and Azi Dahaka. For in that case Babel, too, were a mythical city where another passage locates Azi Dahaka's abode. And now many myths of antiquity are not allude to actual and extant places. The explanation above referred to seems to me not so untenable. The apparent anomaly with which the subject now and again springs from the end of the last to another confirms me in this supposition. Did we but reflect on the regions whose situation is entirely clear, we should get a clear notion of the gradual expansion of the nation. Leaving from *Aryanam Vaejo*, where colonization was first begun, the Aryans settle in the desolate *Sogdiana*, or *Sogdiana*, and progress onward to the neighbouring *Margiana* and *Nisaea*,<sup>54</sup> from the east passed to *Hatiana*, the *Armenia* of the Greeks and modern *Harat*, thence to *Yakenta*, which is properly known and to *Harakhanti*, the mountainous world. Between

<sup>52</sup> The only passage found in *Spence* 84, 85, where it is supposed to be found must be interpreted differently. See the Monograph *Over de Oudheid van Avesta*, bls. 8.

<sup>53</sup> The version of the passage is added in the Appendix in the Bibliography. — Tr.

<sup>54</sup> Of the ancient lands none are better known with certainty. For the rest the *Pah* are contemporary is our only guide. *S. P. E. IV* 137. Dr. W. Geiger's description of Iran in the *Journal Iran* is a storehouse of condensed information and completely quotes the literature. As regards modern Persia, even in point of geography, Lord Curzon's work stands pre-eminent. — Tr.]

<sup>55</sup> Note that here we have obviously to deal with a *Country*, the Aryan land is called not *Sogdiana*, but *Gata* which is in *Sogdiana*. The chapter contains more similar expressions.

<sup>56</sup> *Nisaea* is said to lie between *Baktria* and *Mouza*. Literally this is not correct. May it not indicate that it was colonized by emigrants from both?







































And with the folk have from the remote past, when they were one people, preserved a variety of technical expressions along with these names,—terms connected with the invitation to the offering, the presents and their bestowal, the axioms, the prayers, the hymns, the adoration and glorification of ethereal existences, the consecrated water, the operation of the sacrifice and the physical state to which they must be connected. So much as the very quaint views like a belief in the purificatory virtue, in a religious sense, of the urine of cattle which were necessarily sacred animals from immemorial antiquity, and the some rule with which the de-exaration of fire and water was avoided are alike shared by the Indian and the Iranian, which shows that they have been transmitted from the ages of their unity.

But the result of the greatest moment of a comparison of the two religions is that the East Aryans must have already had a community, a commonwealth not with a national alone, but with a very definite religious character also. Provisionally, men were admitted into the creed immediately after birth with certain rites. But when the pupil reached the years of discretion, and was brought up to his proper status he was initiated. The symbols of the initiation were a sacred girdle and a cord. The mental training which qualified a man to be a member of the order, a concentration in one word, which has no exact equivalent in our language, and all the various shades of its meaning it is impossible to convey through a single word in another tongue. It comprises all that is becoming befitting in conformity with the community, and at the same time in an exact sense connotes what with reference to the fraternity is right as, erect, equitable, holy. It is applied to matters of religion of nations, to obedience, to prescriptive usages. An unprejudiced investigation of the word requires the recognition of its two-fold import in the *Veda* as well as the *Avesta*. And it is not improbable that early in the East Aryan period it bore, along with an ecclesiastical, an ethical sense or significance.

### 3. The causes of the diversity of the Indian and the Iranian religions, notwithstanding their common descent.

We endeavored in the preceding section to give a cursory sketch of the East Aryan faith, basing our definition on the points to be met with in the Indian and Iranian religions, which prove that these two have sprung immediately from the former. The coincidences cannot be fortuitous, and so they admit of no other explanation save that of commonness of origin. But we shall not call into question that the Vedic and the Avestic religions are conspicuously divergent in respect of their peculiar dogma, their character, with regard to their cult and in point of their ethics. The problem before us is: whence are the causes of this vast dissimilarity in their common heritage? Nay, dissimilarity is too weak and inadequate an expression. The religions are diametrically opposed. To the devout Zarathushtrian these beings are evil, gentils whom the Brahman sacres the Vedic ritual of soma offering a revolting *orge*; the Brahman's cremation an abominable sacrifice to the sacrosanct fire his resurrection in solitary contemplation, a repudiation of the grand law of practical activity which sanctifies the earth and cripples the might of the demons. Whence this sharp contrast? The answer which suggests itself at the first glance is that the making or the formation of the two religions is different, nor is the evolution correct. The Vedic religion has sprung, that is, not by degrees of evolution, but under the influence of the leading families and Brahmanic seers out of the materials of the East Aryan religion. It is the organization of the peculiar form which the latter assumed when its professors settled in new places of habitation and saw themselves surrounded by the representatives of an alien cult, when, at it was not, at least corresponded to social conditions other than their own. Though their own cult therefore, was not exactly modified, figures or new duties were associated with those they continued to pay homage to, and were joined to the

"It is, wherefrom Sk. ita, Baktrian etc. The word expression of the genuine y purus man as they conceived him, the same among the Indians and the Iranians. (Soma—soma, Baka and Darmoteter and others) and stress upon the unexpected etymological significance. But more correct is Spiegel. Die Avesta Perse, 15 and 16. De Harles, in his Origines du Zoroastrisme, p. 107, perhaps measures too much.











incumbent to deeds of valour, but on occasion for deception and invasion, the people won I wish, thank themselves on their undisturbed property to their predilection for speculation or philosophy.

Iran, on the contrary, is, as we said before, in comparison to India, an alien country fertilised by no great rivers, having an arid soil, and a frequently unfriendly and very desolate climate. He who would enjoy there the sweets of life must work in the sweat of his brow and extort scanty produce from a reluctant soil. Protected by nature only on the east and not permeable on the west, its northern frontier is entirely exposed to the incursions of warlike hordes, who invading in a still more sterile region, inundate the land in geyser masses as often as they can obtain in a successful form. Among its western marches it was a rendezvous to the ambition and ferocity of the Bactrian and Assyrian monarchs. A people who took up their abode in such a scene must be perpetually in their guard and ready arms; also, as it happened not rarely, it was ravaged by a merciless enemy and the authority of the monarchs became, therefore, not to be over-looked. Hence it came on their side to avenging the despoliation. Such attitudes bred no as yet of nations, nor could we think of them but men of action who conserve life as a constant struggle against the powers of darkness and evil. Vigour and energetic activity, the grand and noble of the Zoroastrian *Jasna*, were laws which nature imposed on its human kind before they stood inscribed in the *Avesta*.

(To be continued.)

### SLBHASHITAMALIKĀ.

*Translated from German Poets.*

BY PROFESSOR O. CARPILLER, Ph.D., JENA.

Work.

1

Wem wohl das Glück die schönste Palme heut?  
Wer freudig thut, sich des Gethans front.

GÖTTER.

तस्यैपेनि नरस्याङ्गं लक्ष्मीर्गन्धिकदुर्लभा ।

यः करोति सुखी कर्म कृतकार्यं च तुष्यति ॥

tasypaiti narasyaṅgaṁ lakṣmīr gāṇḍikadurlabhā  
yaḥ karōti sukhi karmā kṛitakāryaṁ cha tuṣhyati ॥

*Cf. Hildp. Introđ. 30.*

2

Arbeit macht das Leben süß,  
Macht es nie zur Last,  
Der nur hat Bekümmernis,  
Der die Arbeit haßt.

BURMANN.

लभयन्त्युद्यमो भारज्जीवनं प्रीणयन्त्यपि ।

स एवार्तिसमापन्न उद्यमाद्यो जुगुप्सते ॥

laghayaty udyamō bhārāj jīvanam prīṇayaty api  
sa evartisamāpanna udyamād yō jugupsatē n

*Cf. Bhartṛ. II. 74.*



3

Benutze redlich deine Zeit :  
Willst was begreifen, suchs nicht weit.

GOETHE.

उद्यमेन नयेः कालं विधिनादेशिनं तव ।  
नान्विद्येऽन्तिदूरेण स्त्रीकर्तुं यदभीप्ससि ॥

udyamēna nayēḥ kālāṁ vidhinādeśināṁ tava ।  
nānvidyēḥ chātīdūrēṇa svikartuṁ yad abhipśasi ॥

4

Säume nicht dich zu erdrueten,  
Wenn die Menge zandernd schweift ;  
Allen kann der Edle leisten,  
Ders versteht und rasch ergreift.

GOETHE.

भारभस्वाविपण्यान्मा पश्यतां जडचेनसाम् ।  
सर्वं शक्यमुदारेण दक्षेणाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ॥

bhārabhāsvāvīpaṇyān mā paśyataṁ jadachēnasām ।  
sarvaṁ śakyaṁ udārēṇa dakṣhēṇāḥkṣṭhakarmṇā ॥

Cf. Bhartṛi. II. 78.

5

Zwischen heut and morgen  
Liegt eine lange Frist.  
Lerne schnell besorgen,  
Da da noch manter bist.

GOETHE

अथ श्वधेतयोर्मध्ये दुरमत्यन्तमन्तरम् ।  
यावत्स्वस्थगरीरोऽसि कुरु यत्कार्यमस्ति ते ॥

atha evaṁ chamyōr madhyē dūram atyantam antaram ।  
yāvat avasthagārīrō 'si kuru yat kāryam asti tē ॥

Cf. H. Bā. XII. 6335-6337.

■

Frucht bringet das Leben dem Mann, doch hangen sie selten  
Roth und lustig am Baum, wie uns ein Apfel begreiset. GOETHE.

उद्यावचानि लोको दर्शयति नरं फलानि संभोक्तुम् ।  
यद्यपि सुखलभ्यानि द्रुमशाखायां न लम्बन्ते ॥

udya vachāni lokaḥ darśayati naraṁ phalāni sambhōktum ।  
yady apī sukhalaḥbhyaṁ drumaśākhāyaṁ na lambantē ॥



7

Wohl unglücklich ist der Mann,  
Der unterlaßt das was er kann,  
Und unterfährt sich was er nicht versteht :  
Kein Wunder, dass er zu Grunde geht.

GORTAL.

ध्रिक्तं नरं यो विजहति कार्यं  
जानानि यद्यस्करणे स्वनीयः ।  
यत्नेन तत्पारभते विधानं  
किमद्रुतं गच्छति यद्विनाशम् ॥

dhṛiktaṁ naraṁ yô v. jhātī karyam  
janātī yad yathakaraṇē sv. nīyāḥ ।  
yatneṇa tat t. parabhātē vidhātum  
kim adbhutam gacchhati yad vināśam ॥

Cf. Kām. Nīti. XV. 25.

## Art and Science.

8

Das ist ja was den Menschen merkt  
Und dann ward ihm der Verstand, "  
Dass er im innern Herzen spürt  
Was er erschuf mit eigener Hand.

SCHILLER.

अलंकारे मनुष्यस्य बुद्धेर्नैतन्महाफलम् ।  
अन्तरात्मनि जानीते यत्कृतीर्निजहस्तयोः ॥

alankāre manuṣyasya budhēḥ chaitan mahāphalato ।  
antarātmanī jānīte yat kṛtīr nijahastayōḥ ॥

9

Im Fleiss kann dich die Biene meistern,  
In der Geschicklichkeit ein Wurm dein Lehrer sein.  
Dein Wissen theilst du mit vorgesognen Geistern ;  
Die Kunst, o Mensch, hast du allein.

SCHILLER.

भृङ्गोऽप्यलं शिष्यितुं तवोद्यमं  
चित्रं कृमीणामपि भाति नैपुण्यम् ।  
विद्या प्रजानामपि दिव्यजन्मनां  
शिल्पं तवैकस्य मनुष्य मसृजनम् ॥

bhṛṅgō 'py alāṁ śikṣayitum tavōdyaman  
chitraṁ kṛmīṇām api bhāti nāipuṇyam ।  
vidyā prajānām api divyajannanām  
śilpam tavaikasya mānuṣhya masṛjanam ॥



10

Kannst du nicht allen gefallen durch deine That und dein Kunstwerk,  
Mach es wenigen recht, vielen gefallen ist schlimm. SCHILLER.

सर्वेषां यदि नो शक्यं रोचितुं क्रियया तव ।  
दिवाणामिव रोचस्व बहूनां दुष्टं रोचितुम् ॥

sarvēśhām yadi nō śakyaṁ rōchitaṁ kriyayā tava ।  
divāṇāṁ iva rōchasya bahūnāṁ duṣṭhaṁ rōchitum ॥

Cf. Shak. v. 2.

11

Wenn deine Kunst dem Kenner nicht gefällt,  
So ist das schon ein schlimmes Zeichen;  
Doch wenn sie gar des Narren Lob erhält,  
So ist es Zeit sie auszustreichen. GALLERT.

न रोचते चेद्भिक्षुषे क्रिया ते  
विप्रत्यया तां प्रति बुद्धिरस्तु ।  
स्तुतिं तु मूर्खस्य समाप्य चिन्त्यं  
हा धिक्क्रिया मे विफलीकृतेति ॥

na rōchate chēd bhikṣuṣe kriyā te  
vipratyayā tāṁ prati buddhir astu ।  
stutim tu mūrkhasya samāpya chintyaṁ  
hā dhik kriyā me viphalīkṛitēti ॥

Cf. Subhashitāvalī 2760.

12

Einem ist sie die hohe, die himmlische Göttin, dem andern  
Eine tüchtige Kuh, die ihn mit Butter versorgt. SCHILLER

एकस्मै महती विद्या देवी यशैर्वषट्कृता ।  
अन्यस्मै जीवनायैव गौर्यथा दुग्धदायिनी ॥

ēkaṁsmā mahatī vidyā dēvī yajhāir vashatkṛtā ।  
anyaṁsmā jīvanāyāiva gaur yathā dugdhadāyini ॥

Cf. Mālav. v. 16.

13

Wie die Biene Blumensaften, also sammle Weisheit ein :  
Ist die Blüthenzeit vor über, wird der Blüthen Haug dein. W. MÖLLER.

षट्पद इव पुष्परसं संचिनु विद्यामनवरतं यन्नात् ।  
कुसुमसमये ध्यतीने मधु पुष्पाणां भविष्यति ते ॥

ṣaṭpada iva puṣhparasam saṁchīnu vidyāṁ anavaratam yannāt ।  
ku-uma-samaye dhyatīnē madhu puṣhpāṇām bhaviṣhyati tē ॥



## 14

Sprachkunde, lieber Sohn, ist Grundlag' allem Wissen !  
 Derselben sei zuerst und sei zuletzt beflissen !  
 Einleitung nicht allein und eine Vorbereitung  
 Zur Wissenschaft ist sie, und Mittel zur Bestreitung,  
 Vorübung nicht der Kraft, um sie geschickt zu machen,  
 Durch Fängen mit dem Wort, zum Kampfe mit den Sachen. RÜCKERT.

विद्योत्तमा पुत्रक शब्दशास्त्र-  
 मध्यस्य तां ज्ञानमहर्षिप्रतिष्ठाम् ।  
 प्रस्तावनामध्ययनस्य बुद्धे-  
 विवर्धनी चार्थवचोमयत्वात् ॥

vidyōttamā putraka śabdśāstram  
 abhyasya tāṁ jñānamahāṛṣipratishṭhām ।  
 prasthāvanām adhyayanasya buddhē  
 vivardhanīm chārthavachōmayatvāt ॥

*Cf. Pañchat. Introd. 5.*

Self and Others.

## 15

Möge jeder still beglückt  
 Seiner Freuden warten ;  
 Wenn die Rose selbst sich schmückt,  
 Schmückt sie auch den Garten. RÜCKERT.

सर्वो दधीत हर्षानात्ममुखं चिन्तयेच्च संप्रीतः ।  
 पुण्यस्वामेव श्रियमलंकरोति कुसुमं वाटीम् ॥

sarvō dadhīta har-hāṇ ātmanukhoṁ chintayēch cha sampṛitāḥ ।  
 puṇyāt svām ēva śrīyam alankarōti kuṣumam vātīm ॥

## 16

Sich selbst bekämpfen ist der allerschwerste Krieg ;  
 Sich selbst besiegen ist der allerschönste Sieg. LOGAN.

आत्मनात्मानमायोद्धुमस्ति युद्धं न तत्समम् ।  
 आत्मानमात्मना जेतुं विजयो नास्ति तादृशः ॥

ātmanātmānam āyōddhum asti yuddham na tatsamam ।  
 ātmānam ātmānā jētum vijayō nāsti tādṛśaḥ ॥

*Cf. Śubhāṣitāvalī 3361.*



17

Ist wohl der ein wird'ger Mann, der im Glück und im Unglück  
Schmerz allein bedenkt, und Leiden und Freuden zu theilen  
Nicht versteht, und nicht dazu vom Herzen bewegt wird? Goethe

किमर्थवृत्तिः प्रतिभानि ते नरो  
त्रिचिन्तयन्त्यः सुखदुःखयोः सदा ।  
आत्मानमेकं हृदि न प्रियाप्रियं  
विभक्तुमन्यैः सह संव्यवस्यति ॥

kim āryavṛttih pratibhāni tē narō  
trichintayam yāḥ sukhaduḥkṣayōḥ sadā ।  
ātmanam ekam hṛdi na priyāpriyam  
vibhaktum anyaiḥ saha saṁvyavasyati ॥

18

Vielen theile denn Freuden,  
Allen Munterkeit und Scherz,  
Wenig Edlen deine Leiden,  
Auserwählten nur dein Herz.

SALIS.

स्वर्ग्यं बहुभिः सार्धं सर्वैः प्रीतिं च नर्म च ।  
उदारैरेव दुःखानि द्विवैः स्वहृदयं भज ॥

svargyaṁ bahubhiḥ sārḥam sarvairḥ prītiṁ cā narma cā ।  
udārair eva duḥkhāni dvivairḥ svahṛdayam bhaja ॥

19

Wohl kann die Brust den Schmerz verborgen halten ;  
Doch stammes Glück erträgt die Seele nicht.

Goethe.

शोकशून्यं समर्थोऽन्तरात्मनि गूहितुम् ।  
न तु शक्नोमि मौनेन हृदि संवरितुं सुखम् ॥

śōkaśūnyaṁ samarthō 'ham antaratmāni gūhītum ।  
na tu śakṇōmi mauṇēna hṛdi saṁvaritum sukham ॥

20

Wer glücklich ist, kann glücklich machen ;  
Wers that, vermehrt sein eignes Glück.

GLAZER.

भवाति यः स्वयमेव जनः कृत्वा  
सुखयितुं परमप्यलमस्ति सः ।  
परसुखाय तु यो यतते सुखं  
स्वमपि वर्धयतीति मतिर्मम ॥

bhavati yaḥ svayam eva janah kṛtā  
sukhayitum param apy alam asti saḥ ।  
parasukhāya tu yō yatate sukham  
svam api vardhayatīti matir mama ॥



Kannst du dem, der vor dir geht, seine Mangel bald erblicken,  
Wird dir auch die deinen sehn, wor dir nachsieht, auf dem Kucken

LACCAI

यथा पश्यसि रन्ध्राणि त्वत्पुगेगच्छतां स्वयम् ।

दोषास्तथैव दृश्यन्ते तव पृष्ठानुगामिभिः ॥

yathā paśyasi randhrāṇi tvatpūgegacchataṁ svayam ।  
dōṣhāṁ tatthauva dṛśyante tava pṛṣṭhānugāmibhiḥ ॥

22

Wi ist du dich selber erkennen so s.oh, wie die andern es treiben,  
Wusst du die andern vorsteln. blek in dein eigene Herz.

SCHILLER

आत्मानमेव जिज्ञासुरन्येषां पश्य चेष्टितम् ।

अन्यानिच्छसि चेज्ज्ञानुं वीक्षस्व हृदयं निजम् ॥

ātmānam ēva jīgñāsur anyēṣhāṁ paśya chēṣṭitam ।  
anyān icchasi chēḥ jñātum vīkhaśva hṛdayaṁ nijam ॥

23

Trage geduldig und sanft der Menschen Gebrechen und Fehler  
Was der heste gethan, thust du morgen wohl selbst.

BUER

नितिक्षस्व मनुष्याणां दोषांश्च स्वलिनानि च ।

अथ यद्व्यकरोदन्यस्त्वं श्वः कर्तामि तत्स्वयम् ॥

nītikhaśva manuṣhyāṇāṁ dōṣhāṁśchā śhalināni chā ।  
atha yad dhy akarōd anyas tvāṁ svāḥ kartāmī tat svayam ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 1010.

Ertragen muss man was der Himmel sendet;

Unbilliges erträgt kein edles Herz. 14

SCHILLER.

सौदृष्यमविधादेन विधिना यदुरानतम् ।

खलानामपराधास्तु प्रतिकार्या महत्तमा ॥

sōdṛṣyam avīdhādēna vidhīnā yad urānatam ।  
khalānām aparādhāṁ tu pratikāryā mahātmanā ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 4525; Satup. 11. 46.

25

"Hat man das Gute dir erwiedert?"

"Mein Pfeil flog ab, sehr schön befiedert,

Der ganze Himmel stand ihm offen,

Er hat wohl irgendwo getroffen."

GORTAL.

किं सुक्रियाया भवतोऽभवत्फलं

प्रस्पृष्टवानस्मि शरं सुतेजनम् ।

दिक्पण्डलं तस्य बभूव गोचर-

स्तन्मे मनिर्यत्कथमप्यसज्जत ॥

kiṁ sukriyāyā bhavatō 'bhavat phalam  
prasprīṣṭhāvāṁ smi śaraṁ sutējanam ।  
dikpaṇḍalam tasya babhūva gōcharas  
tan mē manir yat katham apy asajjata ॥



26

Wer die Sache des Menschengeschlechts als die seine betrachtet,  
Nimmt an der Götter-Geschäft, nimmt am Verhängnisse Theil.

HEERER.

अर्थं यः सर्वलोकस्य स्वार्थमेव समीक्षते ।  
स नरो लोकधानृणां कुर्वन्कर्म विभाति मे ॥

arthaṁ yah sarvalokaśya svārtham eva samīkṣate ।  
sa naro lokadhāṇṇāṁ kurvan karm vi bhāti me ।

Cf. Bhāg. Pur. VIII. 7, 44.

Fathers and Sons.

27

Wohl dem, der seiner Väter gern gedenkt,  
Der froh von ihren Thaten, ihrer Größe  
Den Hörer unterhält, und still sich freuet  
Am Ende dieser schönen Reihe sich  
Geschlossen sieht.

GOSTAL.

भद्रो नरो यश्चरितं पितृणां-  
मनुस्मरन्स्तोति नृणां सभासु ।  
परंपराणां रमते च परय-  
ज्ज्ञात्मानमन्त्यावययं शुभानाम् ॥

bhadrō naro yaś charitaṁ pitrīṇāṁ  
anumaran śtoṭi nṛṇāṁ sabhāsu ।  
paramparāṇāṁ ramate cha paraya-  
jñātmānam antyāvayayaṁ śubhānam ॥

28

Wenn du als Jüngling deinen Vater ehrest,  
So wirst du gern von ihm empfangen;  
Wenn du als Mann die Wissenschaft vermehrst,  
So kann dein Sohn zu höherm Ziel gelangen.

GOSTAL.

युना स्वया यद्यभिपूज्यते पिता  
मुखेन लब्धास्यमुना यदर्पितम् ।  
विद्यां यदि प्रोन्नयसि स्वयं तदा  
पुत्रस्य ते भावि फलं महत्तरम् ॥

yūnā svayā yady abhipūjyate pitā  
mukhēna labdhāsyamunā yad arpitam ।  
vidyāṁ yadi prōnnayasi svayam tadā  
putrasya tē bhāvi phalaṁ mahattaram ॥

Cf. M. Bā. I. 1728.



Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,  
Erwerb es, um es zu besitzen.

GORTAL.

पितॄन् ते यद्वेदितं पारंपर्यक्रमागतम् ।  
तत्तत्त्वेन यथा ते स्यादर्जयस्व पुरार्जितम् ॥

pitṛyaṁ tē yad bhavad vīttam pāramharyakramāgataṁ ।  
tat tattatvā yathā tē syād arjayaṁ purārjitam ॥

(To be continued.)

## GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA

(Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 382.)

## (2) Festivals.

The Singhalese, in common with their Aryan brethren, celebrate their New Year, the entering of the Sun into Aries, with much enthusiasm. The festivities of the occasion are heralded in every hamlet by the strains of the lamboarua-shaped *sandha*. Women are permitted to dance and play on it with their hands and every home vies with the other in frivoliety.

The ephemeris of the year is drawn up by the village astrologer, and the necessary information for the observance of the festive rites is obtained by presenting him with sweetmeats and a paludal of 40 betel leaves (*bulaḥ durulla*).

The New Year generally falls on the 12th of April. There is an intervening unlucky space of time (*amānanta*) between the end of the old and the commencement of the new. Before this interval commences all bathing and fasting of the marriage kind, and cease from work, during it they only visit temples, starting with their left leg foremost.

With the advent of the New Year special food is cooked and eaten and facing a particular direction, cloth of a specified colour or work-calls are exchanged. The head of the village is visited with pinguiculous vegetables, ke-nam and plantains, and journeys are started with the right leg foremost.

For a couple of days there are no observances, the people make merry and indulge in their national games till the auspicious day and mornent comes for every one to begin his usual work looking for a bright and prosperous future. The labourer clears some underwood with his jungle hook (*mal-akette*) and axe (*patara*) or digs the ground and harks it up with his hoe (*malala*), the tailor draws, girt with a pointed stick (*phansa*) and knife (*manak*), climbs a palm tree and hews down a chatty full of toddy. The goldsmith, with his bamboo blow-pipe, his clay crucibles (*vara*), and his earthen pot full of saw-dust, begins an article of jewellery, the smith beats an iron in his primitive furnace that has a pair of bellows attached (*malahama*—the potter shapes a vessel with the help of a wooden wheel *mal-jirruva*), a stonemason (*mal-cama mala*) and a spatula (*malala*), the servant asks from his master a small sum of money and carefully lays it by till the next year, the wealthy pound rice in the mortar (*malala*) with some coconuts, and collect firewood, and the fisherman puts his boat to sea equipped with nets, reel, hook and line (*yor*).



Eight days after the New Year is the ceremony of anointing the head. An infusion of kokum-leaves (*Sicretaria febricifuga*), kalen-lern-yams (*Cyperus rotundus*) and ne-fruits (*Phyllanthus emblica*) is mixed with oil, and an elder of the family rubs a little of it on the two temples, on the crown of the head, and on the nape of the neck of each member saying—

Kalu kaputan suda vasaṭṭara  
 Eṭṭala kanna liyalana taru  
 Cōmadumata an chātara  
 Eḥuṣṣa vasaṭṭa deṣṣa vasaṭṭa  
 Maha brahma Rājya atthya  
 Āya bhāva ayibhāva ayibhāva.

"This (anointing) is done by the hand of Maha Brahma, long life to you long life to you long life to you may you, instead of the ordinary period of a few or 100 years, live for 220 years; tall rat-sunkies obtain harvest, till posts of the Yam tree (*Lassia patula*) put on young shoots, and the black crows put on a plumage white.

While being anointed the person faces a particular direction, having over his head leaves ascribed to the ruling planet of the day, and at last those ascribed to the Regent of the previous day. For each of the days of the week, beginning with Sunday, belong respectively the cotton tree (*imbu*), the wood apple (*lunu*), the Cochia gamboge (*ellum*), the margosa (*chumbu*), the holy fig-tree (*ba*), Galidapa arborea (*kazanta*) and the banyan (*anṇa*).

This rite is followed by the wearing of new clothes, after a bath in an infusion of screw pine (*vetake*), Luffa acutangula (*vetakula*), Evolvulus alaternoides (*lappas-kruṇṇa*), *Artisotelia indica* (*sapamta*), *Cinnam zeylanica* (*goda māne*), roots of citron (*nannaran ma*), root of *Fig. neriifolia* (*belamul*), stalks of lotus (*gadam tendu*), *Pectanthera zeylanica* (*neriga*), *Cissampelos convolvulus* (*geterent-ret*), *Heteropogon hirtus* (*banu*), and beaver store (*gorāchana*).

This festival is also observed at the Buddhist temples<sup>1</sup> when milk is beaten at their entrances and sprinkled on the floor.

The Singhalese lunar year commences in March and the Solar year about the end of April; on both these occasions the new moon is gazed at, and the eyes immediately after directed to a plate of *kiriḍu* and other sweets, or to the face of a kind and well-to-do relative, who is sometimes kissed.

The birthday of the Founder of Buddhism is celebrated on the full-moon day of May (*vesak*). Streets are lined with banyan arches, which are decorated with the young leaves of the cocoanut-palm tall superstructures (*‘raṇ*) gayly adorned with ferns, and young sugarcocoanuts bridge highways at intervals, lines of flags of various devices and shapes are drawn from tree to tree, booths are erected at every crossing where hospitality is freely dispensed to passers-by, and at every rich house the poor are fed and alms given to Buddhist priests. Processions wind their way from one temple to another with gaily-dressed persons and banners, and in answer to the deafening music of the tam-tams, cries of *Saṭṭa, Sāṭṭa*, the Buddhist Amen, rise from hundreds of throats.

Three festivals connected with local deities are held in the month of Eṭṭala (July-August) at Kanay in the centre of Ceylon, at Denure in the South, and at Kataragama in the South-East.

The Kandy Perahera Mangalaya, of whose origin nothing is certain begins at a lucky hour on the first day after the new moon. A Jack tree, the stem of which is three spans in circumference, is selected beforehand for each of the four *devala*—the Kataragama, Nātha

<sup>1</sup> For particulars, cf. Asiatic Society's Journal of Ceylon (1886), Vol. VII p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> For a full description of a Singhalese procession, vide Ceylon Literary Register (1897), Vol. II p. 33b.



Saman, and Pattini; and the spot where it stands is decorated and perfumed with sandalwood, frankincense, and burnt incense, and a lighted lamp with nine wicks is placed at the foot of the tree. At the lucky hour a procession of elephants, tom-tom beaters and dancers proceed to the spot, the tree is cut down by one of the tenants (the *southarādīa*) with an axe, and it is trimmed, and its end is pointed by another with an adze. It is then carried away in procession and placed in a small hole in a square of slab rock, buried in the ground or raised on a platform in the small room at the back of the *dēvādīa*. It is then covered with a white cloth. During the five following days the procession is augmented by as many *vapuās*, attendants, dancers, tom-tom beaters and flags as possible, and it makes the circuit of the temples at stated periods. The processions of the several temples are then joined by one from the *Malāga* *Maṅgava* (the temple of the sacred Tooth of Buddha), and together they march round the main streets of Kandy at fixed hours during the five days next ensuing. On the sixth day, and for five days more, four palanquins - one for each *dēvādīa* - are added to the procession, containing the arms and dresses of the gods and on the last day the bowl of water (presently to be expended) of the previous year, and the poles cut down on the first day of the ceremony. On the night of the fifteenth and last day, the *Perahēra* is enlarged to the fullest limits which the means of the several temples will permit, and at a fixed hour, after its usual round, it starts for a ford in the river near Kandy about three miles distant from the temple of the Sacred Tooth. The procession from the *Maṅgava*, however, stops at a place called the *Adahna Maluwa*, and there awaits the return of the others. The ford is reached towards dawn, and here the procession waits until the lucky hour (generally about 5 A.M.) approaches. A few minutes before its arrival the chiefs of the four temples, accompanied by a band of attendants, walk down in Indian file under a canopy of linen and over cloth spread on the ground to the water-side. They enter a boat and are punted up the river close to the bank for some thirty yards. Then at a given signal (i. e., at the advent of the lucky hour) the four jack poles are thrown into the river by the men on shore, while each of the four chiefs, with an ornamental silver sword, cuts a circle in the water; at the same time one attendant takes up a bowl of water from the circle, and another throws away last year's supply. The boat then returns to the shore, the procession goes back to Kandy, the bowls of water are placed reverently in the several *dēvādīa*, to remain there until the following year, and the *Perahēra* is at an end.<sup>4</sup>

During the time of the kings, it was on this occasion that the provincial governors gave an account of their stewardship to their overlord and had their appointments renewed by him. Kandy was the last Singhalese capital.

The festival at Dondra or Devundara (Davi Nuvara, the city of the god) commemorates a legendary event; when a king of Ceylon was reigning here a sandalwood image of Vishnu was found floating by the sea coast, this was carried to the city and a *dēvādīa* built for it.

Seven days before the full moon six temporary structures are erected in the temple premises for Pattini, Vishnu, Nātha, Sarama, Kataragama Deviyā, and Alot Takinnī, and their *kāpurdīa*s purify themselves with a bath, and carry in procession the sacred relics to a place by the sea (*sandhāraṇa*), followed by a long line of pilgrims who wash their offerings there and wrap them in white cloth. On their return the chief lay incumbent (*śaṇḍyaka māma*), makes his offering at each of the shrines, and the others follow. The *kāpurdīa*s stand at the entrance of their respective temples and mark each votary with sandalwood.

Here religion is combined with business, and a fair is held during the seven days of the festival, when traders from all parts of the island bring goods for sale.

The Kataragama celebration is in honour of Kārtikēya (Śiṅga, Kataragama Deviyā) who halted on the highest of the seven hills close by on his homeward return to Kāṭhā, after

<sup>4</sup> Asiatic Society's Journal of Ceylon (1881), Vol. VII. p. 33.



defeating the Asuras. Here he met his consort **Vallī Ammā**, whom he wooed in the guise of a mendicant, when his advances were scornfully rejected. His brother, with the head of a man and the body of an elephant appeared on the scene and the terrible maid rushed into her suitor's arms for safety. The god then revealed himself and she became his bride.

The procession begins with the new moon, and is repeated twice every day at sunset in the evening and at ten at night till the full-moon day. First walk two ve women called *duttamānams* with their hands joined and the hair done up in a peculiar manner, the insignia of the god, his trident and spear (*vela*) are next carried on an elephant, the man sitting with these having his mouth lanced to prevent his breathing on them, and then follow the *brahmīyaka māra*, with his two under-ibbers, *sa-atigamara aakhdram* and *brahmīyaka vāta*. The procession halts at a distance of half a mile from the *landā*, where Vallī Ammā is said to reside (*te-nāidāna*). Here the weapons are taken down, and after an interval of half an hour they are repeated and carried back to the *dūtāla*. Some mystic utterings and the lighting of wicks by the women complete the ceremony.

On the full-moon day, as in the other two festivals, the *kappādās* (the temple incumbents) draw a circle over the water of the neighbouring river (*diga kappāda*) and remove a clatty of it to the *dūtāla*.<sup>2</sup>

When the moon is full near Pleiades in *Il* (October-November) is held the Festival of Lights called **Keti** or **Kārtika Mangalya** or **Senakaliya**. The Buddhist temples are illuminated by small oil-lamps placed in niches of the walls specially made for them, in the older times all the buildings were bathed in a blaze of light, the Royal Palace the last of all, with the oil presented to the king by his grateful subjects. This festival is now confined to Kandy.

The **Alut Sal Mangalya**, the festival of New Rice, is now celebrated to any appreciable extent only in the Kandian Provinces, the last subdued districts of the island. In the villages the harvest is brought home by *pinga*-bearers on the full-moon day of January with rural festivity and laughter and portions of it are given to the Buddhist priests, the barber and the *śāli* of the village, next the new paddy is husked, and *kiriḍat* dressed out of it.

In the capital, in the time of the kingdom, this festival lasted for four days, "on the first evening the officers of the royal stores and of the temples proceeded in state from the square before the palace to the Crown villages from which the first paddy was to be brought. Here the ears of paddy and the new rice were packed up for the temples, the palace and the royal stores by the *gababandimas* and their officers. The ears of paddy carefully put into new earthenware pots and the grain into clean bags, were attached to *pingas*. Those for the Mangalya (where the Sacred Tooth was kept) were conveyed on an elephant for the temples by men marching under canopies of white cloth, and those for the palace and royal stores by the people of the royal villages of respectable caste, well dressed, and with a piece of white muslin over their mouths to guard against impurity. This procession, starting on the evening of the next day (full-moon day) from the different farms under a salute of *pingals* and attended by flags, tom-tom-beaters, etc., was met on the way by the 2nd Adigar and a large number of chiefs at some distance from the city. From thence all went to the great square to wait for the propitious hour, at the arrival of which, announced by a discharge of *pingals*, the procession entered the *Māgaya* where the distribution for the different temples was made. At the same fortunate hour the chiefs and the people brought home their new rice. On the next morning the king or governor received his portion consisting of the new rice and a selection of all the various vegetable productions of the country, which were tasted at a lucky hour."<sup>3</sup>

(To be continued.)

<sup>2</sup> This is a record of an article in *Young Ceylon* (1932), Vol. III, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated Literary Supplement of the *Ceylon Examiner*, 1877, Vol. I, p. 8.



## MISCELLANEA

## TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANJAB.

(Continued from p. 201.)

## II.

A few more instances of totem-names have been obtained.

1. In the South-East Panjāb there are four *gōts* or sections, found among the Jat, Rājput, and Nāl (barber) 'castes,' which are thus named:—

Caste.	Gōt and meaning of name.
Jat and Rājputt ...	Chhōkar, a kind of tree.
Jat and Nāl (barber)...	Banbhairon (bān, cotton-plant).
Jat ... ..	Kāryā, a kind of tree.
" ... ..	Parwar, a kind of vegetable.

The Rājput Chhōkars, however, do not believe that their *gōt* is in any way connected with the tree of that name, while the Nāl Banbhairon attribute their name to Bhairon, the god whom they reverence.

These four Jat *gōts*, on the other hand, do not cut or injure the plants and trees after which they are each named, though other *gōts* do so, because they consider them to be their origin, and it would be a bad omen to cut or burn them. Hence each *gōt* reverences or worships the plant or tree after which it is named.

A folk-etymology. — It should, however, be added that the Chhōkar Rājputs give the following explanation of their name:—

Once upon a time the Rājputs wanted to put a Rishi to the test, so they took a woman to him

who had a *chhōkar* or *chhōkar* used to ... in front of her ... and asked him if she would ... a girl. The Rishi replied 'chhōkar', whereupon the woman ... and to be ... The ... when the Rishi ... they were all ... by the ... and grown from the ... and she was pregnant, so she went to the ... with a ... and asked for ... section as before, and received the same reply. She ... a second time, ... "in the stomach or in the lap?" and the Rishi replied, "gōt bā" (in the lap), whereupon the lamb died. Her son, when born, became therefore known as Chhōkar or Chhōkar, and thus ... of the Rājputs does not kill or eat sheep, because it regards a sheep as its origin.

The Arōras have two *gōts*. — Chhōkar, a sub-section of the Sacerdotes, so called because on a marriage in that section sweetmeats were placed on a mud *chhōkar* and ... from a ... because once a snake got into the churn which a woman was making butter so the men of this section never churn, though its women may. A third section is called Rishin, because one of its members once received a *faqir* cordially, and the *faqir* blessed him, saying he should prosper like bael (*batul*).

H. A. ROSE.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## THE LEGEND OF BĀNASUR.

(A Note on Sir R. Temple's "Legends of the Panjab," Vol. III. p. 385.)

1. ACCORDING to the legend, Bānā Sur, or the hero Bānā,<sup>1</sup> had four sons: — Kachhārij, Udayājet, Sangrāmjit, and Chanderbhān. It is perhaps worth noting that the inhabitants of three villages, Saungara (? Sangrama), Bhāba, and Jagōwan in Tahsil Rāmpur of the Bahawal State still worship images of the three sons of Bānā, who were killed in the fight with Krishnaji.

2. The Kanāts on the confines of Tibet are called Jād Kanāts. They are less strict about ... Are these the Jāds of the legend? It is hard to say possible, but the coincidence is a little curious.

H. A. ROSE.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 385, 370, 380, 390.

## YAM.

HERE is some fresh evidence for the history of this word vide Yule, Holson-Jobson, s. v.

1711. On se nourrit de fruits, de poissons et de racines fort imparées appelées ignames. Lettres Edificantes. Pere Faure's letter from the Nicobars, dated 17th Jan., 1711.

1711. Les indiens ne vinrent dans quatre canots nous apporter des ignames, des racines et ... changer contre de la ... Lettres Edificantes. Pere Faure's letter from the Nicobars 20 Feb., 1711.

R. C. TEMPLE.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Bihān's *chhōkar* (p. 385).



## SOME DOUBTFUL COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY ROBERT NEWELL, M.B.A.S., I.O.S. (Retd.).

**C**OLLECTORS of old coins in Southern India must always have been astonished at the immense number and variety of the small copper issues found there. In my own collection are many specimens which cannot be associated as belonging to any known dynasty or State, and I believe the truth to be that they were privately struck at the principal great temples. Just as every county town in England at the close of the eighteenth century had its local pennies and half pennies, so probably, there were local issues of small copper coins in South India generally connected with the great revered shrines, and circulating in their vicinity. I append a note showing my reasons for this view.

The present list concerns a number of coins in my collection which I have had to class as "doubtful", and I have to thank the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* for permission to publish these Plates. Perhaps readers will be so kind as to send me their views, or better still send their notes to this *Journal* so that all may profit by them. I pretend to no special knowledge and shall not be at all surprised if many of these coins are at once recognized by experts and my ignorance received with a smile—but even if so their publication can only do good, since it will enable other collectors to classify their coins correctly. Many of the specimens are dynastic, purely, I think local, and these last I venture to christen 'Temple coins.'

## Temple Coins.

A very large and varied class of South Indian coins appears to consist of coins struck at the principal temples, and not connected with any regular State issues. In his *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, Major Telford notices one (Pl. II. No. 23) with a little figure of a god on the obverse, and on the reverse the legend *Varaha* in characters which may be classed either as Telugu or as Knaparese, and he quotes an extract from a letter regarding it written by Sir Seshiah Sâstri, K.C.S.J., as follows:—"It is a rare local coin" (i.e. in the Pudukottah State)—"in a rough way and its greatest circulation is during 'Navaratri' or 'Pussural' when it is issued (1) to each along with the rice—once every day during the nine days." If I read this aright it means that the coin is not a regular State issue but is struck, like a small medal or like the local English pennies and half pennies at the close of the eighteenth century for local circulation—and that four or seven are given by the Rajah of Pudukottah to each recipient of his rice-rice distributed in honour of the festival.

I imagine that probably the authorities of almost all the principal temples in Southern India similarly struck their own local coins and issued them to worshippers, and that they may be distinguished from State currencies by the fact of their not bearing the name of any dynasty nor the name of any king.

Thus it seems evident that the first of the series which here follow, viz., those bearing the figure of a double-headed man on the obverse and various devices on the reverses were coined, not by any State, but by the authorities of the celebrated temple of Tiruvannamalai or Tirumala, in the South Arcot District. The lofty hill at whose base the temple is situated rises to an elevation of 2664 feet above sea-level, and is a very conspicuous object in all the country round. The temple is dedicated to Siva and the *temple* in the shrine is one of the *Pâñcha-bhûtas* of Southern India, or the *temple* of the five elements, — this one being the fire *temple*. No. 1-C bears the legend *Arunadri* on the reverse, which, with the variant *Arunadri* is a Sanskrit name of Tiruvannamalai (*Epi. Ind.* III. 240.) I have said that this identification "seems evident," but if it is correct we have yet to learn why the authorities of a Siva temple should have chosen to represent the figure of a Ganesha on their coins.



**No. 1-A. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Garuda passing to right, left knee up, right knee down, in a circle of dots.

*Rev.* — A diamond-peaked mountain, surrounded by an irregularly shaped line, with dots outside. Moon above mountain.

**No. 1-B. Copper —**

*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Similar, but the figure of Garuda cruder and the legs too small for the body.

**No. 1-C. Copper —**

*Obv.* — An inscription in Telugu characters "Aruga Jai." A line and dot circle outside.

*Rev.* — Similar, but smaller mountain. Double line circle, with circle of dots between the lines. "Arugadri" and "Arugagiri" are Sanskrit names of Tiruvannamalai in the South Arcot District. (*Ep. Ind.* III 240.)

**No. 1-D. Copper —**

*Obv.* — An object which looks like a mountain, but may not be intended for one. There is a curve in this which is absent in the three last.

*Rev.* — Inscription in Nagari characters. The characters — *pa* — *pran* appear clear. This may belong to a totally different series of coins, but as I cannot classify it.

**No. 2-A. Copper —**

The first of a series in my possession with similar reverses, but different obverses. All from Southern India.

*Obv.* — Vishnu and Lakshmi, seated; a circle of dots.

*Rev.* — The legend *ari vira*, in characters which appear to be Telugu rather than Kanarese. The *viras* and *vira* stand above the *ari*. There are slight differences in almost all the coins. The second character, on some specimens, looks like *v* and even *u*, rather than *ri*.

**No. 2-B. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A god, or king, standing under a canopy, with emblems to left that look as if derived from coins which bear the Chêra bow.

*Rev.* — Similar to 1-A.

**No. 2-C. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Standing figure of Narasimha.

*Rev.* — Similar to 1-A, but apparently corrupt.

**No. 2-D. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Apparently Vishnu and Lakshmi, seated on a horse *râhata*, within a circle of dots.

*Rev.* — Similar to 1-A.

**No. 2-E. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Much injured, but apparently a seated figure, seated on a *râhata*.

*Rev.* — Similar to 1-A.

**No. 2-F. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Looks like a dancing Krishna, under a canopy.

*Rev.* — Similar to No. 1-A.

**No. 2-G. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A dancing Krishna, with snake.

*Rev.* — Allied to the type of legend on No. 1-A, but different. Apparently there are four characters here, and the second *ach* in place of the *ci* of the others.



No. 3-H —

*Obv.* — Apparently some animal *śaṅka* ? — with tail over back. Perhaps a *ganda bhāṇḍa*, with elephant in back.

*Rev.* — Similar to No. 1 A.

Are these temple coins? Sir Walter E. who possessed two coins with similar reverses, but having a Nanda (bull couchant) on the obverse (*Coins of Southern India*, pp. 85-102, Plate III Nos. 94, 95), connected them with the Kakatiya sovereigns of Warāṅgal about the thirteenth century, but I do not know his reasons for this assignment. Capt. Tufnell (*Hints to Coin Collectors*, Part I p. 19) attributes them to the Vijayanagara kingdom, or later. Mr. Löwenthal's No. 99, Plate IV (*Coins of Tinnevely*), is somewhat similar in that the inscription contains apparently the same word, namely, *śrīdhara* within a circle of dots, but in characters which appear to be Kanarese rather than Telugu. The *śrī* stands below the *vī*, on the right of the *śrī*, the obverse has a figure of Garuḍa. He attributes the coin to the time of the Nayakas, and considers it a purely Tinnevely coin, not current elsewhere. His Nos. 99, 101 seemingly belong also to this series, as well as Nos. 109, 110, 112, 114, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124. His No. 120 resembles No. 1 above. With regard to his No. 124, Mr. Löwenthal classes it as undoubtedly a Nayaka coin of Madura, roughly A. D. 1600 to 1736, and he states that "nearly all the Nayaka coins from Madura and Trichinopoly and also the coins of the Vellore Nayaks have that inscription on the reverse." I observe, however, that No. 124 appears to be of a corrupt type, the first character being drawn in a reversed position to that of my coins as now figured — turned the wrong way in fact — and it is the only coin which he has figured in which the characters resemble those given on my plate. If he is right in his assignment of No. 124 to the Madura Nayakas, it is possible that these chiefs tried to copy an older coin, such as those in my plate. It is difficult, however, to judge from his illustrations.

The legend has been read *śrīdhara*, which is probably correct, though the aspirate mark does not occur in the second character on the coins. The word is an epithet of Viṣṇu. We may call this the "Śrīdhara Series."

If they are temple coins, to which of the great temples do they belong?

Note that my No. 4-F also bears the same word *śrīdhara*. It may belong to this series, the peacock being a variety of obverse.

No. 3-A. Thick copper "dub" —

*Obv.* — A Viṣṇu *śaṅkam*, or trident-mark, with *chakra* and *chakra* at sides.

*Rev.* — Legend in rough Nāgarī characters.

This is evidently a modern coin. But who coined it? Mr. Löwenthal's 60, 61, 62 have *śaṅkam*, but with Garuḍas on the obverse. (*Coins of Tinnevely* Plate III, pp. 13, 14.) The author cannot place them.

No. 3-B. Thick copper "dub" —

*Obv.* — Similar, but different die.

*Rev.* — Do. do.

No. 4-A. Copper —

*Obv.* — Peacock to left, inside a circle formed of triangles.

*Rev.* — Ins. in Persian — *fatḥa* — in circle of dots.

No. 4-B. Copper —

*Obv.* — Peacock to right, inside a similar circle.

*Rev.* — Similar to No. 4-A.

No. 4-C. Copper —

*Obv.* — Peacock to right.

*Rev.* — A legend in three lines, illegible. May be Tatu.



**No. 4-D. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Peacock to left, passant. Moon above.

*Rev.* — A king, or a god standing in right hand a staff or banner or spear, left hand hanging down. Beyond left hand two diamond-shaped figures, on king's right dots.

A good little coin, said to have come from Tanore in

Mr. Laventhol's *proc.* No. 64 has figured coins with peacocks, but the reverses have modern looking Vishnu marks on each side of a lamp. He thinks that they belong to the Horsala Rājās, but his remarks are not very apparent. His numbers 92-93, also have peacock obverses, and on No. 93 is the *Śrīkṛṣṇa* inscription of the former series (my No. 1).

**No. 4-E. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Peacock to right, passant, as a *śāhā* for gods.

*Rev.* — "Viśṇu" in Kucaree characters.

**No. 4-F. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Peacock to right, standing, tail down in circle of small dots.

*Rev.* — "Śrīkṛṣṇa," as with coins No. 1.

This is the nearest approach that I have to Mr. Laventhol's No. 1.

**No. 4-G. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Peacock to left, standing.

*Rev.* — A legend, which I cannot decipher.

**No. 4-H. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Peacock to right in a double circle the inner one made of dots.

*Rev.* — A legend, which I am unable to read.

**No. 4-I. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Peacock, in circle of dots.

*Rev.* — Indistinguishable.

**No. 5-A. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Brahma, on his *śāhā* *vāṇa* (?)

*Rev.* — A *śāhā* *vāṇa* *vāṇa* *vāṇa* in Vāṇa characters, on either side

**No. 5-B —**

*Obs.* — Kṛṣṇa on a *śāhā* *vāṇa* — perhaps Brahma in the *śāhā*.

*Rev.* — A Śiva *śāhā* on an altar.

**No. 5-C —**

*Obs.* — A *śāhā* *vāṇa* on the peacock. The tail represented very large.

*Rev.* — A Tamil legend, which I think reads "Śrīkṛṣṇa."

If this reading is correct, it establishes the coin as one of the Setupatis of Rāmāṇa, in the South, probably dating from the 17th or 18th century of our era. In such case it is not, of course, a temple coin.

**No. 5-D. A thick copper coin —**

*Obs.* — A god standing, left foot crossed over right. I think on his right arm a *śāhā* *vāṇa* or a *śāhā* *vāṇa* by a seven-headed *vāṇa*. Both the principal areas are worn and have some red or scarlet transverse across the body. The figure is, apparently, a very rough rendering of a peacock *vāṇa* at this a *śāhā* *vāṇa*. The figure might be intended to represent a Garuda, but if so it is unlike any image of that semi-deity that I have seen.

*Rev.* — (Apparently) a *śāhā* *vāṇa* and up. Above, a sword or dagger.

I only place this coin in this series on the chance that the figure below the god on the obverse may be intended to represent a peacock.











**No. 6-A.** Thick copper "dab" —

*Obv.* and *Rev.* similar *etc.*, the character "Rd" in Kanarese within an ornamented scroll, open at top and bottom, a circle of dots round it. I have eleven of these coins.

**No. 6-B.** Thick copper "dab" —

*Obv.* — Similar design with the Kanarese character *Rd* in centre.

*Rev.* — Similar, but with the Kanarese *ma*. This word of course is *Rdma*.

These coins are found in the Rayachota (Chandragiri) district of the Beary district — one of the center and more direct dependencies of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara. Who coined them? And when?

I possess only one coin of the "6-B" type. Are they temple coins or issues by some local chieftain after the fall of Vijayanagara?

Series No. 7 consists of coins found in the Kodagu (Shukla) district. They are, as coins, of the same class as No. 6, being thick and heavy.

**No. 7-A.** Found by Mr. Bruce Foote on an hill village site near Harband.

*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Same type, the principal object being a lozenge-shaped ornament with nine dots inside it, the ornament or Person's emblem around.

**No. 7-B.** Similar, but the lozenge is smaller, and the lettering more prominent.

**No. 7-C.** Similar to 7-A as to size of lozenge but a large portion of the field is used by lettering.

**No. 7-D.** Similar, but larger lozenge and less prominent, conventional long lettering. The dots here are eleven in number, the central one assuming the form of a circle.

**No. 7-E.** Similar to 7-D, but having more lettering apparent.

**No. 7-F.** Similar lozenge, but with a standing figure of Narasimha on the opposite side. (I have two, besides these slightly different, and omitted in the plate to save space.)

**No. 8.** Thick copper —

*Obv.* — Crossed lines, dots in intervals. Is this a Persian inscription?

*Rev.* — A legend, apparently in some sort of Arabic character.

[Nos. 8 to 14 are, of course, coins issued by some ruling dynasty, and have nothing to do with the temples.]

Set No. 9 consists of Mahamudlan copper "dabs" mostly from the Beary district.

**No. 9-A.** Square, thick, copper —

*Obv.* — A trident, with an eye between horizontal lines, dots in the spaces.

*Rev.* — A legend.

**No. 9-B.** Round, thick, copper —

*Obv.* — A trident, with dots.

*Rev.* — Legend.

**No. 9-C.** Thick copper —

*Obv.* — Lines which, viewed one way, look trident-like.

*Rev.* — Legend.

**No. 9-D, 1, 2, 3.** Copper.

*Obv.* — Legend, with strong horizontal lines.

*Rev.* — Do. do. do.

[Putting these three together some expert may be able to identify them.]



**No. 9-B. Copper —**

A copper coin, at trad-gazur Belard district and kindly given to me by Mr. Bruce Foote.

*Obv.* — Inscription with crossed lines.

*Rev.* — (Obliterated.)

**No. 9-F —**

From Hampi (Vijayanagara). A. S. G. Foote, given to me by Mr. Foote.

*Obv.* — Inscription.

*Rev.* — (Obliterated.)

**No. 9-G. Thick copper —**

*Obv.* — Inscription.

*Rev.* — Do.

**No. 9-H. Thick copper —**

*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Inscription.

**No. 9-I. Thick copper —**

*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Inscription.

**No. 9-K. Thick copper —**

*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Inscription.

**No. 9-L. Thick copper —**

*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Inscription.

**No. 10. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Similar to right, paw uplifted. Scroll, or lettering, below.

*Rev.* — In centre circle with a circle of dots outside. Something in the centre unrecognisable. Outside of this, traces of lettering.

The coin is found at earthenware of the type of them. Manufacture of early 12th century but type is common. Mr. Inscriptions of Man of Tuluva's lists which corresponds with this.

**No. 11. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Inscription in Nagari characters in two lines, divided by two dots.

*Rev.* — Inscription in Kanarese characters. The former seems to read "— *ganga* above, and *pond* — below. The latter " *manu* above and " *krishna* " below. Inscribe the coin to the West Coast on account of the fish device and the Kanarese inscription. If it were a Paraya coin the characters would have been Tamil.

**No. 12. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A Vishnu mark. *chakra* or *chakra* is a ringed circle with circle of dots outside.

*Rev.* — (?) Double-line circle, on each side of circle of dots.

The design on the obverse leads me to attribute this coin to the West Coast.

**No. 13. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A sword, hilt at top, dots on each side below cross-bar, wreath of dots round circles round, inner one a line, outer one dots.

*Rev.* — An inscription in a lined circle with circle of dots outside.

The device on the obverse leads me to assign this also to the West Coast.

**No. 14-A. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A very roughly designed *mudra* (?) to left tail over back claws indicated.

*Rev.* — An inscription divided by four lines.

This may be a coin of king Salasara Raya of Vijayanagara. (See *Inscribed Coins of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara* by Messrs. Rangachari and Desakachari in *Ind. Ant.* XXIII p. 20, No. 6 and plate.) They read the legend as ( श्री ) रा ( Sri ) रा

रा ( रा ) ( ra )

( रा रा ) ( rāya ).



**No. 14-B. Copper —**

*Obs. and Rev.* — Similar but different.

**No. 14-C. Copper —**

*Obs. and Rev.* — Also similar, but different to either A or B

**No. 15. Copper —**

I do not know how to class this coin. The coin would place it as a coin of some State, but in such cases we would expect some lettering on the reverse, instead of the figure of Hanuman.

*Obs.* — A rampant lion, facing left, claws strongly marked, moon and *chank* above.  
Lined and dotted circle.

*Rev.* — A figure of Hanuman passing to left. Four circles round it, two of lines, two of dots.

**No. 16. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A conventional fish possibly intended for a sword fish, surrounded by a dotted circle.

*Rev.* — See a Kannawa character. As regards the fish, instances of it occur in Mysore coinage (*Thiruvannamalai* Pl. IV 11, *Ins.* Pl. 1, 21), but this is clearly not a Mysore coin. (See also *Nannamalai* *Thiruvannamalai*, Elliot, No. 87.)

**No. 17-A. Copper —**

The following five coins, A to E, appear to belong to some great temple dedicated to Siva, most of them have the figure of the *lingam* and altar. The reverses are rather puzzling, but they may represent Siva and Parvati. In each case the figures are divided by a sort of staff, except in E, where each holds a sceptre in the elevated right hand. In F there is only one figure.

*Obs.* — Siva and Parvati (?) standing, in a lined circle, with a staff dividing them.

*Rev.* — A crude representation of the altar and *lingam* wreathed. Circles of lines and dots.

**No. 17-B. Copper —**

Similar, but not the same.

**No. 17-C. Copper —**

Similar, but not the same.

**No. 17-D. Copper —**

A smaller coin. Here the god and goddess are either sitting, or seated on their *vāhinas*.

**No. 17-E. Copper —**

Similar. See note under 17-A. Under the altar and *lingam* is a Nandi. (Siva's bull).

**No. 17-F. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A standing god, which apparently must be intended for Siva. The arms are upraised.

*Rev.* — The altar and *lingam*, but no wreath, and the figure of Nandi below, facing right.

**No. 17-G. Copper —**

*Obs.* — God and goddess standing, as in 17-A.

*Rev.* — A very rough *lingam* and altar, dots above on each side.

**No. 18-A. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Ganesha on his rat *vāhina*; in a lined circle.

*Rev.* — A very rough representation of a *lingam* on an altar, under a canopy, lined circle round.



**No. 18-B. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Similar, but different. Above the *magam* in this case, and under the canopy, are two dots, one on each side.

**No. 19. Copper —**

*Obs.* — In a line ~~is a~~ some device which I cannot interpret. It may be a very rough representation of Vishnu and Lakshmi on some *adha*.

*Rev.* — Tortoise.

**No. 20-A. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A very crude figure of a god standing under a canopy. On left a staff or sceptre.

*Rev.* — On left a *concha* shell. On right a crescent probably the Kanarese *Sri*.

**No. 20-B. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Similar to 20-A.

*Rev.* — On left a *concha* shell. On the left a perhaps a wrist-ornament (Bandana), but the *concha* is much injured.

**No. 21. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A figure of a god under a canopy, the end of which, and a circle on the right side, circle of dots round.

*Rev.* — Apparently an attempt at an inscription, perhaps in Tamil characters.

**No. 22. Copper —**

*Obs.* — May be intended for a *magam* and canopy, or may be some lettering and a circle.

*Rev.* — If this were a *magam* I should interpret the *magam* as a *magam*, and the circle as a *magam* on right, but it appears far too modern for this explanation.

**No. 23. Copper —**

*Obs.* — An inscription in Nagari characters.

*Rev.* — Apparently an inscription, but in what characters?

**No. 24-A. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A figure of a god standing on a tall staff held in left hand, Lakshmi standing under his left arm; circle of dots.

*Rev.* — Hand holding a *concha* shell, and a *concha* shell on right, two *concha* shells on left shoulder, circle of dots.

**No. 24-B. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A figure of a god standing holding a large *concha* in left hand, circle of dots.

*Rev.* — An inscription, possibly in Nagari characters which may be passed either as Telugu or as Kanarese; circle of dots.

If my opinion of the reverse is correct this may be one of the Polakotta Series. See extract from letter of Sir Sesham Sastri in volume containing remarks to this paper.

**No. 24-C. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A standing god; staff below left arm; circle of dots.

*Rev.* — Two letters of an inscription, probably Nagari characters, under some object deemed

**No. 25. Copper —**

*Obs.* — A god or king, holding some object on right, circle of dots. The head-dress has two sides, and makes the figure look more like that of a Rajah than of a deity.

*Rev.* — Vishnu standing, arms outstretched, in two waves below the arms, circle of dots.

**No. 26. Copper —**

*Obs.* — Vishnu in his *mataya*, or fish, posture.

*Rev.* — A tendril, twisted, bearing three lotus buds.











**No. 27. Copper —**

A very puzzling coin. On the *obv.* is a standing figure, which may be Vishnu in his *Narasimha* or *virat*, with some other object to the left. From another point of view the design looks something like a figure of a Rājan seated with his left arm crooked, surrounded by a lozenge-shaped line, and having objects on each side of his head. The *rev.* has a dotted line in a square shape with a square prolongation on one side, and some lettering inside.

**No. 28. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A very crude figure of (?) Vishnu standing under a canopy. His right hand holds an object — a sceptre, or a discus on a staff.

*Rev.* — A *chakra*, surrounded by a lined circle. On left three dots, on right the letter *ru* (a Kanarese (?).

**No. 29. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A well-designed little figure of Ganesa on his rat *vāhana*, with a staff in his right hand.

*Rev.* — A very poor attempt at a *Siva lingam* on an altar. A horizontal line runs across between the altar and the *lingam*.

**No. 30. Copper —**

*Obv.* — *Garuḍa*, passant, to left.

*Rev.* — A worn-out inscription, apparently in Nāgarī characters.

**No. 31. Copper —**

A complete puzzle. On one side what looks like a scorpion surrounded by a ring of dots of rather unusual type — the dots being clear together so as to make a continuous rope-like circle. They might even be a string of cowrie-shells. On the other side within a similar circle (a round object or group of objects to which I can give no name).

**No. 32. Copper —**

[I cannot say if this is a coin at all.]

*Obv.* — A strongly marked equal-armed cross, each end forming a trefail.

*Rev.* — Unintelligible.

**No. 33. Copper —**

*Obv.* — An eight-pointed star.

*Rev.* — Tam. lettering, probably "kaṇṇa" = "Company." This is, I think, a variety of the coin noted by Dr. Hatzson as one struck by the British East India Company. — No. 25 of his List in *Int. Ant.* XXI, 335 Pl. II No. 95. His coin has dots between the star-points; mine has none.

**No. 34. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A six-pointed star, in a lined circle.

*Rev.* — (?)

**No. 35. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A god, standing on something hinted at rather than represented. Probably a canopy was over his head.

*Rev.* — "Venkatappa" in a lined circle. This is probably a coin of one of the Venkatas of Vijayanagara, but I do not think that it has been figured in previous Lists.

**No. 36. Copper —**

*Obv.* — (?)

*Rev.* — An inscription in Tam. I (?) characters.

**No. 37. Copper —**

*Obv.* — (?)

*Rev.* — A Nāgarī inscription.



- No. 38. Copper —**  
 [A much-injured little coin.]  
*Obv.* — A sword hilt, and part of blade . hilt upwards, guard to left. A defaced inscription round.  
*Rev.* — An inscription in characters that look like Tamil.
- No. 39. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — A gracefully designed tree-branch with buds.  
*Rev.* — An inscription in Nagari characters, evidently the name of a sovereign. The letters are, many of them, clear enough, but I have not been able, as yet, to assign the coin, and I prefer to submit it to be deciphered by others better informed.  
 I have never seen any other South Indian coin with a similar obverse, and believe it to belong to the North. Is it Sikh?
- No. 40. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — (?)  
*Rev.* — Inscription.
- No. 41. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — A standing god ; arms upraised.  
*Rev.* — Inscription.
- No. 42. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — (?)  
*Rev.* — Inscription in Arabic or Persian.
- No. 43-A. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — Debased standing Chôla figure, some symbol on left side.  
*Rev.* — Inscription in Tamil characters, "*Pudu — —*."
- No. 43-B. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — Similar to 43-A.  
*Rev.* — Inscription in Tamil characters, "*— duche —*." Are these legends "*Puduchéri*," i.e., Pondicherry?
- No. 43-C —**  
*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Similar. A better specimen of the same coin.
- No. 43-D —**  
*Obv.* and *Rev.* — Similar. But here, under the *pu* is another character, which would prevent us from reading *Puduchéri*.
- No. 44. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — God on *elhana* (?).  
*Rev.* — Inscription.
- No. 45. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — A well-designed elephant, facing right, tail up, with a double end, Arabic character *alif* above. Double circle and circle of dots.  
*Rev.* — (?)  
 This appears to me almost certainly a Mysore coin of Tipû Sultan ; but in those figured in Thurston's and Tufnell's Lists none have the tail uplifted, with double end, facing right, and the *alif* above.
- No. 46. Copper —**  
*Obv.* — A roughly-designed elephant, facing to right, Arabic date above (?), foliated circle round.  
*Rev.* — Inscription in Arabic characters.  
 This also looks like a Mysore coin of Haidar or Tipû, but I do not find it in the published lists.



**No. 47. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Some animal, surrounded by a circle of dots.

*Rev.* — Inscription in Tamil.

**No. 48. Copper —**

*Obv.* — (?) Circle of dots round.

*Rev.* — (?)

**No. 49. Copper —**

*Obv.* — (?) Vishnu and his two wives.

*Rev.* — (?) Inscription in Tamil.

**No. 50. Copper —**

*Obv.* — (?)

*Rev.* — An inscription.

**No. 51. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Bull, Nandi, facing left.

*Rev.* — (?)

This is a very thin coin, if it is a coin at all which I doubt. It appears to me more like a token or keepsake, perhaps issued by a temple.

**No. 52. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Vishnu seated, *chakra* and *chakra* on each side of his head, double lamp (?) below on left.

*Rev.* — An inscription. The characters look plain, but I can make nothing of them. The lines are divided perpendicularly, and the letters in the middle appear to read a above, and *no* in the centre.

This coin was found in the old fort of Dantavakkrunkōṭa in the village of Paruchōttapuram, in the Chittoor taluk of the Ganjam district.

**No. 53. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A single letter, in a circle of dots, apparently the Nāgarī *ta*.

*Rev.* — (?)

**No. 54. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Gaudā, on a plain field.

*Rev.* — An illegible Nāgarī inscription.

**No. 55. Copper —**

*Obv.* — Nandi, to left, the head very high above the body.

*Rev.* — A trident, or *trishula*, with some lettering at sides.

A coin with a trident in Col. Buddagh's collection has a fish on the *obv.* and a possibly Pāṇḍyan.

**No. 56. Copper —**

*Obv.* — A horse trotting, facing left.

*Rev.* — Apparently a number; horizontal lines below.

This may be one of the Mysore series of small coins having animals and other devices on the *obv.* and a chequer pattern with symbols on the *rev.*, but, if so, it is a variety. One of the Mysore coins noted on p. 29 of Mr. Thurston's Catalogue No. 5 (P. IV. 2), has a horse, but the design is different and on the *rev.* the symbols are not so prominent, the chequer pattern and symbols having all the same value. In my coin the lines are subservient to the numbers or letters.



**No. 57. Copper —***Obv.* — Obliterated.*Rev.* — A Nagari inscription, which may be *Sri-Krishnarāja* but I am not certain. This may be a Vijayanagara coin.**No. 58-A. Copper —***Obv.* — Obliterated.*Rev.* — Within a raised circle an inscription in Nagari characters. The coin is roughly stamped on a plate of copper.**No. 58-B. Copper —***Obv.* and *Rev.* — Apparently smooth. In this case it can be seen that the obverse had some design enclosed by a raised circle and that it was punched on to a copper disk carelessly.**No. 59-A. Copper —***Obv.* — In a lined circle within a dotted circle a very debased human figure, whether a god or a king is impossible to say. The head is like a monkey, the arms are upraised, there is a dot for the body, and lines below the awkwardly stretched-out legs, which remind one of the aketa of the kings represented on Chola coins. On the right is a crescent, and five dots in the left some mysterious symbol, which may be meant for a club.*Rev.* — In a lined circle within a dotted circle, a central staff or sceptre flanked by two lotus-garlands, each lozenge stands on the apex of a triangle.

The set of coins marked 53 A to 59 F were carefully considered by Mr Walter Elliot, and laterately omitted from his Catalogue (published in 1896), because they could not be identified. They are now published for the first time. General Pearson thought they were Chola coins, or possibly Ganga.

**No. 59-B. Copper —***Obv.* — A small elephant of antique design, but badly executed trunk upraised, facing right, surmounted by a lotus; surrounded by a line circle and circle of dots.*Rev.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots two lotus-garlands divided by a staff or sceptre. Two dots above the lotus-garlands.I imagined at one time that the design on the *rev.* might represent a double axe, but the reverses of the other coins issued under this No. 59 seem to show that this interpretation is incorrect.**No. 59-C. Copper —***Obv.* — Small elephant facing left, trunk, tusk, and a lotus on a triangle. There are some lines below the elephant, and a line circle round the whole.*Rev.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots a standing figure, arms upraised, some object on left.

The obverse of this coin reminds one of the way several separate symbols are stamped on Bodhi coins. The figure on the reverse bears some analogy to the standing king on Chola and Ceylon coins. The object to the left of the figure has been thought to represent an altar, but this is doubtful.

**No. 59-D. Copper —***Obv.* — A *simha*, or lion, tail and head upraised; facing left.*Rev.* — A king flourishing a sword in his right hand, left arm crooked, and upwards, above the elbow a lotus; two long lines on the king's proper right may possibly be intended for spears. If intended to represent the Chola bow, one of the lines ought to have been curved to indicate the bow-shaft, but here they are both straight. Line circle and circle of dots round.











No. 59-B. Copper —

*Obs.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots a *chakra* on right side, and a lozenge on the left with balls on the points, none above, and dots below that may perhaps represent *chakras*, but is very doubtful.

*Rep.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots a standing king closely resembling the figure on No. 59-B. But in this case one of the two long lines of the crown is to be interpreted for a right foot. In both cases a *chakra* there is a cross line connecting the straight object with the king's right arm. The object in the field below the king's left arm is here a dot, possibly a sun-disk, instead of a lozenge.

The position of the obverse of the *chakra* seems to show that it was intended to represent the *chakra* of Vishnu, and it is not possible that in all these cases the lozenges which surround the king or the *chakra*, may be intended to symbolize very conventionally the *chakra* and *chakra*. If so, the triangles would represent supports, or altars.

No. 59-F —

*Obs.* — Star in arms uplifted, facing right. The head is pointed.

*Rep.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots a standing figure of a king or deity, with two long arms, on his right side the left of the *chakra* and lozenges one above the other, with a short horizontal line dividing them. Of the points, the last group may be intended to be used as sideways, in which case it resembles the design on No. 59-B. The circle and circle of dots are present.

It is possible that the *chakra* were explained the remark made under 59-B, that these *chakra* were used by Vishnu worshippers, and that the lozenges may be conventionalized Vishnu symbols.

No. 60. Copper —

*Obs.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots an elephant, with very long trunk, facing right; three dots below.

*Rep.* — In a lined circle and circle of dots a figure of Vishnu. He is shown seated on the *chakra* and *chakra*. Behind his waist is a snake with very large, snake-shaped, head. In the field below his right arm is a tortoise, in allusion to the *Aradhya*.

No. 61. Copper —

A number of copper coins were given to me when in the Bham district, which were said to be found in that tract. The people there know them as *Han-Rupen*. I have a number of them. In all, except one, on the obverse, the *chakra* has one small *chakra* and *chakra* in it — either a moon-crescent, or a snake. Two of the coins show faint traces of having belonged to a regular coinage, the design on which has been almost entirely defaced. The coins are thick. I think that they must be Muhammadan coins, worn down till the faces have become almost unrecognizable to a treasury (perhaps that of the Sultan of Siam, or of some other ruler). The coins are in the manner seen, and then reversed. I give an illustration of one of these, as seen on the obverse.

No. 62. Copper —

I came to with a small square of copper, — evidently not a coin and nothing more — and with an inscription engraved in Bengali characters. I should be glad if some one would interpret. The characters apparently read *mad* (or *lad*) *pa ré-ma* (or *pa*, *nga Hanja*). Of this I can make no sense. It came from the Ganjam district.















the *Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, &c.*<sup>12</sup> has made the following identifications:—

1.	Cave II., Nos. viii, ix, page 32 (cf. below No. 5)	...	534	Mahā-Ilamasa jātakā.
2.	" No. xxvii, p. 38	...	482	Rara.
3.	Cave IX., No. i, p. 47 (cf. below No. 11)	...	490	Siv. 14
4.	Cave X., p. 50	...	514	Chaddanta, <sup>14</sup> "
5.	Cave XVII., No. xix, pp. 65-66 (cf. above No. 1)	...	534	Mahā-bhūssa.
6.	Cave XVII., Nos. xxii-xxiv, pp. 66-67	...	W. 539	Mahā-veśāntara (').
7.	" No. xxv, p. 67	...	516	Maoh-kaj.
8.	" Nos. xxvi-xxvii, p. 70	...	455	Mati-ponaka.
9.	" No. xxviii, p. 71	...	W. 532	Sāna (').
10.	" No. xxxix, p. 71...	...	278	Malisa.
11.	" No. liv, pp. 75-76 (cf. above 3)	...	499	Siv. 16
12.	Cave II., Outside chamber to the left, pp. 81-82	...	313	Khanti vada.

## THE LEGEND OF MIRA BAI THE RAJPUT POETESS.

BY M. MACAULIFFE.

MIRA BAI was daughter of BATAI SINGH BATHOUR of MĒRĀTĀ, a town between Bikanér and Jodhpur in Rājputānā. She was born about 1504 A. D. She appears to have inherited her religious propensities from her mother. When MIRA BAI was three or four years of age the fatal processions of a youth of position passed by the palace. All the ladies of the court, except MIRA BAI's mother, went to the upper apartments to view the procession. She took the opportunity of such absence to go to pray to an image of KRISHNA, called GIRDHAR LĀI, which was set up in her private apartment.

MIRA BAI had made her playthings to follow her mother and said to her, "who is my bridegroom?" Her mother smiled, took her in her arms, and, pointing to GIRDHAR LĀI, said, "there is your bridegroom." Upon this MIRA BAI instantly accepted him, and veiled her face according to the GIRDHAR panchāṅga, which requires a wife to veil her face even from her newly married husband. She became so enamoured of GIRDHAR LĀI that she could not pass an instant without seeing him. Her love for him a counterpart to that of the milk-maid, KRISHNA's playfellow, of Hindurāvan. She indulged her passion without fear or shame and without any regard to the traditions of her family in the subject of the retirement of women from the public gaze.

When her affections were thus engaged, she was betrothed to KADWAR BHŌJRĀJ, son of RĀNĀ SĀNGĀ of MĒWĀR. The subsequent marriage in 1516 A. D., as might well have been expected proved unhappy. BHŌJRĀJ went to MĒRĀTĀ in great state with a large retinue, but when the marriage ceremony was being performed and the time came for the bride to circumambulate the pavilion set up for the ceremony, MIRA BAI walked around the idol of GIRDHAR LĀI, and took no notice of the bridegroom. When the time for her departure with her husband arrived, her parents wished to send her off with suitable marriage presents, but she was so beside at leaving GIRDHAR LĀI. She grew sad and restless, and wept to such an extent that she became insensate. When she regained

<sup>12</sup> *Archæological Survey of Western India*, No. 9, Bombay, 1879.

<sup>13</sup> These numbers refer to the current numbers of the *Jātaka-tales* in FAHNSÖL's edition or to those of WESTERGAARD's Catalogue.

<sup>14</sup> Printed out by Burgess.

<sup>15</sup> See BURGESS, *Report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples, &c.* *Arch. Surv. West India* Vol. IV pp. 45-46. Cf. L. FEUER, *Le Chaddanta-jātaka*, *Journ. As.*, IX Ser. tom. V (1905) pp. 31-35 and 187-223. [See also CANNINGHAM *Buddhist Stūpas*, pl. xxvi, fig. 6.]



whose oneness, her parents affectionately told her that, if it made her happy, she might take Girdhar Lal with her without any further ceremony. She replied that if they valued the happiness of her wife, they would give her the image, and she would worship it with heart and soul. Her parents had already perceived that she was a saint and a 'lover of God,' and so at the moment of separation from their beloved daughter they presented her with the image as part of her dowry.

Mirā Bai, who was overjoyed at obtaining possession of the object of her devotion, set it up in her palace, and during the journey feasted her eyes on its beauty. On arriving at her new home, her mother-in-law, the Rani, had many more for the rites of hospitality, when she asked her to worship Durgā, a goddess of a totally different temper from the playful Krishna. Mirā Bai said, however, that she had devoted her body to Girdhar Lal and she would bow her head to none but him. Her mother-in-law replied that a good wife was improved by worshipping Durgā. But Mirā Bai closed the discussion by saying it was of no use to press her further, and she would abide by her last determination. On this the Rani became very angry and went to complain of Mirā Bai to the Rani. "This daughter-in-law of ours is worthless, as on the very day of her arrival she refused to obey me and puts me to shame. It is clear what our future relations are going to be."

The Rani became excessively annoyed and went to his daughter-in-law with the intention of punishing her. The Rani, however, had sufficient sense to restrain him, and he decided that the interests of domestic peace would be consulted by putting Mirā Bai into a separate apartment. The point decided was that, although it is admitted by the author of the *Bhagat Mālā* that Rukmini, who became Krishna's consort and the milkmaids who became Krishna's playfellows, did not meet him until they had sacrificed to Durgā, as Mirā Bai had already obtained Krishna, it was unnecessary for her to worship Durgā, and no exception could be taken to her conduct on the precedent of Rukmini and the milkmaids.

Mirā Bai on finding herself in a private apartment became extremely happy, and gave scope to her religious enthusiasm. She set up her image, looked and adored it, and devoted herself night and day to the company of saints. Her sister-in-law Udai Bai was sent to reconcile with her and said — "You are born of a noble house. He who desert from the company of *jaṭras*, which casts a slur on both our families." Mirā Bai replied — "The abode of hundreds of thousands of births departs on association with the saints. The soul is in her who loves not their company. My life depends on the company of the saints. To anyone who is displeased with it your reason strains would be proper." It was on this occasion that Mirā Bai composed the following lyrics —

O my friend, my mind is attached to Krishna, I shall not be restrained from loving him,  
If anyone give me a reproach, I will give a hundred thousand in return.

My mother-in-law is severe, my sister-in-law is hateful — how can I endure their enmity?

Mirā for the sake of the lord Girdhar would endure the obloquy of the world.

I have the god Girdhar and no other;

He is my spouse on whose head is a crown of peacock feathers,

Who carrieth a shell ~~in his hand~~, ~~and~~ ~~in his hand~~ who weareth a necklace;<sup>1</sup>

I have forsaken the respect of the world by ever sitting near holy men.

The matter is now public; everybody knows it.

Having felt supreme devotion I die as I behold the world.

I have no mother, father, son, or relation with me.

I laugh when I behold my beloved; people think I weep.

I have planted the seed of love and irrigated it again and again with the water of tears.

I have cast away fear of the world; what can anyone do to me?

Mirā's love for her god is fixed, happen what may.

<sup>1</sup> This is a description of Vishnu, of whom Krishna was an incarnation.



The Râñâ, on being informed of Mira Bai's determination, became beset himself with rage, and sent Mira Bai a cup of poison known as *churnaurit*, that is, water in which an image had been bathed

The Marathi chronicler states that the poison was sent Mira by the hand of her mother who overcome by maternal affection shed tears as she bore it. To disobey the Râñâ, the supreme ruler of the state, was impossible, and so her beloved daughter must die. When the cup was offered to Mira Bai, she said — "The body is perishable, so, mother, why weep if it perish in the service of Krishna? There need be no regret at the disappearance of a mirror or at the failure of the son of a barren woman to wed. It is not right to say that the moon perishes on the thirtieth day of the lunar month. Your lamentations are as vain as the grief of the bee at the fading of an imaginary flower. As the fruit of a tree falls sooner or later so I have fallen at Krishna's feet. A pear born in the ocean is turned into an ornament by the fish, so I who am sprung from you shall gladden in Krishna's diadem. The world itself is an illusion, wherefore mourn not for me.

Mira Bai's only grief at leaving her body was that the worship of Krishna might cease. Having formed the god of her father-in-law's intention, she thus apostrophised the object of her worship: "People will say that the king poisoned his daughter because she worshipped thee. I fear therefore that thy worship shall be neglected, and the apprehension causeth me poignant misery. Well, will now put on thy decorations? Who will put the saffron mark on thy forehead attract huzzar rings to thine ears, wear a garland of pearls round thy neck, gird thee with a jewelled zone, tie on thy golden armlets and anklets, light incense to gratify thy nostrils, make these offerings of sweet basil present them with sacred food to satisfy thy hunger and prostrate himself in adoration before thee? My father-in-law hath already abandoned thy worship in need of pleasure with me, therefore reproach thee with my death and cease to do these things. But after all why should I be anxious? When thyself knowest the past, the present and the future. Thou hast ever preserved thy sanctity from poison, fire, and sword, so why should I be anxious now?"

On this Mira Bai put the cup of poison on her head in token of submission, and then cheerfully drank it off. On that occasion she composed the following verses:—

Râdhâ and Krishna dwell in my heart,  
Some say that Mira is insane, others that she hath disgraced her family.  
Opening her veil and baring her breast, she lanced with delight before her god,  
In the bowers of Bîndrâban, Krishna with the tilak on his forehead gladdeneth my heart  
The Râñâ sent a cup of poison and Mira drank it with delight,  
Mira's ardor is the all-wise Girdhâr—she is bound to his service.

The Râñâ wanted to hear of Mira's death, but her life was miraculously preserved, and her cheeks gradually assumed a rosy bloom. She devoted herself to the farther decoration and ornamentation of the image and decked it out in fashions ever new. She sang the praises of her god and filled her heart with delight and immortal love. She also composed the following on this occasion:—

I know the Râñâ had given me poison,  
Food who caused my boat to float across, separates the milk and water for me.<sup>2</sup>  
Until the gold is annealed, it is not perfectly pure.  
O king keep thine own family in subjection. I am the wife of another.  
I sacrifice my mind and body to the deity even though he be a pariah, I have sold myself to God.

Mira for the sake of worshipping the Lord Girdhâr is entangled in the feet of holy men.

When the Râñâ found that the poison had produced no effect he appointed a physician to wait on Mira and report what she again conferred with proper so that she might be put to death with a

<sup>1</sup> That is, saved me in the crucial

<sup>2</sup> I am wedded to Girdhâr Lâl, not to thy son.



detected in the act. She was in the habit of laughing and holding amorous converse with the image. One day a petaff went and said to the king — "At this very moment Mirā Bāi is holding conversation and laughing and joking with some one." The king took up his sword and called out to her to open the folding doors. He asked her where the person was with whom she had been holding such pleasant discourse. She replied — "There he is before thee, my image, mine adored. Open thine eyes and look. He is neither afraid nor ashamed of thee."

The *Bhagat Mātā* states that Mirā Bāi and the image had been playing at [Indian] draughts, and at the time of the Rānā's entrance the idol actually extended its arm to move a piece. The Rānā on witnessing the miracle became ashamed. There was, however, no real impression made on his depraved heart. The saying is that until the saints of God show favor, God will not aid. The king meditated the murder of a saint, so "why should God set his thoughts aright?"

Once when Mirā Bāi was ill she composed the following :—

Kṛṣṇa with the large eyes looked at me, and smiled  
As I was going to draw water from the Jamma and the vessel glittered on my head.  
Since then the delightful image of the dark and beautiful one hath dwelt in my heart  
You may write and bring me incantations, you may write and bring me spells, grand  
medicines and give it me, *that will not cure me.*  
If any one bring me Kṛṣṇa as my physician I will gladly arise.  
His eye-rows are bows, his eyes the arrows which he fitteth thereto and draweth to pierce me.  
Mirā's lord is the wise Girdhar; how can I abide at home?

A very late and abandoned person tried to tempt Mirā Bāi's virtue. He told her that he was armed with Girdhar Lāl's permission to give her such pleasure as she could only obtain from man's embraces. She replied that she ~~had~~ submitted to Girdhar Lāl's order, but that they must first ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~met~~ <sup>met</sup>. She meantime had a couch placed and dressed in the enclosure where saints were assembled. ~~She~~ <sup>She</sup> there addressed her would-be paramour — "Thou needest not be ashamed or afraid of any one, as the order of Girdhar Lāl is on every account proper." The man replied — "Does any one do such things before others?" She said she knew of no secret place, for God was everywhere present. He sees the good and bad acts of all, and rewards men according to their deserts. On hearing this the ruffian turned pale and vice gave place to virtue in his heart. He fell at her feet and with clasped hands asked her mercy and divine intercession. Mirā Bāi felt compassion and brought him face to face with God.

Tulsī Dās, according to all received accounts, lived nearly a century after Mirā Bāi, but some poets have made them contemporaries. The following letter to Tulsī Dās is attributed to Mirā Bāi —

To the only lord Tulsī Dās the virtuous, the remover of sin, greeting —  
I ever bow to thee, dispel all my sorrow.  
All my husband's relations give me continual annoyance,  
They cause me to endure great suffering when I associate with saints, and perform my worship.  
Since childhood Mirā hath contracted love for Girdhar Lāl  
She can not now divest herself of it in any way — it completely overpowereth her.  
Thou art to me as a father and mother — thou conferrest happiness on God's saints.  
Write and inform me what is proper for me to do.

Tulsī Dās's reply —

Those who love not Han and Śītā  
Should be abandoned as if they were infectious of enemies, however much we love them.

\* Vaidhī, Bāi was so called because born of the king of Vidhā.



Prabod abandoned his father, Ishabhar his mother Raman, and Bharat his mother Bahus jai, the women of Braj; their husbands, and their eyes were all the happier for having done so.

The opinion of all holy saints is that relations with and love for God are alone true.  
Of what avail is the eye-saver which causeth the eyes to hurt? what more can I say?  
Sath Tulsi Dās, that spouse is worshipt that son is dearer than life,  
Who is attached to Rām; he is my real friend in this world.

As Mirā Bai has been made a contemporary of Tulsi Dās, so also she has been made a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar. It is said that having heard of the virtues and beauty of Mirā Bai, he went with his minstrel, Tansen, both disguised as hermits, to visit her. The following lines in attestation of this circumstance are attributed to Mirā Bai:

O mother, I recognise Krishna as my spouse.  
Akbar came to test me and brought Tansen with him.  
He heard singing, music, and poems discourse: he bowed to the ground over and over.  
Mirā's lord, the all-wise Girdhar, made me his protégée.

It is said that on observing her devotion Akbar was very pleased with the good fortune which attended him to behold her. He made her a present of a jewelled necklace which she accepted with some misgivings, as it appeared too valuable an article for an ascetic to possess. The emperor was equal to the occasion, and said that he had found it while performing his devotional devotion to the river Janana and thought it would be a suitable present to make her god. Tansen, it is said, composed an ode in her honor, and he and his royal master then returned to their capital. The necklace was too valuable not to provoke remarks unfavourable to its recipient. The Rānā submitted it to advisers who valued it at a fabulous sum of money. On enquiry it was found to be the same that a jeweller had sent not long previously to the emperor. Further enquiry led to the identity of the two stirring hermits with Akbar and his favourite minstrel. Mirā Bai's case was now sealed. Her husband suspected that she had been polluted by the emperor. For this there was but one penalty in that age — she must die. Mirā Bai's father-in-law sent her a cobra in a box, so that when she opened it the reptile might sting her to death. She was told it was a *śāṅgrām*. Before opening the box she addressed the *śāṅgrām* as follows:—

O *śāṅgrām* in the box, why speakest thou not?  
I speak to thee, but thou repliest not; why art thou silent?  
This ocean of the world is very immense, take mine arm and extricate me.  
Mirā's lord, wise Girdhar, thou alone art my helper.

On opening the box Mirā composed the following:—

What shall the Rānā do to me? Mirā hath cast off the restraints of her race.  
The Rānā once sent a cup of poison to kill Mirā;  
Mirā drank it with delight, for it as if it were water blessed by her lord.  
The Rānā hath now sent a box containing a cobra,  
But when Mirā opened it and looked, no cobra became a *śāṅgrām*.  
There was a sound of *ghaṅgām* in the *ghaṅgām* of the ants. Krishna had mercy on me.  
I decorated myself, adorned bells to my feet and keeping time with both my hands,  
Danced before the idol, and sang the praises of Gōpāl.  
The holy are mine and I am theirs; the holy are my life.  
Mirā, absorbed in the holy as water before churning is in milk.

Rānā Sācra. Mirā's father-in-law was still bigoted and determined that she should die by the sword, but no one could be found to execute the death warrant. She was then ordered to kill

Water in which her mol's feet had been washed.

\* *Ghaṅgām*, dark as a cloud.



herself in whatever way she thought fit. By this time she was a widow, her husband having predeceased his father, and her person was at her own disposal. From long that she wore obey the Rāma's command she retired to her solitary apartment, during the night put on the dress of a mendicant, and left the place. She plunged into the nearest river to die in obedience to the order she had received. It is said that she was miraculously preserved by an angel who brought her to shore and addressed her — "O queen, thou hast obeyed thy father-in-law and art worthy of all praise for thy devotion, but thou hast a higher duty still to perform. It is time to see a high example to the world, and show unto men how to fulfil the designs of the Creator and become absorbed in Him." When she awoke she found herself alone on the river's bank with the current flowing at her feet. She stood in amazement not knowing for the moment what to do. She met some cowherds of whom she enquired the way to Dindrāban. They presented her with milk, and directed her whether to proceed. She walked on singing her hymns, the object of blessings and attentions in the villages through which she passed.

On her arrival in Dindrāban she longed to see Jiv Gosāiḥ. To her disappointment he sent her word that he would allow no woman into his presence. She replied — "I thought everybody in Dindrāban a woman, and only Gaurāhar Lāl a man? I saw Gosāi that there are other partners than Kṛṣṇa in Dindrāban." By this she scottily meant that the treasurer placed himself on an equality with Kṛṣṇa as god of Dindrāban. The woman, on hearing her rebuke, went barefooted to do her homage, and beholding her became filled with "the love of God."<sup>†</sup>

Mirā Bai with unceasing devotion traversed every grove and pathway of Dindrāban and having fixed the sweet image of Kṛṣṇa in her heart returned to her late husband's home. On finding her father-in-law still abed she went on a pilgrimage to Dwārakā, where the youth Kṛṣṇa had played and sported. There again she became entranced with the presence of adorning and enhancing the beauty of her favourite god.

During her absence from Datta, the Capital of Māwar, the vāts of holy men to that capital ceased. Dissensions arose in the state. It was only then that the Rāma realised what a holy person he had lost. He sent several Brāhmins and instructed them to use every entreaty to Mirā Bai to induce her to return, and finally to tell her that it was impossible for him to live unless she complied with his prayer. The Brāhmins executed his orders, but Mirā Bai refused to put herself again in the Rāma's power. Upon this the Brāhmins sat at her door and declared their intention of neither eating nor drinking till she had returned with them. She replied that she lived in Dindrāban only by the favour of Kṛṣṇa. She went, go and take leave of him and return to the Brāhmins. She went to do homage to Rāma<sup>‡</sup> the visible representation of God, became absorbed in his love, and what she had always given — a humble offering of verses at his shrine —

O God, remove thy servant's sufferings;

Thou didst once pay Durgā with inexhaustible robes and save her modesty,

For the sake of thy saint Prāhād thou didst assume the body of a man in,

Thou didst kill Hiranyakūṣha who had not the courage to oppose thee,

Thou didst kill the shark and extricate the drowning elephant from the water.

<sup>†</sup> This is a common idea in the *Grantha Śāstra*. The mystic dream God a husband, and themselves as His wives.

<sup>‡</sup> Jiv Gosāiḥ it may be stated, was the son of Ballecha, and uncle of Rūp and Sanatan two potent & powerful of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava reformer of Bengal, 1495-1533. Rūp and Sanatan had been in meters of the Muhammadan ruler of Bihār and were of royal blood, high rank, and great wealth, all which advantages they repudiated to lead a religious life. Jiv Gosāi was an author of some poems. He annotated a treatise of his nephew Rūp describing religious pleasures and emotions. He wrote a book on the name of Kṛṣṇa but his greatest work was one in which he amplified his annotations on the treasure of Rūp, and dwelt at length on the various phases of devotional exaltation.

<sup>§</sup> Kṛṣṇa received the name Rāma<sup>§</sup> when he fled from Jāmsandha to Dwārakā.



O Lal Girdhar, Mirā is thy slave; her enemies everywhere annoy her.  
Take me, my friend, take me to thy care as thou knowest best.  
I have none but thee; do thou show mercy unto me.  
I have no appetite by day and no sleep by night, my body pines away  
Lord of Mirā, all-wise Girdhar, come to me now, I cannot live in thine absence.

It is said that the all-pervading Brahman, the knower of truth the Eternal, on beholding her supreme love, could resist no longer. He incorporated her in Himself, and she became lost to human gaze. The Brahmans searched for her in vain. The only trace of her they could obtain was her *śrī* which was found enveloping the body of the image. The Brahmans' faith in *brahman* was confirmed, but their mission otherwise was unsuccessful, and they returned or staid on to the Rāna. The latter soon experienced the further mortification of beholding his state conquered and plundered by the victorious army of Akbar as a retribution for the ill-treatment of Mirā bāi.

The following is one of the hymns whose passionate devotion is said to have produced the result of Mirā Bāi's union with Rānachōḍḍ :—

O Lord Rānachōḍḍ, grant me to abide in Dwārakā, to abide in Dwārakā,  
With thy discus, darts, mace, and let me heed the fear of death,  
All places of pilgrimage ever abide in the Gōmti for me,  
The clash of thy shell and cymbals is ever the essence of pleasure.  
I have abandoned my country, my queenly robes, my husband's palace, my property, and  
my kingdom.  
Mirā, thy slave, cometh to thee for refuge, her honour is now totally in thy keeping.<sup>10</sup>

It is said that in commemoration of the miraculous disappearance of Mirā Bāi, her image is still worshipped at Udaipur in conjunction with that of Rānachōḍḍ, the beloved Girdhar of her childhood.

Guru Arjan at first inserted one of Mirā Bāi's hymns in his collection of the Sikh sacred writings but subsequently drew his pen through it. It is preserved, however, in the *Garhā* of Bhul Bānō, which can be seen at Margat in the Gu arāt district of the Panjab. The following is the hymn :—

#### Bag Maru.

God<sup>11</sup> hath entwined my soul, O mother,  
With His attributes,<sup>12</sup> and I have sung of them.  
The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through and through, O mother,  
When it struck me I did not know it, now it can not be removed. O mother,  
Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain will not depart,  
Is there any one who will treat me? Intense is the agony, O mother,  
Thou, O God, art near, Thou art not distant, come quickly to meet me  
Sathi Mirā, the Lord, the mountain-wanderer,<sup>13</sup> who is compassionate, hath quenched the fire  
of my body, O mother.  
The lotus-eyed hath entwined my soul with the twine of his attributes.

<sup>10</sup> The hymns in this life of Mirā Bāi are taken from Raja Raghurāi Singh's *Phojat Māl*.

<sup>11</sup> *Kāwālinai*, an epithet of Kṛishṇa, the object of Mirā Bāi's special worship.

<sup>12</sup> *Gar* has two meanings — a rope or twine, and an attribute.

<sup>13</sup> God in the *garhā* of Kṛishṇa.



## GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from p. 311.)

(3) The Village.<sup>1</sup>

The organization of the village (*gāma*) was based on the communal system, and its inhabitants were under three officers—the *Pāpuraṇṇebha* who registered the names of lands, their owners and the amount of produce, the *Ganarala* who apportioned the fields to the several shareholders and had a large share in their regulation and cultivation, and the *Vitarana*, who collected the revenue from the tenants, the latter and inquired into the general affairs of the village.<sup>2</sup> These headmen also presided over the *Ganasabāva*, or the village court, where disputes other than murder were compounded or settled by oath.

The office of the *Vitarana* still exists in the *Samudāyādēviyā* but the duties of the other two are entrusted to the *Vel Vadan* or the Irrigation Officer, the constitution of the *Ganasabāva*, too, is greatly altered.

Every village has a resting stall for cattle (*galla*), where traders going to distant towns keep their oxen and bullocks for a night or longer, as well as a free halting place for belated travellers (*ambanama*), who carry their food in the skins covering the area between (*calapata*). This is frequently surrounded with a bench or two and an earthen vessel full of water, with a coconut-shell ladle (*pinḍiḷiya*).

Each person has his own ancestral plot of ground, to which, however small, he claims with a passionate attachment, and for it the king, as lord of the soil, used to claim certain feudal services from 15 to 30 days a year in time of war to guard the carriers and passages into the plain and serve as soldiers, and ordinarily to construct and repair canals, tanks, bridges and roads, and to attend to other works of public importance. Now a commutation tax of Rs. 1.50 on every male under 55 has taken the place of these feudal obligations.

A considerable portion of the ground was reserved as private Crown property (*abudayama*) and its cultivators were either hereditary tenants (*paṇṇa-kāraya*) or tenants at will (*arakaḍḍaya*) who had to give a share of the grain, and, according to the case and rank in law, to perform certain services near the capital, to the king as their lords, or, if not to his provincial representative (*dinādaṇḍa*).

Chiefs and nobles performed various military services and paid homage on New Year's day by presenting a row of forty betel leaves (*kaṭṭa*). The *Goigama* tenants carried messages, and sold betel and areca and kept guard at trading places (*atṭapatta* or *kaṇḍa*) or provided for strangers visiting the village, attended his master's house during the domestic ceremonies, guarded at the king's banquets, and when necessary, supplied cooked provisions (*am*, *paṇṇama*) or kept watch at the throne, and fetched soldiers or ploughing (*maṇḍa* or *maṇḍa*). The *Karāva* tenants transported the party from the fields to the granary, or attended to the carriage department (*maṇḍa* or *maṇḍa*), or provided fish for the kitchen. The *Durāvā* tenants trained elephants and looked after them, drew loads from the paddy fields (*maṇḍa*). The *Navandanna* tenants made articles of jewellery and carved betel boxes (*kaṇḍa*) or supplied the kitchen tenants and agricultural labourers (*dinādaṇḍa*) or cleaned and repaired the brass and copper vessels (*kaṇḍa*) or were engaged

<sup>1</sup> Administration.

(1) Service Tenures Commission Reports, 1869-1872.

(2) Phases: *The Aryon Village in India and Ceylon*, 1890.

(3) Ceylon Census Reports, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> The entry, writing of a *gāma* in his *hierarchy* in *Chand en Nieuw Oost-Indien* two other officers, *Kāṇḍa* and *Yapṇama*; what their duties were cannot be ascertained.



in ornamenting wedding sticks, umbrellas for flags, &c. (*attara*). The *Badahola* tenants made and supplied earthenware vessels, and kept the roof in order. The *Embetta* tenants attended to the shaving of the aforementioned servants. The *Rada* tenants washed the soiled clothes of the same, monthly or weekly, and on important occasions put up for them white cloth to serve as a ceiling, and also covered their seats with it. The *Hali* tenants attended the master on journeys as a bodyguard or peeled cinnamon (*mahabadda*). The *Hakuru* tenants carried the palanquins of the ladies or were employed as menials especially as cooks, or supplied eggery and vegetables. The *Hunnô* tenants whitewashed the owner's house and supplied lime for eating. The *Borawaya* tenants beat the drums at festivals and gave notice of official proceedings, or wore a rough kind of cloth. The *Padua* tenants carried the proprietor's palanquin and baggage, brought charrons for the smith and worked at the bellows (*yandua*), or erected the walls of houses or furnished onions and garlic (*tanubadda*). The *Oli* tenants kept the premises clean and provided the oil for burning at night. The *Hinnôva* or *Gettara* tenants washed for the Hali, and the other castes were employed to carry corpses or provided fodder for elephants and cattle (*pannagô*). The *Kinnaru* tenants wove hamper baskets and rush-mats. The *Rodi* tenants buried the carcasses of dead animals and worked in order to make ropes, halters, &c. It should be mentioned that the families performed the above services by turns, which were controlled by public officers who were responsible for the proper distribution and due performance of labour.

If the Crown lands were gifted to a noble for special services rendered (*nindagam*) or to a noble (*pharagam*), or a *devula* (*devudagam*) for the sake of merit, the duties were transferred to the new landlord. Slight traces of this system of land tenure exist to the present day but are dying out under the influence of new legislation.

The several castes above referred to consist of groups of clans, and each clan claims descent from a common remote ancestor and takes itself either after his name or the office he held, or any characteristic of his, or, if he had been a soldier, the village to which he had belonged, or the chief of whom he at that time was serving, or the badge he had. There was no use till the person was made a 'belted knight' (*patavan-nindan*), when it was dropped, and a surname, which became hereditary assumed. The clan-name, however, was not forgotten, as the responsibility and the antiquity of the family were gauged by it. If a person called *Konnappa* derives his descent from an ancestor who held the minor office of *Layana Arachchi* (clerk), he is known as *Layana Arachchige Konnappa*, *Konnappa* belonging to the house (*ge*) of a *Layana Arachchi*. When he was ennobled he took one or more of the surnames *Vijayarathna* (the gem of victory), *Jayathaka* (the ornament of victory), *Arinakkara* (the man of virtue), &c., and styled himself *Konnappa Vijayarathna*, or *Vijayarathna Jayathaka*, &c., these are now indiscriminately adopted.

The descendants of the converts to Christianity, during the Portuguese ascendancy in Ceylon, have, in addition to their Singhalese surnames, those of their conquerors as well, e.g. *Silva*, *Perera*, *Dias*.

Owners of cattle have or rather had, distinguishing brands, according to their caste and clans, and the animals were branded first with the initial letter of the village, then with the brand of the clan (and consequently of the caste, too), and finally with the initial letter of the owner's name.

The people of a village are further divided into two factions called *Udupilla* (the upper party) and the *Vatipilla* (the lower party) who take sides in the sacred national games.

The typical Singhalese homestead, which is fast disappearing is built round a quadrangle (*undula*). The apartments are built side by side with a verandah attached, or parallel to each other with separate roofs the opposite eaves of which join. The walls are made of mud and wattle and



plastered with the dried and pressed coconut leaves (*canjans*) or with rice stubble, the floor is made of earth and well sealed with mud to keep away ticks and fleas, and the rooms are ventilated by small circular windows. In the middle of the compound is erected, for the storing of paddy, a wheel frame (*ota mēsa* or *otā mēsa*) elevated from the ground, roofed, and plastered with mud and lime. The grain is otherwise stored in a loft (*rucca*), over the *duma* explained below. The fittings of the house are simple—a trundle (*mesa*), which serves for a seat or table, a shelf over the fireplace for keeping the earthen cooking utensils (*duma*), a hanging rack for mats (*metā*), a rack for coconut-shell ladles (*hēndā ura*), strips of wood to sit upon (*kōta*), a mortar (*uṇṇaṇṇa*) and pestle (*māḷḷaṇṇa*), a quern or grain-mill (*kāṇṇaṇṇa*), a coconut scraper (*hiraṇṇaṇṇa*), a sawing lathe (*kūḷa*), a saw for air-pipes, a lathe for turning stone for curry-stalls (*māṇṇa yala*), a hammer (*pāṇṇa*), a chipping knife (*ketṭa*), a stake to bask coconuts (*uṇṇa*), an iron beam (*ṇāḷa*), agricultural implements, a rice-measure (*hūṇṇaṇṇa*) and sometimes a copper-clock (*pēṭṭaṇṇa*) consisting of a small coconut-shell with a tiny hole, floating in a pot of water, which gradually sinks to the bottom in twenty-four hours (*pēṇa*).<sup>12</sup> At the entrance to the garden by the roadside, or where two lines of the building join, is put up a sort of porch (*dāṇṇaṇṇaṇṇa*), where guests and strangers are received and where there is a temporary resting-shed for cool-way cars.

The physical traits of the Singalese are similar to their Indian cousins but their colour is a little darker. They wear their hair long gathered upon a knot behind and anointed with oil, the females make use of tapers but to give size to the nose and run a large pin through (*kōṇa*) with an ornamented end. The peasantry of Central Ceylon have preserved to a great extent the Singalese dress; the men wear a cloth round their waist reaching to the ankles and so adjusted as to leave the trousers of mud. When working they take this between their legs and fasten it before or behind. A large hair-kernel is the own over their shoulders as a support garment, which is occasionally wrapped round their head to keep away the sun. The females dress like the Bengali women, except that they do not bring the upper end of the garment over the head, but simply throw it over the left shoulder, and they adorn themselves with ear-rings, armlets and necklaces. This homely dress is now being given up, both by men and women, for the more fashionable European costume, and the aristocracy are this even now at the present day in all its stages. The men of the maritime provinces have adopted the headcomb of the Malays. In the official costume of the chief of a noble household, with his long black-coat (*kāḍḍa*) gilt buttons and shoes, is seen, the Portuguese influence, when in that of a headman, with his pum-cush or hat (*ṇaḷaṇṇaṇṇa*), embroidered jacket and a *ṇaḷa* to wipe his forehead encircling his waist, an interesting survival of the old court dress.

The peasantry are staid in their demeanour, polite, good-natured and faithful, affectionate to their children and respectful fond of pomp and high office, quick to anger, tall stout, earnest and loyal in their convictions, anxious to amuse, especially cattle—they like to read and hedgehog a tiger, to put some to rings to obtain favour, and, when treated with the town atmosphere, mistake impudence for independence.

Intercourse between the sexes is animated, as with all Eastern nations, more by passion than sense, and polyandry was common among them. This was due not only to the desire to keep the family the ancestral part of ground but also to the exigencies of pious duty. When a woman was called out for the Singalese service (*ṇaḷaṇṇa*), the law allowed her to be left behind to act as a companion to the female at home.

<sup>12</sup> For weights and measures and modes of reckoning time, see:—

(1) Rhys Davids' *Ancient Measures and Coins of Ceylon* (1877).

(2) *Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal* (1856-1858), Vol. III, No. 10, p. 181.

(3) " " (1891), Vol. XII, No. 43, p. 179.

(4) *The Orientalist* (1887), Vol. III, p. 75.

(5) " " (1889), Vol. III, p. 109.



The average Singhalese is an early riser. He takes in the morning some preparation of rice-flour with a pot of toddy (toddy), and at mid-day and night a large quantity of boiled rice and a few curries. The latter are more varied when a guest is in the house. The visitor is received at the threshold and conducted inside by the host. Kissing is the usual form of greeting among females and near relatives, and salutation with raised hands in the attitude of prayer, among friends, masters and servants. He brings with him some offerings as a present, or sends them before his arrival. Water is supplied to him to wash his face, feet and mouth, and the repast made ready. The host serves him with the rice and curries, skins the plantains for him, and makes him view of betel. His attendants also are well treated in the servants' room. On his departure the host accompanies him some distance. When a person of distinction, i.e., a landlord, priest or a chief, visits a house, the rooms are lined with waste cloth, and the seats are spread with it. The host never sits down in his presence.

The respect of an inferior to a superior is even seen in the high roads. If they meet, the former removes the *maada* (*titipia*) over his head, gets out of the way and makes a very respectful obeisance.

In the older time, as seen above, the people were occupied according to their caste; but now the majority do not follow their ancestral calling, but earn a livelihood by pursuing any vocation they choose. One man works at his field, carefully observing all the agricultural operations<sup>11</sup>, a second fishes at the village stream with a rod made of the midrib of the *ketul* leaf, a third slings his baskets of garden produce at the end of a flexible *ketul*-shaft and carries them on his shoulders to towns or the weekly village fairs (*polarali*); a fourth climbs the palm-trees with his ankles encircled by a ring of coconut leaf and picks the fruit with his hand, a fifth taps for toddy the blossoms of several coconut-trees by coupling their crowns with stout ropes to walk upon, and their straight boughs with smaller ones to support himself, a sixth brings for sale from the country straw and threowal in single or double bullock carts, and a seventh transports coconuts, salt and cured fish to centres of trade by flat-bottomed boats (*pala*), or pack bullocks (*lacalam*).

The women too are not idle; they either make eggery (*measasa*) from the unfermented toddy, or plait mats of dyed rushes in many patterns, or earn a pittance by selling on a small stand by the roadside, the requisites of a chew — betel, areca, and *burat* lime, or hawk for sale fruits and vegetables in baskets carried on their heads, or keep for sale, on a *measasa* on the verandah, sweetmeats and other eatables protected from the crows, which infest the place, by a net spread before them, or make ear by beating out the fibre from soaked coconut-busks, or attend to the domestic duties with a child astride their hips.

The children are away at school the whole morning, and on their return either divert themselves at games or go in search of the wild rats with which the jungle abounds, or construct rude swings under the shady trees and pass away the day swinging carelessly. And at nightfall, while the mother feeds her youngest to sleep, her catan-tethered pigs with a pig-rope thrown across, the father beguiles their time with nursery tales.

#### (4) Religious Rites.

Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the island, and its adherents observe as holy four days of the lunar month — when the moon is new (*amavasiya*), full (*pahaloosaka*), and half-way

<sup>11</sup> For paddy cultivation ceremonies, vide—

(1) Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal (1845-1846), Vol. II., No. 4, p. 37

(2) " " " (1846), Vol. VI., No. 31, p. 46

(3) " " " (1853), Vol. VIII., No. 28, p. 44

(4) " " " (1854), Vol. VIII., No. 29, p. 331

(5) " " " (1859), Vol. XI., No. 39, p. 157

(6) Asiatic Society's Journal of Great Britain New Series, 1885, Vol. XVII p. 366.

(7) The Tropicannon (1885), Vol. I. p. 24.



between the two (*pura atawaka* and *para atawaka*). On these occasions dressed in white, the votaries, chiefly females, visit, singly or in groups, the temples (*ardras*), carrying on their heads in shallow wicker-work baskets (*cutti*), or in their hands and held to the forehead, the rose-coloured lotus (*nellum*) and the flowers of the iron wood tree (*sāl*), of the jasmine, of the hirsars, of the champak (*aym*) and of the areca and coconut. Thence they proceed to the sanctuary in front of the image of Buddha, on their knees with the heads on the ground and their hands clasped in supplication (*nat, atama*), and wishing in their hearts that others also may partake of the merit of the offering (*nat-nara*). They return backwards, facing the idol, to an outer apartment, where they squat on the floor and repeat after a priest the invocation, The Three Refuges (*Tam Sarana*) and the Five Vows (*Panasi*), next they proceed to the sacred fig tree (*bôlhanrahansa*) in the middle of the compound and reverently lay on the platform surrounding it (*bôlhimadura*) what is left of their flowers.

On New Moon days they also bring coconut oil as an offering, and illuminate the temple premises with small wicks floating in oil lamps which give a feeble and flickering light (*panpinkama*).

The most important of the four Sabbaths (*pôya*), is the full moon day, when the tam-tam beaters at the entrance to the temples sound their drums the loudest, on such days the more pious devotees go at dawn to the temple and receive under the fig-tree at the hands of a priest the eight sacred vows which they observe till the next morn. Before noon they return home for a hurried breakfast cooked overnight (*ni dâdâ*), the only meal for the day their vows allow, and retire to some lonely sequestered spot where they repeat with the help of a rosary (*sara gura rita*) the nine pre-eminent qualities (*navas gura gata*), possessed exclusively by Buddha. Towards evening they join the others in the temple grounds and around a platform put up under the palm-trees, roofed, but quite open at the sides, and ornamented with bright cloths and flowers, they sit in the moonlight on the ground and listen through the night with great satisfaction, if not with great intelligence, to the sacred words repeated by ranks of shaven monks. The greatest favourite at these readings of *bana* is the 'Jataka' book which contains so many of the old fables and stories common to the Aryan peoples, sanctified now, and preserved by the learning heron in each, whether man, or fairy, or animal, being looked upon as an incarnation of the Buddha in one of his previous births. To these wonderful stories the simple peasantry, dressed in their best and brightest, listen all the night long with unaffected delight chatting pleasantly now and again with their neighbours and indulging all the while in the mild narcotic of the betel leaf, their stores of which (and of its never-failing adjuncts, *chunam*, that is white lime, and the green-pestle<sup>13</sup> afford a constant occasion for acts of polite good fellowship.<sup>14</sup> The intervals are punctuated by cries of *Ehe* (oh, yes!) and *Sôdhu*.

When a person is dying, *bana* is read at his house and all his belongings given to the priest or priests as alms (*gôdânamangalyaya*).

Between 9 and 11 a.m. (*panpâpârelura*) every monk goes through the village from door to door begging wherewith to satisfy his wants; he stands before each house with the alms-bowl (*pâtraya*) in his hands, and some one, usually a woman, puts into it his mid-day meal (*dandenard*) and worships him on her knees.

But during the rainy months of August, September, and October (was a number of priests are invited to reside in a hamlet, and each family by turn supplies them with their morning meal of congee and rice and their evening liquid food (*gala pava*), they occasionally

<sup>13</sup> Of the ten vows of Buddhism, five are binding on all laymen (*panna*), eight on the more pious ones to be kept for a space of 24 hours (*stasi*), and the ten on every monk and nun (*âkâsi*).

<sup>14</sup> These are carried in the waist, by the men in a wallet (*kârapaya*) and by the women in a small purse made of rush (*â mûlîya*).

<sup>15</sup> Rhye Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 37



visit the neighbouring temples, meditate, teach the village children and read *bana* at mid-day and at night. Before they are conducted back to the monastery (*pansala*) they are presented by the people with a web of cloth to make their robes, each one contributing something to purchase it, strictly this had to be woven of cotton pods collected by the villagers at dawn, and the priests had to stitch their robes and dye them yellow (*pāndu p-ranarā*) on the same day (*kafinā*).

About once a year, at the request of the inhabitants, select discourses of Buddha (*parit*;<sup>10</sup> are read in Pālī by the priests for a period of seven days for the protection of the village against the malignant influence of demons and elementals, and all the people flock to the service. A circular thatched building, open at the sides and with a raised floor, is put up by them and decorated with coconut and areca flowers. A table, with a sacred relic, is placed in the centre, with two reading chairs by it and other seats placed around. On the first day an array of priests come to the building and take their places, while two of them from the reading pulpits chant some preparatory stanzas. Then a next burst by the laymen present, and the monks go in procession round the interior of the building, and, while reciting a few verses wishing prosperity and protection, fasten a sacred cord (*parit neta*) attached to the relic to the posts round the platform, pass it through the reading chairs, and place the remainder twined on the table. At daybreak the next day the priests again assemble, and two of them, as before, commence reading a series of sermons, as they end all chant in chorus the *Itana*, *Mangala*, and *Avinaya Suttas* holding the cord untwined. After this recital they leave the building, except two, who continue the reading over and over again, and the latter are relieved by a couple of others every two hours. The rest join them for the grand chant at midday and sunset, and before they enter the platform a priest as layman washes and wipes their feet. The *parit* is continued day and night without intermission till the sixth day, when a new series of discourses is introduced, the chorus chant, however, is not altered.

On the morning of the seventh day a procession starts from the temple with a messenger (*Merikand*) dressed like a Singhalese chief seated on an elephant. He carries a letter (*kadu-pana*) to the nearest *devala* inviting the gods residing there to come and listen to the exhortation to be given to them that night. If no *devala* is close by the letter is taken and fixed to a tree where gods are supposed to reside, very often to the *Ekara* *chakras*. Till the party returns the reading is suspended, when the messenger arrives, he stands at the entrance facing the priests, and, with his hands on each floorpost, recites a long exhortation (*Ura-kalāpana*). At the end, for his eventful feat of memory, his friends and relatives present him with cloth and *ola* manuscripts. Lastly, the sermon of Buddha, called the *Udanāṭṭa*, is recited by the priests, four at a time, till the morning of the eighth day, to chase away the evil spirits who are thought to have assembled to hear the exhortation. Water and oil that have been placed on the platform in earthen pots are considered consecrated after the ceremony, and are sparingly distributed to the assembly. The *parit* service is also performed on a smaller scale in private houses for the benefit of a family.

The island has a number of sacred places connected with Buddha scattered over all parts of it, which are regularly visited by pilgrims for the accumulation of merit.

In Kandy is deposited the Sacred Tooth. Adam's Peak has on a slab his foot-print, a superficial hollow 5 ft. long and 2½ ft. wide, legends say that precious stones are found lying on the path to it which none dares to pick up, and that however large or however small the cloth taken as an offering be, it exactly covers the sacred stone. There is in Anuradhapura the sacred fig-tree, an offshoot of the tree under which Buddha attained enlightenment, the Thupārama Dagoba enshrining his right collar-bone, the Solachattiya Dagoba raised over

<sup>10</sup> Fife a) *The Friend* (Second Series, 1880) Vol. I, pp. 33, 70 and 181.

(b) *Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1887, Vol. VIII, No. 29, p. 297.



the spot where he had rested on one of his visits to the island, and the Mahāsaya Dagoba built over a single hair which grew between his eye-brows. In Kelaniya is erected a Dagoba over the golden chair on which Buddha had sat, and an eddy in the river that flows by is shown as the waters making obeisance to where he once stood. An old Singhalese couplet—

*Upaddā sīpa kkarapu pav veta*  
*Varak gemitō Kelanī*

—asserts, "if a person once worships at Kelaniya, all the sins committed from the day of his birth are forgiven." The Mahiyangana Dagoba at Bintenna encloses a handful of Buddha's locks and his neck-bone relic, but pilgrimages to it are rare, owing to the pestilential malaria and the wild beasts that infest the surrounding jungles.

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### CAVE BURIAL IN BALUCHISTAN.

Dear Sir,—Whilst recently travelling in the Zhālāwān country to the south-east of Kalāt, my companion (Lieutenant E. O. Macleod, 1st Sikhs) and I were encamped near the small village of Pandrān. Whilst there, Lieutenant Macleod visited a curious vaulted cave near the village, and I now enclose the account of the place which he gave me, in case it should be of interest to you. I also enclose a photograph of the interior which Lieutenant Macleod took under some difficulty. Any explanation of this curious mode of sepulture would be of particular interest to me in connection with the Ethnographical Survey of Baluchistan which I am now undertaking.

Yours faithfully,

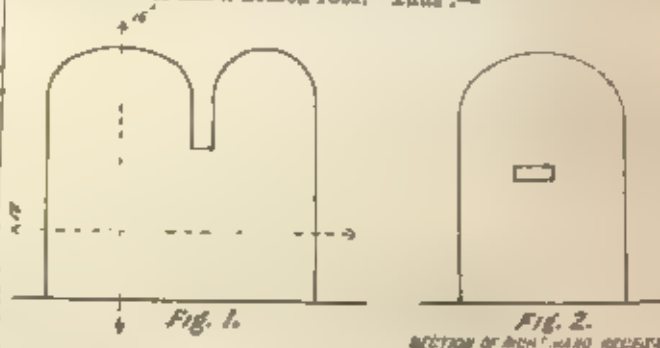
R. HUGHES BULLER,  
Superintendent, Imperial Gazetteer, Baluchistan.  
Quetta, the 19th November, 1902  
8th December.

### PANDRAN.

Pandrān is a pretty place on a basin of the hills with plenty of water from two springs on the west. The village, which contains five or six Bannishah's shops and about fifty houses, is situated round an elevated rock known as Anbtr. There is much cultivation and plenty of trees.

Due west of the village, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile, is an extraordinary cave situated in the skirt of the hill. All the ground round is rolling, and in the side of one of the folds is a hole just big enough for a large man to squeeze through. It is said that this hole was uncovered and exposed to view by a flood of erosion some 50 or 60 years ago. On entering

the hole, which is almost in the centre, one finds oneself in an underground vault consisting of a front chamber and two recesses. The breadth of the chamber is about 18 feet and the length to the back of each chamber about 16 feet. The recesses are round, with domed roofs, and the front chamber has a domed roof. Thus:—

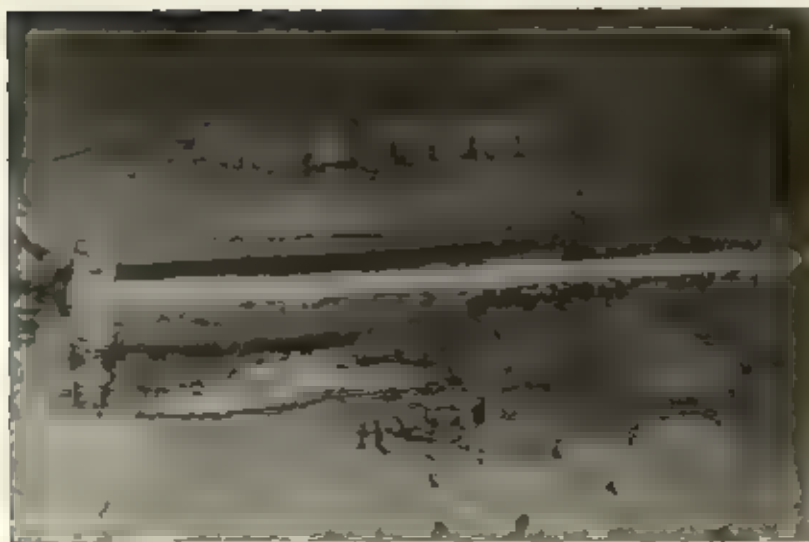


The whole appears to have been hewn out of the conglomerate rock. At the left-hand corner of the centre partition is a heap of bones, and with this exception there is nothing in the left-hand recess.

In the right-hand recess in the centre a niche has been cut out of the rock, about 8" x 3" x 3". In it there are twenty-five skulls; one of them is a small one and appears to be that of a child. The rest appear to be those of adults. There are also the ribs and leg-bones of a child down to the knees. In the centre of the right-hand recess lies a bed which, according to the country people, when the vault was just opened, supported a skeleton. The strings of the bed have now, however, given way, and the skeleton, which is evidently that of a man, is lying on its back, on the ground below the bed. There are holes, which



CAVE BURIAL IN BALUCHISTAN.



Interior of a cave at Pandrān  
in the district of Kalat







appear to be those of a bullet or arrow on the right temple and at the left side of the back of the skull.

Lying near the bed is the skeleton of a large dog which the people say was tied to the bed or *chirpdi* by a string when first observed. Between the bed and the back of the recess are a few bones. The bed is firmly made of rounded wood (including the frame) and is still in good condition. Lieutenant Macleod seated himself on it when exploring the cave. Over the ribs

and head of the corpse was a coarse cloth, thin, and of a dirty yellow colour.

The natives point to another place about 20 yards away and say that there is another vault there in which women's skeletons are to be found. No one living appears to have ever entered the second cave, if it exists as alleged.

The natives hold the place in considerable awe, and have a theory that the place was the scene of a fight. The whole vault was extraordinarily symmetrical.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### TABUS IN THE PANJAB.

It has been elsewhere pointed out that many of the objects, from which septs or sections of certain tribes in the Panjab are named, are the subjects of ordinary tabus. The number of tabued objects appears to be extraordinarily large and a few instances are given below. I am anxious to obtain a large number of instances of *tabus*, because there are so many septs or sections of tribes named after maternal objects. In many cases the story told about the totem and the tabu is the same — it saved the life of an ancestor, or rendered some important service to the sept, and so it is kept in mind and revered for ever after. But in some cases that object is revered as an ancestor. E.g., certain Kanât Khôls reverence trees as their ancestors, because they assisted their fore-fathers, and so they now bear the names of those trees, as Palâsh, Kandah, Pâjak (from *pâj*, a kind of tree, cf. Nâgâik from *ndg*). In the other cases the name is not adopted by the sept, nor is the object worshipped. It is simply tabued, i. e., not eat, used or injured. The distinction is important.

The following questions suggest themselves :—

1. Are there instances of people who refuse to use or injure any article, or to work on any particular day, and so on?

2. In such cases, is the custom confined to a particular family or *gât* or sept, or is it common to the whole caste?

3. What is the story told about the origin of the custom?

4. Is any form of worship paid to the object in question?

### Forms of Tabu.

*Buildings.* The *chaubîrd*.—The Nâgr Jâts of Nâgr in Lodhîná may not build a *chaubîrd*, for it brings bad luck. The people of Sanwâr in Dâdri have the following tradition :—Lakhan Mahâjan of Sanwâr had a son, who was in the service of Akbar and married in Papûr in Tahsil Bhiwâni. Returning from a visit to his father-in-law, he was murdered by the people of Papûr, and his wife robbed. A Brahman, a barber, and his sister's son were with him at the time, and the two latter fled, but the Brahman remained, burnt the body and took the ashes to Sanwâr, on the boundary of which place he threw them away, while the wife became *sati* and cursed her nephew, whose daughters she declared should never live in peace. Lakhan attacked Papûr and removed the bricks of all its buildings, paying a rupee each for them, and built them into a *chaubîrd* at Sanwâr. It then became the rule there that a *chaubîrd* could only be built with bricks from Papûr. The two villages do not intermarry.

*Utensils.*—The villagers of Bôgura-nasrath in Kohât may not use a *kasmûrî*, or deep hollow earthenware cup.

*Pitchers.*—At Manza Chirâ in Dâdri a woman may not carry two pitchers, one on top of the other, because 35 years ago a *fayr* named Khushhâl Singh cast out cattle-disease, which was raging in the village, and then imposed this tabu on the people.

*Kachdî.*—This fruit may not be eaten by the Shûdra Gadî Khôl Patûdas in Kohât.

*Bees.*—This may not be eaten by a family of carpenters in the same village. The Chhibhar section of the Muhâl, in Kanûlâ, have a similar tabu (Jhelam District).



**Cotton.**—The Sangwān Jāts, who hold 57 villages in Diddi, may not cultivate cotton. One of the tribe in a quarrel killed a Brahman named Baddōth (*das* is here said to mean literally 'cotton'), and in consequence met with misfortune. He accordingly erected a temple at Mahra to Baddōth and forbade his descendants to cultivate cotton for ever.

The Datt section of the Mubāl (Brāhman) do not cultivate cotton because their ancestor was killed in a cotton-field.

**Blankets.**—The Bhullar Jāts do not wear, sit or sleep in a striped blanket, because their *jāthrd*, Yār Pīr Bhārāwāl, once miraculously turned a blanket into a sheep.

**Animals.**—In Kohāt a white fowl should not be eaten, as the *wallahs* say it resembles the sacred bird in heaven, but if first blackened with soot it may be eaten.

**Milk.**—There are numerous *tabus*, mostly very interesting, but until a complete collection is obtained it is useless to attempt to explain them. Goat's milk may not be used by any Hindu during the *shradh* period. (Ludhianā District.)

In the Simla Hills a *dōta* often forbids the use or sale of milk or curds. The people may use *chī* (or curds from which butter has been extracted), but not milk or butter.

Milk may not be churned by Jāts on the Tuesday and Thursday after the full moon, or on the *chandee*, 14th, of the light half of the month, but it may be consumed with rice or otherwise, (Ludhianā District.)

In Sialkōt the Brāhman keep the milk sacred (*sachī rahad*) for 21 days. Then it is made into butter-milk, and a portion offered to Rājā Bhēr at the feast of the Thākura, the rest being consumed by the household or given away to Muhammadans. Or a portion is offered to Kāikā Dōta. The use of the milk appears to be tabued for a period, not exceeding 21 days, until the feast of the Thākura comes round. The Jamwāl also refrain from touching the milk for 21 days, and will even not milk the animal themselves. It is not consumed or given away for a month. Curdled milk is also kept sacred for a short time and then turned into

butter-milk. Ghee is held sacred until the feast of the Thākura arrives, when some of it is presented to Rājā Bhēr. It may then be used or given away.

The Mānhas keep milk untouched for not more than 8 days. Then they warm it and it may be used by the household, but none of it must be given away to strangers or to other members of the caste. Ghee must not be eaten or given away until the feast of the Thākura. Or, according to another account, the Mānhas keep milk for 21 days like the Jamwāl or even for a month, and do not use it until it has been presented to Rājā Bhēr. Among Muhammadan Awāns the Jhān mekha keep milk, whey and ghee untouched for 8 days. Then they make a smooth piece of cow-dung, build a little altar, place a little milk and ghee thereon, light lamps, and the women worship before it. This is also done with milk drawn on a Friday.

In Jhām a cow is set apart by a Hindu family in a time of calamity and a vow made in the name of a deity that her milk shall never be used for making butter. Such a cow is called *did*.

**Months.**—*Sitwan.*—A goat is given away. *Bhādā.*—A calf born in this month is given by well-to-do Hindus and Muhammadans to a Dakaut Brāhman or to a Bhāt. The milk is not used. *Māgh.*—A buffalo-calf born in this month is so treated. *Phāgan.*—This is a lucky month, yet the Kakkar Khatri neither wash, shave nor change their clothes, or begin any new business in Phāgan.

**Days.**—*Tuesday.*—The Bala Mubāl (Brāhman) will not commence a journey or any work on this day, because a girl of this section died after exhibiting miraculous powers on a Tuesday. *Thursday.*—The Datt Mubāl have a similar rule about Thursday because many of them were massacred by the Pathāns or rulers of Lahore in the time of Rājā on that day at Panār in Gurdaspur. Further, no Datt will ever drink water in Panār.

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\* Rājā Bhēr dī dōtā karnā is the Dōtī expression.

"Nara - S. M. The first milk given by a cow or buffalo after calving, heaving, Hindos do not drink it until 14 days after calving, but Muhammadans do from the first." (Multia Glossary; In the hills heavings (heer) are offered to the Naga.



## MATRICETA AND THE MAHARAJAKANIKALEKHA.

BY F. W. THOMAS.

IN a well-known chapter of his history of Indian Buddhism (trans. pp. 88 to 93), Tāranātha has given us a fairly full account of an acarya Mātriceta, who, as he says in the line of Bodhisattva, son of Candragupta, and of his minister Cunnakya, was a renowned author of hymns and other works. Tāranātha states that this acarya was *dharmika*, with a previously named Dādharśa-kala, and was also known under a variety of other names, Śrīra, Aśvameśa, Pitrīceta, Durdhara, Dhārmika Subhūta, and Matrītra. His original name as a child was Kāsa.

The importance of Mātriceta may be estimated from the fact that, according to Tāranātha, his hymns are like the words of Bṛihaspati, attended with great blessing, inasmuch as he was foretold by Bṛihaspati himself. His hymns are known in all lands, and he was famed as coming to the critical point of both the greater and the lesser vehicle, and again, at the time when Mātriceta was converted to Buddhism the number of heretics and brahmins in the monasteries of the four regions, who entered the spiritual order was very great. People thought that, if the greatest ornament of the Brahmins, Durdhara, had shaken off his own system like dust, this Buddhist doctrine must be a very great marvel (p. 91). In like manner we find the Chinese traveler, Hsüang tsang, reporting that Mātriceta, by his great literary talent and virtues excelled all the learned men of his age. Even men like Aśvameśa and Vasubandhu admired him greatly. Two of his hymns were learned by every monk. . . . of both the Mahayāna and Hinayāna schools (trans. pp. 166-7).

These statements suffice to prove that Mātriceta was a considerable figure in Indian Buddhist literature, a fact, indeed, of which we should ask no further evidence if we could accept the accounts which identify him with the authors of the Buddhacarita and the Jātaka-mālā. It will be, accordingly, of interest to show how far the legends agree with what we can establish as fact.

Of the persons identified by Tāranātha with this Mātriceta we may at once exclude two, namely, Pratyānandā and Dhārmika Subhūta, the former of whom was, as I hope to have proved elsewhere, a contemporary of the philosopher Dignāga of the 5th century and the latter of a still later date. At the same time we may put aside the name of Pitrīceta, known only from Tāranātha and — if we disregard its Tibetan equivalent *Pha-choi*, which belongs to the medieval writer Yagñabala (Tāranātha, trans. p. 311 n. to p. 90, l. 5) — only in this connection. It is true that, as Wasson remarks in the note just cited, the father of Yagñabala bore a name Saṃghagūṭha, corresponding to that given as belonging to Mātriceta's father, namely Saṃghagūṭhya, and perhaps therefore we must render *Pha-choi* here also by Yagñabala (not Pitrīceta) and understand Tāranātha to assert the identity of this author with Mātriceta. In that case, the name of the latter's father must be considered doubtful, as soon as we question this identity. But when Wasson goes on to suggest that Mātriceta's name also is a mere translation of the Tibetan *Ma-choi*, which would then on intention be a variation of *Pha-choi*, this cannot be allowed. For on this supposition the name Mātriceta would have been unknown in India — at least until a late age by borrowing from Tibet — whereas it was famous there, as we know from Tsang, in the 7th century. If the name Pitrīceta ever existed, and if it was ever connected with Mātriceta, this must have happened in India and at an earlier age.

The name Matrītra rests not merely on the authority of Tāranātha: it occurs, as we shall see below, in the colophons to some of Mātriceta's works as given in the Tanjur. It can be shown that such colophons are independent evidence. But it is no less true that they are liable to a fair share of errors as their Sanskrit translations are, of distinguishing consistently between Matrītra and Matrītra. The latter term I have found in six colophons, but we have also Matrītra, Matrītra,

cf. also Kern, pp. 40-9 of Mr. Loe's article in the *Bibliothèque de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. III, pp. 40-50 n.







2. — *Samyagbuddhakarapastotra*. Bstod I tom. 112-3. [Slob-dpon-ma-nam-chen-po-shel-dpon (Mañjuśrī-nāgārjuna, Matriceta).]
3. — *Triratnamangalastotra*. Bstod I fol. 111-2. [Slob-dpon Matriceta (sic) Indian teacher Vidyakaraśāstrī-praṇaṭha. Zu-chen translator Dpal-brtsags-raks-ia (Śrīkṛtārakṣita).]
4. — *Ekottarakṣastotra*. Bstod I fol. 113. [Slob-dpon Matriceta. Indian teacher Dharmasraddhata. translator the Bhikṣu Rin-chen-bzan-po (Ratnabhadra).]
5. — *Sugatapradīpnamastotra*. Bstod I fol. 113-5. [Slob-dpon Matriceta. Indian teacher Sunāskara-varaṇaṃ. translator the Bhikṣu Rin-chen-bzan-po (Ratnabhadra).]
6. — *Triratnastotra*. Bstod I, fol. 116. [Slob-dpon Matriceta.]
7. — *Marakastotra*. Bstod I, fol. 200-13. [Slob-dpon-chen-po Matriceta (sic) and Slob-dpon-chen-po-byegs-kyi-glan Dharmasraddhata. Indian teacher Kumarakalasa. Zu-chen translator the Bhikṣu Rin-chen-bzan-po (Sukhabhadra? Subhadrā? Formerly Puṣpaśāstra).]
8. — *Caturparyāyukatha*. Mlo. XXXIII. fol. 131-4. XCIV. 223-6. [Slob-dpon Matriceta (sic) Indian teacher Buddhābhadrā. Zu-chen translator the Bhikṣu Rin-chen-bzan-po (Ratnabhadra).]
9. — *Kaṣyapaparīkṣā*. Mlo. XXXIII. fol. 134-5. XCIV. fol. 226-8. [Slob-dpon Matriceta. Indian teacher Aśvameśbhadrā. Zu-chen translator the Bhikṣu Sākṣa-hod (Sakyaśraddhata?).]
10. — *Āryatārāśīlavarasāvarṇasādhanaṇāma-Ślokatrāṇa*. Rgyud XXVI. fol. 60-2. [Slob-dpon Matriceta (sic).]
11. — *Matricetrāgītī*. Rgyud XLVIII. fol. 9.

The majority of these are, it will be seen, hymns and this well accords with what we are told by Matriceta's writers by I-tsing (trans. p. 156-7) and Taranātha (trans. p. 21). As we learn from these writers that the hymns were well known in all countries, and favoured with both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools, it is not too much to hope that the Sanskrit originals will yet be discovered.\*

They are as is natural, not rich in biographical details. But the *Taranāthavarnanastotra* supplies us with an interesting confirmation of the statements that Matriceta was a convert from Brahminism. Its beginning (after salutations) is as follows:—

1. — | zin-dau-zin-mu-ma-huhal-t- |  
| sgra-tsam-gv-ni-rjes-hbras-nas |  
| was-gye-nous-te-nen-ched-m |  
| bsngs-min-bsngs-po-brjod-pa-gaṇ |
2. — | āg-gi-hdam-gyis-gos-pa-de |  
| thub-pa-lod-nams-hbab-kyi-ster- |  
| bān-ha-khyod-la-brtan-beas-na- |  
| rab-ta-bkra-be-hdi-brisamo |
3. — | hdi-ni-bdag-gis-mchog-tshogs-la |  
| gti-mug-klois-pas-moṇs-bgyis-gaṇ |  
| edig-pa-de-yi-nōis-pa-dag |  
| sel-bar-bgyid-paḥi-bead-byed-lags |
4. — | dag-tu-ta-nam-hlas-bar-du |  
| kāy-d-kyi-zun-dan-khved-kyi-n- |  
| yon-tan-brjes-pa-gar-lags-paḥi |  
| was-gv-ni-rjes-hbras-nas-nyar |

\* Taranātha, trans. p. 204.

\* Some may be revealed by a detailed examination of the MSS. from Nepal at least there are some indications.



Translation — 1. — Since formerly, ignorant of what should or should not be a theme,<sup>2</sup> following the path of poetry merely, I sinfully celebrated what should not be celebrated.

2. — 'That smearing with the filth of utterance, I now, in reliance upon you who have won the bathing-ghat of the merits of Sakya, shall endeavour to cleanse away

3. — 'What am, blinded by darkness, I wrought against the precious ones, the sinfulness of that offence I now remove and destroy.

4. — 'In singing the words and the virtues of you in Nirvāṇa, may I not fall short of both paths of speech.

This undeniable fact in the life of Mātṛceṣṭa, namely, his conversion from Brahminism, was of course far from singular. But it must be considered as of some importance in the event of our hearing a similar story regarding Aśvaghoṣa. The remaining hymns and the tracts in the four *Āgastya* and on the Kal age do not, on a cursory perusal add anything to our knowledge of the author's life. The hymn to Tārā may be connected with the adoration of Tārādevī to his seeing the goddess in a dream, but it seems to contain no reference to such an incident (though its concluding verses may have suggested the story) and it bears in fact so much of the character of a late Tantra that I am inclined to doubt its authorship.

I come now to the work, of which I append the transcribed text with a translation. The *Mahārājakaṇṭalekha* or 'Letter to king Kanaka' belongs to a class of Buddhist works known to us chiefly in connection with the *Sukhalekha* of Nāgārjuna, of which a text and translation were presented by Dr. Wenzel in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* for 1886. We may mention further the *Gurulekha* of the Buṅga *Dharmapā* (Aśvameṣa), the *Paṇḍitalekha* of Śaṅkha, the *Candrarajalekha* of Yogesvara-Jaṇamitra and the *Siddhalekha* of Candragomin<sup>3</sup> all found in V. d. M. No. XCIV of the *Taisho*. The *Mahārājakaṇṭalekha* (Mao. XXXIII fol. 78c2, XCIV fol. 295-9) is already known to us from Tāranātha, who refers to it as follows —

'Towards the end of his (Mātṛceṣṭa's) life, king Kanaka sent a messenger to invite the Ārya, who, however, being unable on account of his great age to come, despatched an Epistle and 'converted this king to the doctrine' (trans. p. 92).

The identity of the king Kanaka is not yet passed beyond question. Tāranātha asserts that he was not the same as Kaniska (pp. 89-90). According to him Mātṛceṣṭa was an attendant of Kuṣāṇapūra in the time of Bindusāra, son of Candragupta. 'Towards the end of Mātṛceṣṭa's life Bindusāra's son, king Śrīśāndra ruled. After king Śrīśāndra had enjoyed the sovereignty there had elapsed many years, when in the west in the land of Tih and Mālava a king Kanaka, young in years, was chosen as sovereign. Twenty-eight diamond-mines having been recently discovered he lived in great wealth. He built four great temples according to the four regions of the world, and continuously entertained 30,000 monks of the Great and Little Vehicle. Accordingly one must know that king Kanaka and Kaniska are not one and the same person' (pp. 89-90, and the same assertion is made, p. 2). Under these circumstances it is important to observe that in the Epistle the king is said to belong to the *Aśva* race (v. 49). The identity of this name with the *Kanaka* of the descriptions will not be disputed. But the use of this abbreviated form of it by a contemporary must excite a doubt of the correctness of M. S. Levi's explanation of it (*Journ. of Asiatic Soc.*, Ser. IX, Vol. VIII (1896) p. 457 n.) as due to a mistaken abbreviation of *Kanakaśāstra* as containing a genitive. I am more inclined to believe that *Kanaka* was really a compound and to place the abbreviation in a line with the other shortened names.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Mā = kṛta*.

<sup>3</sup> This and the *Sukhalekha* are cited by M. Levi, *Journ. Asiatic Soc.*, Ser. IX, Vol. VIII (1896) p. 460 n. The *Siddhalekha* was published by Minayeff in the *Zapiski of the Russian Archaeological Society*, Vol. IV, (1869) p. 44 n.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning these doublets, see M. Levi's note, Vol. IX (1897) pp. 10-11.



The Epistle contains one, and perhaps two other indications which may some day aid in establishing the identity of this king. In v. 47 he is clearly described as a *northern* king and advised to add dignity to that region by endowing the temples. In v. 83 the words 'since we cannot look upon the mortal sun, set, O moon of kings, like the moon' must to students of Indian poetry suggest a play upon words, while another verse (No. 49) seems to speak of the king's family as 'the son of the Arya race.' As I am unable to unravel these allusions, I must for the present be content with calling attention to the facts.<sup>11</sup>

There are also two other small facts of which it may be worth while to take notice here. In one of the Tibetan works dealing with Li-yul, or Khotan, which Rockhill has excerpted in his 'Life of the Buddha,' a mention is made of a king of Kanika and of a people called *Gujan*.

The text runs thus: — *ka-ni-kañ-rgyal-po-dañ guzan-gy-rgyal-po-dañ | li-rje-rgyal-po-vi-ja-ya-kir-ti-la-sogs-pas-rgya-gar-yul-du-dmag-urans-nas-so-ked-ces-lygy-baḥi-groñ-khyer-phab-paḥi-tshe | rgya-po-vi-ja-ya-kir-la-ḥari-ran-mam-po-rg-rñen-pa-yañ-phru-ñoḥi-mchod-rten-deḥi-nañ-du-stsal.*

Translation. — 'The king Kan'ka (or is it 'the king of Kanika') and the king of Guzan and king Vi-jayakirti, lord of Li, and others having led an army into Indu and overthrown the city of Sokel (Saketa), king Vi-jayakirti, obtaining many śarīras, then bestowed them in that Stūpa of Phru-ño.'

The reference here would certainly seem to be, however mistakenly expressed, to Kaniska, and in the Guzan we cannot fail to recognize the *Kusanas* of the coins and inscriptions, more especially as the form *guzan* is actually recorded in two places (see M. Lévi's article, *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. IX. (1897) p. 40).

The other fact bears upon the question of the identity of Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛiceta. The hymn in 150 verses is ascribed in the colophon to Aśvaghoṣa. Nevertheless, the extended form in 400 verses, which bears the name *Misrakastotra*, is assigned not to Aśvaghoṣa and Dharmika, but to Mātṛiceta and Dharmika, and thus in agreement with the statements of I-tsing, who apparently distinguishes between the two poets and names the hymn in 150 stanzas as the most celebrated work of Mātṛiceta (trans pp. 156-7 and 165-6). What then are we to think of the facts adduced by M. Sylvain Lévi concerning the 5th verse in this hymn, which recites also (acc. to the statement of M. Lévi) in the *Sūtrāṅkara* of Aśvaghoṣa?

The Tibetan text of the hymn reads as follows: —

[rgya-mtshor-gān-āñ-bu-ga-rn]  
[ru-sbal-mgrin-pa-chud-pa-bñā]  
[dam-choḥ-dgañ-ston-cher-beas-paḥi]  
[m-ñā-blaḡ-gs-tho-b-ḡas-m]

Translation. — 'When like the neck of a horse, entering the hole of a yoke in the ocean I had obtained the state of man, attended with the great festival of the good religion.'

The reference to the blind horse, which rises from the bottom of the ocean after a hundred years and by a rare chance happens to insert his neck in a yoke floating on the surface of the sea,

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Lévi, in the articles before cited (see Vol. VII. pp. 419-451), regards king Kanika as an invention of Taranatha, at least so far as he is distinguished from Kaniska. Even this however is not free from difficulty. For the Epistle of Mātṛiceta is addressed as to a young man, and certainly we cannot suppose the author already old and infirm, to have subsequently become a courtier of the king, as the stories relate concerning Aśvaghoṣa. Another of these difficulties, which we must raise, however reluctantly, concerns the stories of Kaniska related in the *Sūtrāṅkara* by Aśvaghoṣa himself (Vol. VIII. pp. 452-55). Are we to understand that these are told by a contemporary of his patron king? The extracts given by M. Lévi, do not produce that impression, but of this only a Chinese scholar can judge.

Can Kanika have been named Candza-Kanika or Cayḍa-Kanika?







- 2 | bdag - ni - seems - can - thams - cad - dai |  
 | hdra - bar - khyod - la - lrtse - mod - kyī |  
 | khyod - kyī - yon - tan - gyis - khyod - la |  
 | lhag - par - se - ngun<sup>12</sup> - khyod - bar - bgyud |
- 3 | gdams - kyī - phal - cher - nuchis - mod - kyī |  
 | thams - cad - gdams - par - so - rho - thogs<sup>13</sup> |  
 | khyod - kyī - yon - tan - gah - lags - des<sup>17</sup> |  
 | bdag - ni - spyi - htol - shyes - par - hgyur<sup>14</sup> |
- 4 | xlogs - pa - med - pahī - yon - tan - gyi |  
 | phyogs - rname - kun - tu - hegoms - pa - ni |  
 | ni - mehog - rname - kyañ - thugs - thub - par |  
 | mdañh - bees - ban - du - hdam - pa - med |
- 5 | de - lras - snan - gtod - fid - kyī - chod |  
 | bdag - gi<sup>15</sup> - geol - ba - hdi - geon - to |  
 | bgyur<sup>16</sup> - dan - giah - ba - yid<sup>18</sup> - gñis - las |  
 | gah - rigs - de - ni - bams - sn - bees |
- 6 | dgah - bar - bgyid - pahī - yul - rname - dai |  
 | rgyags - par - bgyid - pahī - lah - tsho - dai |  
 | bdag - fid - ran - dgac - spyod - pa - dan<sup>19</sup> |  
 | kan - tu - don - med - bgyid - pahī - ago |
- 7 | phud<sup>20</sup> - bar - byed - pa - de - gam - spañ |  
 | mkhas - pas - dam - pa - stan - pa - dan |  
 | dbañ - po - gdol - dan - ses - rah - kyī |  
 | stobs - rothas - ñams - ni - smad - nas -  
 shyan<sup>21</sup> |
- 8 | khyod - kyis - bes - pahī - gñi - r - gyar - bañ |  
 | cha - ni - gam - po - de - dag - rname |  
 | chos - lnga - dag - dan - hdi - ba - yas<sup>22</sup> |  
 | bees - nas - yon - tan - fid - du - mdañ<sup>23</sup> |
- 9 | ci - ste - rgyal - po - hlon - po - dag |  
 | dkyil - che - snan - rgye - bdag - fid - n |  
 | rtog - tu - don - meñis - mod - pa - yi |  
 | las - kyī<sup>24</sup> - rgyal - arid - bya - har - run |
- 10 | hñig - rten - hdi - na - blo - gros - kyī |  
 | las - chan - gyar - ni - ngon - mod - pa |  
 | bya - ba - ni - yis - med - pa - n |  
 | gdon - ml - na - bar - hñig - par - hgyar |

2. — While kindly disposed to you equally with  
 all creatures, owing to your virtues  
 I feel towards you a special partiality.

3. — Though of advice there be plenty, to  
 advise all who is able? Your virtues  
 being what they are, I am made to  
 become an impudent person.

4. — When by invincible virtues the quarters  
 have been everywhere cheered,<sup>12</sup> even  
 good men are not ashamed in compliance  
 with a friend to venture.<sup>13</sup>

5. — While listening therefore to this request  
 of mine for a hearing, in the doubt as  
 to what is to be carried out or rejected,  
 do you take to your heart what is  
 right.

6. — Pleasurable objects, youth engendering  
 pride, and self-willed conduct, are  
 everywhere the door to unprofitable  
 acts.

7. — Renouncing these three causes of ruin,  
 the prudent should adhere to the  
 good, subdue the senses, and by force  
 of wisdom cleanse his heart from  
 reproach.<sup>17</sup>

8. — Heeding by virtuous conduct and self-  
 restraint these three, which have been  
 the root of sin, do you practise only  
 virtue.

9. — For indeed king and minister, being in  
 essence (or having hearts) of universal  
 compassion, ought ever to administer  
 the sovereignty by sinless deeds.

10. — In this world he who, having become feeble  
 of intellect in later years, asks without  
 doubt into his possession all good.

<sup>12</sup> Sic: read mñhon?

<sup>13</sup> perhaps *das*.

<sup>14</sup> In the verses I have rendered *become* as — *Sik. shñyes* and,

<sup>15</sup> *thugs - thub - par* as — 'take confidence.' f. S. c. *traa* *Lexicon* 2. 2. *thugs*.

<sup>16</sup> a 33.

<sup>17</sup> *bañ* = *phyogs* 118.

<sup>18</sup> *hgyur* 33. In the next line *dan*,

<sup>19</sup> f.

<sup>20</sup> *mdañ* 33.

<sup>21</sup> *bya - ba - na - yis* = *adriñ*?

<sup>22</sup> *yas* . . . . *thog* 33.

<sup>23</sup> *dan* 33.

<sup>24</sup> *gyeñ* 33.

<sup>25</sup> *dan* 33.

<sup>26</sup> *gyeñ* 33.

<sup>27</sup> *dan - pas - hdi - yis* 33.

<sup>28</sup> *gyeñ* 33.



- [illegible]

11. — Therefore so long as on<sup>33</sup> this earth you pass not quickly away, make glad<sup>37</sup> endeavours to gather learning in order to attain strength of mind.
12. — Making a perusal of religious books, hear the nature of their import : then reflecting on the precepts which you hear, in reflection attain to wisdom.
13. — To an understanding, which, unwearyed by sorrow, is not blunted by the disease of youth and has arisen in harmony with reality, there is no lack of strength.
14. — From holy men in this world hear a little, though it be but from time to time : if but a little be acquired, assuredly in no long time it grows to much.
15. — Be like a vessel, which by a stream of single drops of water flowing ever without interruption does (yet) not become full.<sup>44</sup>
16. — So, in accordance with this clear example, do you, after performing the duties of king,<sup>44</sup> ever take delight in hearing the good religion.
17. — Lend advancement to the good man, devoted to the acquisition of the riches of virtue, who, while learned, is the essence of compassion (or has a compassionate heart), and who is grateful and follows not mean principles.
18. — To the bad man, of foolish and mean principles, who out of greed remembers not gratitude and is violent in abuse, allow not even in your country a place.
19. — Ever make yourself acquainted with the disposition of the laity : upon knowing their disposition the three blessings depend.<sup>44</sup>

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24 July 1954

from 1933

— 016 (upper) 173

30

67 432

\* If we read *ni* for *nu*, the sense would be 'become full.'

<sup>22</sup> Or better, "Taking a lesson from (modern) history, this clear example, O king."

44 64 08

1974 年 10 月 1 日

<sup>14</sup> In OS,      <sup>15</sup> Y. OS.      <sup>16</sup> Are the 3 eadings *rūn ya-as*, and *lōna*? Cf. B. O. Dā' Lexicon.

no broad use.

on 20th and 21st July 1988

21 ~~an~~ into this word.

20 *Applied and Applied 85*

47 47 713.

44 521 521 521



- 20 | mi-gaś-dkañ-ba-spyod-byed-dan |  
| dor-bar-bya-dkañ-dor<sup>32</sup>-ba-dan |  
| bzod-par-dkañ-ba-bzod-byed-las |  
| kaur-akkañ-ba<sup>33</sup>-leu-pa-dan |
- 21 | gnas-m-n-las-mi-zlog-byed-dan |  
| gna<sup>34</sup>-su-hjog-par-bteon-pa-dan |  
| ye-v-ba<sup>35</sup>-pa-mthun-gnas-dan |  
| -le-lar-hlod-mi-h-byams-pa |
- 22 | -le-dag-rnams-mi-lakab-bes-tu |  
| gñen-hdon-grogs-pohañ-de-dag-lag |  
| rañ-don-lsam-phyir-hbrañ-ba<sup>36</sup>-mu |  
| gñen-dag-akyo-bo-phan-pa-bas |
- 23 | grogs-po-phan-par-hlod-pa<sup>37</sup>-tahig |  
| mi-sñan-yañ-ni-phan-pa-dan |  
| hjan-dañ-bde-ba<sup>38</sup>-lag-pa-dañ<sup>39</sup> |  
| thugs-la-bzag-par-mdzad-dö-gsoi |
- 24 | talug-sñan-phan-pa-ma-lag-dañ |  
| hjan-dbyañ<sup>40</sup>-bden-pa-ma-lag-pa |  
| dan-pa-ma-yin-rnams-kyi-tahig |  
| khyod-kyi-thugs-la-ma-bruñ-ing |
- 25 | phan-par-smra-ba-kbro-yañ-m |  
| khyod-kyi-gñai<sup>41</sup>-chen-dag-du-  
mdzod<sup>42</sup> |  
| mi-phan-smra-ba-betod-bgyid-kjari<sup>43</sup> |  
| dgyes-pa-dag-tu-ma-mdzad-og |
- 26 | rab-dai<sup>44</sup>-mtsho-la-dañ-be-yi |  
| rgyal-po-ñañ-ni-ohus-hjog<sup>45</sup>-bñen |  
| lam-pa-rnams-kyi-bñen-bla<sup>46</sup>-dan |  
| dam-pa-min<sup>47</sup>-pa-bñen-dkañ-mdzod |
- 27 | khyod-kyi-mkhas-rnams-tahim-bgyis-  
pas |  
| hbyer-pa-don-du-gñer-mi-bgyid<sup>48</sup> |  
| yon-tan-dgyes-phyir-khyod-kyi-ni |  
| yon-tan-rnams-kyi-mi-noms-mdzod |
- 28 | -le-spyod-byed-dan-bde-ba-dan |  
| -le-gñam-larad-paham-spyod<sup>49</sup>-pa-  
lam |  
| spyod-lam-kun-tu-spyod-pa-na |  
| khyod-kyi-dan-pa-baten-pa-dan |

20. — Who performs things hard to perform, renounces things hard to renounce, endures things hard to endure, takes to heart things hard to esteem,
21. — Heists misplaced action, is diligent in putting things in place, and desiring the honour and happiness of those of the same views is kind,
22. — Whose have these for friends, are verily dear to their kin.<sup>50</sup> Other men pursuing only their own interest, the service of the creature is at an end
23. — Take to heart the word of him who desires the service of his fellows, which, even if ungracious, is serviceable, mild and true:
24. — But bear not in mind the word of the low man, which, even if gracious, is not serviceable, and, even if kind-sounding, is not true,
25. — Let a serviceable speech, even if angry, by you be held in high esteem: but in unserviceable speech, even if laudatory, take no delight,
26. — As in a pellucid lake the white *rañ shaypa* is apprehensive of the water, make yourself easy of approach to the high, hard of approach to the low.<sup>51</sup>
27. — Do you, giving contentment to the learned, strive<sup>52</sup> not for the acquisition of riches: through daught<sup>53</sup> in virtues never have your fill of them.
28. — Whether good fortune is or is not yours, whether happiness or misery befalls, whether you act or act not, in the pursuit of every course of action, give your adherence to the high.

<sup>32</sup> *hler* 33.

The grammar seems here ambiguous. We might perhaps translate: '... for the good of others, they do.'

<sup>33</sup> *leu* pa 33<sup>34</sup> *gnas* 33.<sup>35</sup> *ye-v* 34.<sup>36</sup> *ba* 33.<sup>37</sup> *pa* 33.<sup>38</sup> *ba* 33.<sup>39</sup> The *rañ shaypa* can, it would seem, in such a case be approached only from above.<sup>40</sup> *hgyid* 33.<sup>41</sup> *le* 'through (or for the sake of) those who delight.'<sup>42</sup> Or 'united in kinship.'<sup>43</sup> *mi* 33.<sup>44</sup> *gnas* 33.<sup>45</sup> *dan* 33.<sup>46</sup> *hgyis* 33.<sup>47</sup> *pas* 33.<sup>48</sup> *pas* 33.<sup>49</sup> Literally, 'striving' *hgyid*: 33 has future.<sup>50</sup> *hgyid* 33.



- 29 | dran • pañi • grogt • kyis • bakor • ba • na |  
 | dag • yod • par<sup>67</sup> • ni • gnas • hgyur • to |  
 | sa<sup>68</sup> • lah • s • n • la • hkhri<sup>69</sup> • ñh • bñin |  
 | ozañ • ju • dpal • gyis • hkhayod • par • hgyur |
- 30 | khyod • kyis • bñom<sup>70</sup> • pa • bden • pa • dañ |  
 | khyad • par • ñin • la • alyin • pa • dañ |  
 | dran • dañ • bral • ba • hñod • pa • ilbye |  
 | chad • pa • gañ • duññāñ • bead • mi • bgyi |
- 31 | log<sup>71</sup> • pa • hñab • tongs • byed • pa • dañ |  
 | bkren • la • dman<sup>72</sup> • par • ña • ba • dañ |  
 | tsal • khriñs • ñan • rñams • mi • dgah • dañ |  
 | dkañ • tñub • adom • pa • hkhruñ • byed • pa |
- 32 | bñi • po • hñi • dag • hñod • mñin • to |  
 | rñe<sup>73</sup> • ba • hñoms<sup>74</sup> • par • bgyid • pa • lagñ |  
 | rab • brñom • khyod • kyis • yul • na • ni |  
 | do • dag • gñan • ma • mñis • par • ndkod |
- 33 | stoh • dañ • ñan • pa<sup>75</sup> • stoh • chañ • ba |  
 | gñod • chen • gyis • n • m • gñod • dañ |  
 | mñod • hñom • rñams • kyis • m • mñod • dañ |  
 | mñom • hñom<sup>76</sup> • kyis • n • m • mñom • pa |
- 34 | gañ • yañ • rufi • ba<sup>77</sup> • gañ • gis • kyāñ |  
 | brñas • pa • med • par<sup>78</sup> • khyod • kyis • mñod |  
 | ña • chañ • rñams • ni • dag • pa • yis |  
 | kna • la • hñri<sup>79</sup> • bar • gñas • su • gñol |
- 35 | kun • gyis • rañ • gi • chos • theb<sup>80</sup> • cññ |  
 | chos • kyis • thams • cad • hñho • bar • mñod |  
 | mi • adag • kyāñ • ni • ños • med • na |  
 | thams • cad • bñe • bar • mñod • du • gñol |
- 36 | pla • yi<sup>81</sup> • ba • la • fi • ña • bar |  
 | khyod • kyis • hñer • la • byams • bgyis • na |  
 | ba • yis • pla • la • fi • ña • bar |  
 | khyod • la • ña • hñriñ • dgah • bar • bgyi<sup>82</sup> |
- 37 | phal • rñams • rañ • bñin • bañ • na • ni |  
 | khyod • kyis<sup>83</sup> • dgoñs • pa • bñin • du • hgyur |  
 | phal • rñams • rañ • bñin • ñan • na • ni |  
 | khyod • kyis<sup>84</sup> • dgoñs • pa • bñin • m • hgyur |
29. — Surrounded by loving friends and being constant in watchfulness, be embraced by a noble greatness like the creepers on the Sāla tree.
30. — Give to those who are mild, true, and superior: the performance of what is desired by the unfriendly is not, even where a promise has been made, to be carried out.<sup>71</sup>
31. — Those who contend in wrongful strife, those who look meanly on the poor,<sup>74</sup> those who delight not in the noble, those who violate their vows of penitence,<sup>76</sup>
32. — These four undesirable<sup>72</sup> indulge their frolics: with every care see that they abide not even in your country.
33. — By the strong the weak, by those of great capacity the incapable, by the honoured those without honour, by the learned the ignorant.
34. — Any man by any man, suffer not to be condemned. Ever grant inquiry by persons of integrity into disputes.
35. — While every man supports his own religion, make all to live according to their religion. Make happy all, even disagreeable persons if free from offence.
36. — While, like a father to his sons, you shall have shown kindness to your dependants, like sons to their father, your servants will give you joy.
37. — When the people are naturally good, they will be conformable to your used: when the people are naturally bad, they will not be subservient to your will.

<sup>67</sup> For 33.<sup>68</sup> For 33.<sup>69</sup> hkhriñ 33.<sup>70</sup> Both perhaps ak to hñom. Or does tñom

reg. rñom. 95. ññin?

11 ?

<sup>71</sup> For 33.<sup>72</sup> For 33.<sup>73</sup> P. "those of mean and low views."<sup>74</sup> P. "and stray the penitent."

11 ?

<sup>75</sup> For 33.<sup>76</sup> hñom 33.<sup>76</sup> For 33.<sup>77</sup> For 33.<sup>77</sup> For 33.<sup>78</sup> For 33.<sup>78</sup> For 33.<sup>79</sup> For 33.<sup>79</sup> For 33.<sup>80</sup> For 33.<sup>80</sup> For 33.<sup>81</sup> For 33.<sup>81</sup> For 33.<sup>82</sup> For 33.



- 36 | gal - to - gñā - lnga - bañ - ñ<sup>33</sup> - na |  
 | goñ - na - goñ - ñ - hñāñ - bar - hgyur |  
 | ci - ste - ñan - pa<sup>33</sup> - spyod - mdzod - na |  
 | hog - nas - hog - tu - ñāñ - bar - hgyur |
- 37 | dam - pañi - las - la - gñas - na<sup>33</sup> - na |  
 | khyu - mchog - ñāñ - ñi - khyu - ñāñ - ba |  
 | rjes - hñāñ - bañi - skyas - buñi<sup>33</sup> - ñāñ |  
 | ñdi - kus - rjes - ñāñ - hñāñ - bar - hgyur |
- 38 | khyod - kyī - gya - gya - la - ñāñ<sup>33</sup> - na |  
 | gya - gya - kho - ñāñ - rjes - hñāñ - pa |  
 | skyas - dgu - khyod - mdzod - rjes - hñāñ -  
 | bañi |  
 | nkyas - dgu - ñāñ<sup>33</sup> - ñi - ñāñ - pa - hgyur |
- 39 | de - bas - bdag - gñāñ - bañāñ - ñāñ - du |  
 | ñāñ - kyis - ñāñ - tu - bañāñ - na - ñāñ |  
 | gñāñ - rgyal - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - kyī - ñāñ |  
 | ñāñ - pa - ñāñ - pa<sup>33</sup> - bañāñ - tu - gñāñ |
- 40 | gñāñ<sup>33</sup> - yi - rgyal - pañi - spyod - pa - ñāñ |  
 | gñāñ - dag - bañāñ - ba - ñāñ - mdzod - la |  
 | ñāñ - rige - pa - ñāñ<sup>33</sup> - gñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ |  
 | ñāñ<sup>33</sup> - pa - mdzod - la - ñāñ - ñāñ - gñāñ |
- 41 | ñāñ - gyī - bañāñ - khims - skyon - ñāñ - pa |  
 | gñāñ<sup>33</sup> - na - bañāñ - kyāñ - rgyun - ñāñ -  
 | ñāñ |  
 | rgyal - pa - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - pañi |  
 | khims - bañāñ - ba - gñāñ - pa - mdzod |
- 42 | ñāñ - khyod - yon - ñāñ - ñāñ - gñāñ - bañāñ |  
 | yon - ñāñ - ñāñ - bañāñ - kho - ñāñ - mdzod |  
 | ñāñ - khyod - skyon - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - pa -  
 | ñāñ |  
 | ñāñ - bañāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - kho - ñāñ - mdzod |
- 43 | ñāñ - bañi - ñāñ - gyī - ñāñ - bañāñ - du |  
 | ñāñ - pañi - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - hñāñ - pa - ñāñ |  
 | ñāñ - ba - ñāñ - gyī - ñāñ - bañāñ - du |  
 | ñāñ - ñāñ - yon - ñāñ - gyī - ñāñ - ñāñ - mdzod |
- 44 | yab - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ |  
 | ñāñ - kyis - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ |  
 | yab - ñāñ - bañāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - ñāñ - gi |  
 | ñāñ - ñāñ - hñāñ - bar - mdzod - ñāñ - gñāñ |

38. — If the government be good, it<sup>31</sup> will be  
 lifted from high to higher: but if one  
 walk according to evil, from low to  
 lower will be fall.
39. — If you are steadfast in good works, then,  
 like a flock their leader, all this company  
 of your dependants will follow in your  
 steps.
40. — If you shall have committed yourself to  
 deceit and have followed only in the  
 path of deceit, the people following your  
 example, that people will deteriorate.
41. — Therefore in order to save yourself and  
 others, you ought with thorough grasp  
 of mind to revive the fallen practice of  
 the ancient royal sages.
42. — Of the action of ancient kings whatsoever  
 is good that do; but whatsoever is not  
 right, that with reproof renounce.
43. — Staying the flow of former laws, where  
 affected by error, even if existing from  
 of old, let king Kanika revive that which  
 has been well enacted.
44. — Making acquisition of virtue, do you, Deva,  
 follow only virtue, like a deva: having  
 knowledge, Deva, of mine, do, like  
 a deva, only what is void of fault.
45. — Like the waning half of the month, cause  
 the hosts of sin to diminish: like the  
 waxing half of the month, ever adorn  
 yourself with virtue.
46. — Like your ancestors, you too should  
 righteously rule the earth: you, like your  
 ancestors, ought to increase the festivity  
 of the temples.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>30</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>31</sup> Or ? 'they.'

<sup>32</sup> skyas - bañāñ 33.

<sup>33</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>34</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>35</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>36</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>37</sup> pañi 33.

<sup>38</sup> na 33.

<sup>39</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>40</sup> ñāñ - pa ? to be read ?

<sup>41</sup> ñāñ - pa 33.

<sup>42</sup> ñāñ 33.

<sup>3</sup> Or ? 'the harvest of heaven.'



- 47 | khyod • kyis • mtho • ris • byañ • groñ • gyis |  
 | them • skas • nū • mñam • mñam • pñh • phyir |  
 | had • nams • las • byuñ • beo • rig<sup>3</sup> • cho |  
 | rtag • tu • lha • kñiñ • dag • tu • sogz |
- 48 | rga • dan • hchi • bas • baññis • mñdod • do |  
 | chos • bññ • rgyal • arid • dñal • dñyal<sup>4</sup> • nas |  
 | bñres • kar • dñon • par • gñaga • su • gñol |  
 | dam • chos • ston<sup>5</sup> • pañ • hñras • melus •  
 mñdod |
- 49 | rañ • byuñ • rñams • kyis • rñon • balat<sup>7</sup> |  
 | kn<sup>8</sup> • baññi • rigs • su • hñkññis • khyod • kyis |  
 | yab • mes • hñphags • rigs • ñi • ma • yi |  
 | gñuñ • rgyud • chos • lugs • ma • ñams •  
 mñdod |
- 50 | skye • ba • can • la • ñes • par • ni |  
 | rgas • dan • hchi • dan • na • mchis • na |  
 | ma • bñres • ma • baññis • ma • gñon<sup>10</sup> • ñes |  
 | legs • smon • gñol • yañ • ci • la • sman |
- 51 | arid • pa • dag • ni • gñuñ • yañ • roñ |  
 | do • ñad • rgas • dan • hchi • ba • ñaga |  
 | yonñ • bñgyur<sup>11</sup> • bas • rga • ba • st. |  
 | skad • eig • hñig<sup>12</sup> • pas • hchi • ba • yi |
- 52 | ma • rgas • ma • na • mñ<sup>13</sup> • hchi • ñes |  
 | smra • ba • dag<sup>14</sup> • ni • smra • ba • na |  
 | de • lñar • hñg • rñan • kun • hñar • na |  
 | yañ • arid • mod • las • gñan • ei • yod |
- 53 | gñuñ • na • mñ • mññan • yod • ma • yañ |  
 | gñuñ • du • hñuñ • byed • hñg • m • bñyar |  
 | gñuñ • na • gñuñ • tu • mñ • lñar • gñas |  
 | gñuñ • du • son • na • hñuñ • mod<sup>15</sup> • hñgyur |
- 54 | arid • pa • kun • nas • ñon • moñs • dan |  
 | ñong • bññal • hñgyur<sup>16</sup> • ba • cñr • mñ • mñho |  
 | de • alad • ñes • pa • arid • pa • rñams |  
 | med • par • bagom • pa • rgyas • par • mñdod |

47. — In order that by your guarding the northern heaven that which is not equal in dignity may become equal, ever let great works of art, due to good deeds, be accumulated in the temples.
48. — Apprehensive of old age and death, do you, after wielding righteously the sovereign power, in later life retire into a hermitage. Manifest the autumn fruit of the good reign.
49. — Train yourself in the way of your own people: born in the Kñśa race, do you impair not the household law of your ancestors, the sons of the Ārya stock,<sup>8</sup>
50. — Since to created beings old age and death and sickness are assured, not to have grown old, not to have fallen ill, not to have died, however longingly we pray where is the cure?
51. — Whatever existences there be, the same grow old and die: after maturity comes old age, then in a moment falling in ruin they die.
52. — 'Grow not old'<sup>15</sup> 'be not sick' 'die not,' since such words are but words,<sup>16</sup> how is the whole world, though it seems,<sup>17</sup> different from nothingness?
53. — Where is there not that which discontents us? Where are the saṃskāras not dissolved? Where is the wholly happy lot? Where going is there (for us) no death?
54. — How can sorrow and grief fail to arise from every existence? Therefore increase your meditation on the truth that existences are not real.

<sup>1</sup> rñ 33.

<sup>2</sup> ba 33.

<sup>3</sup> rñas 33. a 33.

<sup>4</sup> rñas 33. son of the high line of your ancestors.

<sup>5</sup> rñas 33.

<sup>6</sup> ba 33.

<sup>7</sup> read ma • rñas.

<sup>8</sup> rñ.

<sup>9</sup> mñ 33.

<sup>10</sup> rñas 33.

<sup>11</sup> Or 'fruit of teaching.'

<sup>12</sup> kn 33.

<sup>13</sup> hñgñs 33.

<sup>14</sup> hñgñs 34.

<sup>15</sup> rñas?

<sup>16</sup> rñ.

<sup>17</sup> hñgyuñ 33.



- 55 | hdu<sup>30</sup>·ni·bgyi·ba·hdu·md·de |  
| du·las·g·zan·pañ·bgyi·m.<sup>31</sup>·hr·hol |  
| tgy·bo·l | 2·p·bgyi·pa·yis |  
| u·bgyi·ba·yi·tshar·lgyi·to |
- 56 | bgrāñ·phreñ·bāñ·du·hkhār·ba·m |  
| lan·na·yene·st·hkhār·m·ni |  
| lan·bgyāham·yāñ·na·ston·dag·du |  
| hñg·ten·dag·tu·ci·ma·bgyis |
- 57 | hdu·ma·bgyis·amas<sup>32</sup>·byis·pa·yis |  
| yāñ·dāñ·yāñ·du·bgyi·hñshāl·bañ |  
| theg·ma·med·pah·nas·ñan·hñs<sup>33</sup> |  
| da·dāñ·bar·du·ma·log·go |
- 58 | hñhi·bdag·ru·dāñ·mi·señ<sup>34</sup>·pa |  
| glo·bur·dag·m·hñab·hgyur·bas |  
| an·dag·hñs·zeñ·ma·bñes·par |  
| lam·ñññ·chos·la·emyur·te·mñzñ |
- 59 | hñi·san·den·hñi<sup>35</sup>·m·bya·ñs |  
| oñ·ba·m·la·bzāñ·jo·mñ |  
| nam·ñg·khyod·m·ñed·hgyur·bañ |  
| sañ·de·gdon·mī·ñā·bar·hññ |
- 60 | hñhi·bdag·brñes·ba·med·pa·ñan |  
| skyes·rtñal·don·med·gsod·hgyur·ba |  
| gsod·pa·mñññ·du·hññ·bññ·du |  
| mñkñas·pa·ññ·ñg·hñg·skyeñ·spñed |
- 61 | de·slañ·dpag·chen·bzod·med·des |  
| ñññ·ññ·ññ·bzad·hñññ·mñd·pa |  
| ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·hñññ·pa |  
| ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |
- 62 | rññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |  
| ññññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |  
| ñññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |  
| ñññ·bdag·yis·ññ·ñññ·pa·ññ |
- 63 | ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |  
| hññ·ba·ñññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |  
| hññ·ññ·ñññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |  
| mñkññ·ññ·ññññ<sup>36</sup>·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ·ññ |

55. What we have here to do is this alone—  
other than this or there thought that  
need be done, which has been so far  
that was to be done, has reached the  
end of what a man should do.
56. — In wars revolving many a time in  
a circle like a roary, be it a hundred  
times or be it thousands, what has not  
been done?
57. — Though children, entreating 'this has not  
been done,' ask for the thing to be done  
over and over again, let not him<sup>37</sup> whose  
is time without beginning again and  
again at intervals return.
58. — The lord of death who knows not? As he  
delights in a moment, do you, admitting  
not the thought 'to-morrow shall it be  
done,' apply yourself in haste to the  
good religion.
59. — 'To-morrow, not to-day shall this be done,'  
such a saying is in a man not good:  
that to-morrow will surely come, when  
you will no longer be.
60. — Uncompassionate, the lord of death slays  
accomplished persons<sup>38</sup> without reason,  
with the slayer close at hand, what wise  
man braves himself with cherishing  
vanities?
61. — Therefore so long as he, whose patience is  
in no large measure, has not shot forth  
that unendurable, unavoidable, arrow of  
his,<sup>39</sup> so long give heed to your own  
concern.
62. — When you, after being released, go forth  
dusk proclaiming that he is here through  
contact with fresh deeds drawn on  
by the lord of death,
63. — See, except your merits and sin  
all creatures turn away and let one  
accompany you, learn to know this and  
live well.

<sup>30</sup> hñi 53.<sup>31</sup> de 53.<sup>32</sup> hñi 53.<sup>33</sup> hñi 53.<sup>34</sup> skyes·rtñal<sup>35</sup> hñi 53.<sup>36</sup> mñ 53.<sup>37</sup> slañ 53.<sup>38</sup> Literally 'this one.'<sup>39</sup> hñi 53, Arno 94.<sup>40</sup> mñ·bzad·hñññ·mñd·pa?<sup>41</sup> mñññ 53.







- 72 | hdi-ltar-gaṇ-ḥig-mi-ḥtalal-be |  
| de<sup>40</sup>-hid-kyis<sup>41</sup>-ni-sdug-bamal-to |  
| mkhas-pa-sa-ḥig-ingar<sup>42</sup>-be-ltar |  
| tshig-pa-la-ni-yaṇ-areg<sup>43</sup>-al-xo |
- 73 | khyod-ni-srog-good-mi-dgyes-ñi |  
| srog-good-dgyes-las-phyir-log<sup>44</sup>-na |  
| rgyal-arid-bamu-pa-ḥgyur-ran-ci |  
| lugs-hdi-ci-ḥg-lags-pa<sup>45</sup>-gañe |
- 74 | mtshon-chañi-thabs-la-mkhas-khyod<sup>46</sup>-  
kyis |  
| gyul-for-arol-gtod<sup>47</sup>-mtshon-lags-na |  
| gān-ḥu-khyod-la-ri-dvags-la |  
| ci-slad-gnod-pah-las-rnams-mdzad |
- 75 | ri-dvags-gān-noñi-spyan-lam<sup>48</sup>-khyod |  
| spyan-dah-ḥdra-bañi-ri-dags-rnams |  
| rtabs<sup>49</sup>-nas-rig-rig-lta-ba-la |  
| ci-yi-slad-du-thugs-mi-rje |
- 76 | khyod-kyi-spyan-dah-mig-ḥdrab-  
phyir |  
| khyod-la-dgañ-ba-gaṇ-lags-te |  
| ri-dvags-na-yaṇ-dgañ-ḥgyid-na |  
| khyod-mi-ji-ltar-dgyes-mi-mdxao |
- 77 | log-par-lhuñ<sup>50</sup>-dah-spyan-ḥdra-dah |  
| mgon-med-yul-na-gnas-pa-hid |  
| re-re-yañ-ni-ri-dvags-dag |  
| mi-ḥgnams<sup>51</sup>-pa-yi-rgyur-rab-no<sup>52</sup> |
- 78 | nū-rnams-la-ni-mdzad-pa-bas |  
| slug-beñul-lhag-par-brtags-pa-yi<sup>53</sup> |  
| dud-ḥgro-rnams-la-oloes-lhag-par |  
| khyod-kyis<sup>54</sup>-thugs-rjes<sup>55</sup>-mdaad-du-  
gañ |
- 79 | khyod-ñul-sruñ<sup>56</sup>-bañi-don-ñul-la |  
| klag-gis<sup>57</sup>-thal-mo-slyar-mi-ḥtalal |  
| rgyal-gran-gaul-bas-gas-gyis-par |  
| lags-par-thugs-lamad-muñ<sup>58</sup>-ags-  
grañ<sup>59</sup> |
- 80 | co-nas-bam<sup>60</sup>-sto-balam-a-yañ-na |  
| lam<sup>61</sup>-pa-ran-as-kyis<sup>62</sup>-ḥgañ-grag-  
| lo-ltar-lags-pa-rgyur-ñi-la |  
| i-mi-ḥg-bz-las-gaṇ-ba-ags |

72. — (After being thus experienced by woman)  
desires, <sup>40</sup> what wise men would  
use it were it (a wrath), like a <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup>  
as it were it (a wrath).
73. — If you do not take it away from those who do not want it, you  
kings will become injured. What  
manner of thing is this, say.
74. — Since by you, skilled in the use of arms,  
practice may be found in battle, why do  
deeds of harm to the wild creatures as  
well as to yourself?<sup>46</sup>
75. — When you, who have the eyes of a young  
deer,<sup>47</sup> behold the wild creatures, with  
like eyes,<sup>48</sup> looking hither and thither  
in fright, how is your heart not filled  
with compassion?
76. — Wherefore<sup>49</sup> do you not take pleasure in  
causing joy to the wild creatures also,  
which by their likeness of eye and  
pupil are a joy to you?
77. — The fact of their fallen state, their like  
eyes,<sup>50</sup> and their defenceless situation  
should be a reason for not killing the  
wild creatures, even singly.
78. — Enough of what is done to mankind!  
When you consider their greater suffer-  
ing, you ought far more to act with  
compassion towards the inferior crea-  
tures.
79. — In this matter of saving yourself there is  
no need for me to <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> 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<sup>713</sup> <sup>714</sup> <sup>715</sup> <sup>716</sup> <sup>717</sup> <sup>718</sup> <sup>719</sup> <sup>720</sup> <sup>721</sup> <sup>722</sup> <sup>723</sup> <sup>724</sup> <sup>725</sup> <sup>726</sup> <sup>727</sup> <sup>728</sup> <sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> 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<sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> <sup>861</sup> <sup>862</sup> <sup>863</sup> <sup>864</sup> <sup>865</sup> <sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Adh 33. <sup>41</sup> Kyi 33. <sup>42</sup> Dgañ 34. <sup>43</sup> Dreg 33. <sup>44</sup> Reading my r with 33. <sup>45</sup> Adh 33. <sup>46</sup> par 33. <sup>47</sup> gān must be imperative = gān of r 66. <sup>48</sup> Kyi 33. <sup>49</sup> Adh 33. <sup>50</sup> gān = gān. <sup>51</sup> gān = gān. <sup>52</sup> gān = gān. <sup>53</sup> gān = gān. <sup>54</sup> gān = gān. <sup>55</sup> gān = gān. <sup>56</sup> gān = gān. <sup>57</sup> gān = gān. <sup>58</sup> gān = gān. <sup>59</sup> gān = gān. <sup>60</sup> gān = gān. <sup>61</sup> gān = gān. <sup>62</sup> gān = gān. <sup>63</sup> gān = gān. <sup>64</sup> gān = gān. <sup>65</sup> gān = gān. <sup>66</sup> gān = gān. <sup>67</sup> gān = gān. <sup>68</sup> gān = gān. <sup>69</sup> gān = gān. <sup>70</sup> gān = gān. <sup>71</sup> gān = gān. <sup>72</sup> gān = gān. <sup>73</sup> gān = gān. <sup>74</sup> gān = gān. <sup>75</sup> gān = gān. <sup>76</sup> gān = gān. <sup>77</sup> gān = gān. <sup>78</sup> gān = gān. <sup>79</sup> gān = gān. <sup>80</sup> gān = gān. <sup>81</sup> gān = gān. <sup>82</sup> gān = gān. <sup>83</sup> gān = gān. <sup>84</sup> gān = gān. <sup>85</sup> gān = gān. <sup>86</sup> gān = gān. <sup>87</sup> gān = gān. <sup>88</sup> gān = gān. <sup>89</sup> gān = gān. <sup>90</sup> gān = gān. <sup>91</sup> gān = gān. <sup>92</sup> gān = gān. <sup>93</sup> gān = gān. <sup>94</sup> gān = gān. <sup>95</sup> gān = gān. <sup>96</sup> gān = gān. <sup>97</sup> gān = gān. <sup>98</sup> gān = gān. <sup>99</sup> gān = gān. <sup>100</sup> gān = gān. <sup>101</sup> gān = gān. <sup>102</sup> gān = gān. <sup>103</sup> gān = gān. <sup>104</sup> gān = gān. <sup>105</sup> gān = gān. <sup>106</sup> gān = gān. <sup>107</sup> gān = gān. <sup>108</sup> gān = gān. <sup>109</sup> gān = gān. <sup>110</sup> gān = gān. <sup>111</sup> gān = gān. <sup>112</sup> gān = gān. <sup>113</sup> gān = gān. <sup>114</sup> gān = gān. <sup>115</sup> gān = gān. <sup>116</sup> gān = gān. <sup>117</sup> gān = gān. <sup>118</sup> gān = gān. <sup>119</sup> gān = gān. <sup>120</sup> gān = gān. <sup>121</sup> gān = gān. <sup>122</sup> gān = gān. <sup>123</sup> gān = gān. <sup>124</sup> gān = gān. <sup>125</sup> gān = gān. <sup>126</sup> gān = gān. <sup>127</sup> gān = gān. <sup>128</sup> gān = gān. <sup>129</sup> gān = gān. <sup>130</sup> gān = gān. <sup>131</sup> gān = gān. <sup>132</sup> gān = gān. <sup>133</sup> gān = gān. <sup>134</sup> gān = gān. <sup>135</sup> gān = gān. <sup>136</sup> gān = gān. <sup>137</sup> gān = gān. <sup>138</sup> gān = gān. <sup>139</sup> gān = gān. <sup>140</sup> gān = gān. <sup>141</sup> gān = gān. <sup>142</sup> gān = gān. <sup>143</sup> gān = gān. <sup>144</sup> gān = gān. <sup>145</sup> gān = gān. <sup>146</sup> gān = gān. <sup>147</sup> gān = gān. <sup>148</sup> gān = gān. <sup>149</sup> gān = gān. <sup>150</sup> gān = gān. <sup>151</sup> gān = gān. <sup>152</sup> gān = gān. <sup>153</sup> gān = gān. <sup>154</sup> gān = gān. <sup>155</sup> gān = gān. <sup>156</sup> gān = gān. <sup>157</sup> gān = gān. <sup>158</sup> gān = gān. <sup>159</sup> gān = gān. <sup>160</sup> gān = gān. <sup>161</sup> gān = gān. <sup>162</sup> gān = gān. <sup>163</sup> gān = gān. <sup>164</sup> gān = gān. <sup>165</sup> gān = gān. <sup>166</sup> gān = gān. <sup>167</sup> gān = gān. <sup>168</sup> gān = gān. <sup>169</sup> gān = gān. <sup>170</sup> gān = gān. <sup>171</sup> gān = gān. <sup>172</sup> gān = gān. <sup>173</sup> gān = gān. <sup>174</sup> gān = gān. <sup>175</sup> gān = gān. <sup>176</sup> gān



- 81 | gal-te-bdag-gs-mi-phan-pa |  
| gsol-na-bdag-la-chad-pas-kham<sup>73</sup> |  
| ci-sie-gcog-tu-phan-gsol-na |  
| bdag-gis-gsol-ta-bhin-du-mdsod |
- 82 | gal-te-mi-dgyes-mixad-par-ma-gyar-na |  
| bdag-gis-yañ-dañ-yañ-du-gsol-bar<sup>74</sup> |  
| hiahah |  
| ci-sie-bdag-tahag-khyad-du-hgoms-mixad-na |  
| khah-mchid-bdi-mi-ñes-par-gtah-bar-bgyi<sup>75</sup> |
- 83 | dgyes-par-bgyur-na-ñab-dgyes<sup>76</sup>-mi-hgoms-te |  
| mi-dgyes-bgyur-na-dogs-brub-bar-hiahah |  
| gnod-bgyid-bi-ñes-lar-rbo-mi<sup>77</sup>-thoyt-pas |  
| sa-bdag-ñe-ba-ñe<sup>78</sup>-ta-bhin-du-mdsod<sup>79</sup> |
- 84 | sa-bdag-taher<sup>80</sup>-mah-ñib-le<sup>81</sup>-shrab-rta-lar<sup>82</sup> |  
| dgra-bo-las-kyan-legs-par-ruras-pa-gzuñ |  
| xer-zer-r-las-dog-rgyan-ji-bhin-du |  
| r-l-bi-l-kye-bohi-tahag-ñab-sjeh-tshal-lo |
- 85 | mi-chog-gal-te-legs-par-mdsad-pahi-shyor-bas-bagrobe-gyar-te |  
| pha-rol-gsol<sup>83</sup>-pa-sol-bahi-dpal-bdi-yon-tan-rgyan-rnams-kyis |  
| phyag-par-lkyis-na-legs-epyed-brya-la-chags-phyer-gyo-bahi-ñis |  
| mi-brtan-pa-yañ-rab-dban-med-par-yun-ris<sup>84</sup>-khyod-la-chags |
- || slob-dpon-mā<sup>85</sup>-tri-ci-tras-rgyal-r-chen-po-ka-ni-ka-la-sprñs-pa-bi-hphrin<sup>86</sup>-yig-rdzogs-so ||
- || rgya-gar-gyi-mkhan-po-bidyā-ka-ra-pra-bhā-dañ<sup>87</sup>-ñu-chen-gyi<sup>88</sup>-lo-teñ-ba-ban-de-rin-chen-mchog-g<sup>89</sup>-bagyar || ā-ñ-rya-dpal-rtsags-kye-ñe-te-gtan-la-phab-pa ||

81. — If I ask for what is not profitable, do you in punishment kill me<sup>80</sup>; but if my request is wholly profitable, act according to my request.

82. — If I shall not have displeased you, again and again I would make my request. But if my word causes you all the more to kill, this command is certainly to be saved.

83. — If pleasures have been given, he who is pleased with a request does not kill: <sup>81</sup> if I say 'I have lost' cannot one expect interest or apprehension. <sup>82</sup> Since we cannot look upon the mortal as not being a king, I do the same.

84. — O king, do you accept even from an enemy what is well said, like the honey from the thorn bush: like the poison stream from the mountain of gold, you should reject the evil words of a congenial person.

85. — Is it not enough if this Śrī, having been won by the union of noble deeds,<sup>83</sup> and cleansed from the hurt of others, should become rich with the ornaments of virtue? Is he through a tactful and addressed good act, though there may be his heart be for a long while secretly attached to you.

End of the Epistle to the great king Kanika, composed by the Ścārya Matrasta Inā-leśhar Vidyākara, <sup>84</sup> *śāstra* Zu-chen translator. I made his name and title (Pāra-narāyaṇa) actual as the request of the Ścārya Upal-risaga (? Śrīkūta).

<sup>73</sup> *gsol-na-bdag* = 'in punishment' = 'I will at appropriate punishment.'

<sup>74</sup> *bar* = *gye* 33. *ñe* = *ñe* 33. *ñe* = *ñe* 33. *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>75</sup> *bar* = *gye* 33. *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>76</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>77</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>78</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>79</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>80</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>81</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>82</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>83</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>84</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>85</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>86</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>87</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>88</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>89</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>90</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>91</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>92</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>93</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>94</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>95</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>96</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>97</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>98</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>99</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

<sup>100</sup> *ñe* = *ñe* 33.

union of doing good to worthy men?'



# SOME MORE ROCK-CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

In continuation of my art cle on Rock-Carvings from Lower Ladakh, *ante* Vol. XXVI., 358 ff., I now give some further abstracts. The value of these carvings for the purposes of research is that the majority of them are freely explainable and hence they present a sound basis on which to make enquiries into human primitive carvings and practices elsewhere. The only recent date of some of them also goes to show that the makers of such carvings are not necessarily very low in the scale of civilisation or without culture in other directions of mental development.

## Plate V., Fig. 1.

*Site.* — A rock half-way between Ebu and Tsangri.

*Scene.* — A fight between men armed with guns against men armed with bows and swords. Cavalry on both sides. Between Kashmiri troops and local tribesmen? One of the tribesmen with a sword (*d*) is killed. The horseman (*a*) has no reins, but a whip. The large round circles near the heads of the men are explained to be shields. From that of the horseman (*a*) one might assume that he is a Panjabi so that it is possible that some fight with the troops of Mahāraja (a) or some of his successors is meant. The date (*k*) is probably either older or later than the battle scene.

## Plate V., Fig. 2.

*Site.* — Half-way between Ebu and Khalatse.

*Scene.* — Hunting scenery. The steers (*a*) and deer (*b*) which are half-way between Ebu and Khalatse. A man with a gun (*c*) accompanied by another with a bow (*d*).

## Plate VI., Fig. 3.

*Site.* — In Khalatse Fort.

*Scene.* — A yak-cow (*a*) charging a snow leopard (*c*), with the latter figure compare Fig. 5 (*a*). A musk deer (*b*).

## Plate VI., Fig. 4.

*Site.* — Stone half-way between Ebu and Khalatse.

*Figures.* — A wild yak (*a*). A wild goat (*b*).

## Plate VI., Fig. 5.

*Site.* — Stone half-way between Ebu and Khalatse for *a, b, c*. Stone near Khalatse Fort for *d*.

*Figures.* — A snow-leopard leaping (*a*). A wild goat (*b*). A magic square (*c*). Sun symbol (*d*), or sun and moon as creators of the Eight Directions (*e*), or wheel of the law (*f*) (*a*).

## Plate VII., Fig. 6.

*Site.* — Lower end of the Namdag Valley near Khalatse. The house with the lake (*ante* Vol. XXXI. p. 400).

## Plate VII., Fig. 7.

*Site.* — Stone near Khalatse Fort.

*Scene.* — Horseman foreshortened from the front. It is more likely that the figures represent men riding on the shoulders of others. This sport is exercised at the occasion of the sewing-festivals for instance, at Garkun.

## Plate VII., Fig. 8.

*Site.* — Rock near ruins of a castle, Saspol Bridge, left bank of the Indus.

*Scene.* — Wild goat. Inscription in ancient Tibetan character. Romanized *st. rgy. tsol. st. ny [d] pon rgyalba yashas*. Translation [was erected] in the 1607-year (*1*) *st. rgy. tsol. st. ny*.

<sup>1</sup> The yak is to the Tibetan what the cow is to the Hindu. Perfect women are compared to yak-cows and the Heavenly Queen enters their bodies frequently.



one thousand) rGyabé Yeshe. Seems to refer to a *stupa* which has disappeared entirely. The residence of this "colonel" was probably the now ruined castle.

Plate VII., Fig. 9.

Site. — Rock near Da.

Scene. — Dance in honour of the gods (*lha*) : fourteen dancers one leader.

Plate VIII., Fig. 10.

Site. — Rock near Domkhar.

Scene. — A cross-shaped *stupa*. Does this figure show the influence of Nestorian art on the Buddhist art of Ladakh? Tibetan inscription: *phagpa tala*. Translation [erected] in the 18 year. There are additional characters too much injured to be legible.

Plate VIII., Fig. 11.

Site. — Stone near ruins of a *stupa*, Khalatse Fort.

Scene. — Inscription in ancient Tibetan character. Romanized . . . *gis tshengtsen yesol*. Translation erected by (name destroyed) as an offering. This inscription seems to refer to the *stupa* in ruins.

Plate VIII., Fig. 12.

Site. — Stone near Hibi.

Scene. — *Stupa* of the form of stone for burning the dead. Tibetan inscription *khya*. Translation: . . . of the dog . . . t . . . was erected in the dog year. This inscription was never completed.

Plate VIII., Fig. 13.

Site. — Rock near ruins of a castle, Sangpola Bridge, left bank of the Indus.

Scene. — Ancient *stupa* with flags. Ancient Tibetan inscription. Romanized- *sangto chukongpa mon tshupa shig shyod*. Translation [was erected] by Sangto Chakong. The *mon* (a low-caste man), the thief of sinful behaviour (*shyod* is a mistake, *shyod* was meant). The creator of the *stupa* probably only wrote his name in the instrumental case, another person, his enemy, may have added the second part of the inscription.

I take this opportunity to add two plates of reproductions of photographs of rock carvings taken by the Rev. G. Hettasch in the neighbourhood of Khalatse Fort. They will show the reader the scenery amidst which the carved stones are situated and the actual appearance of the carvings on the stones.

Collotype Plate I., Fig. 1, represents *stupas* of various forms. Fig. 2 is shown by hand in Plate II., Fig. 1, *ante*, facing Vol. XXXI. p. 401, and is explained on that page.

Collotype Plate II., Fig. 1, shows the annexed inscription given in Plate III., Fig. 1, facing Vol. XXXI. p. 401. Fig. 2 shows the moness with locks, given already in Vol. XXXI. p. 401. Plate II., Fig. 2, and in another form in Plate VII., Fig. 6, of this article.

### Palaeographical Notes.

The Ladakhi records regarding the erection of *stupas* fall into three groups. Those of the first group only show a representation of the erected *stupa*, without an inscription, compare, *ante*, Plate I., No. 5. These *stupas* were probably erected by illiterate people. The records belonging to the second and third group consist of a picture of the *stupa* (unless the *stupa* itself was close by) and an inscription, giving the name of the erector and the date of erection. This data is, however, so imperfectly given that it could be useful only during the life-time of the builder. As the second group of records I consider those which are written in ancient *dbu med* (headless) characters, they are probably the oldest of all. Compare Plate VII., No. 8, Plate VIII., Nos. 11, 13. As the third group I consider those which are written in modern *dbu can* (headed) characters. Of this group, specimens have not been published.



ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

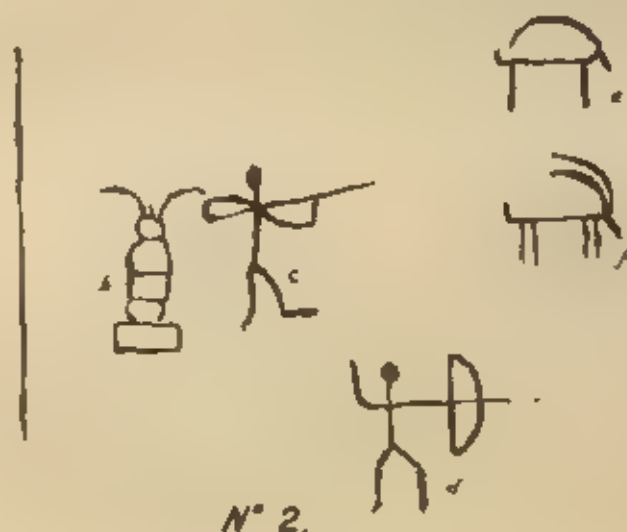
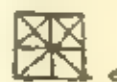


PLATE V.



**ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH**



**PLATE VI.**



ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.



No. 6.



༥༥༥༥༥  
 ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་  
 ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་  
 ལྷ་ལྷ་

No. 8.



No. 7.



No. 9.

PLATE VII.



ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.



འཇམ་དཔལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་

No 10.

ཐིམ་  
འཇམ་དཔལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་

No. 11.

ཐིམ་



No 12.



ཐིམ་  
འཇམ་དཔལ་  
འཇམ་དཔལ་  
འཇམ་དཔལ་  
འཇམ་དཔལ་

No. 13.

PLATE VIII.



Rock Carvings in Lower Ladakh

Plate I



Fig. 1

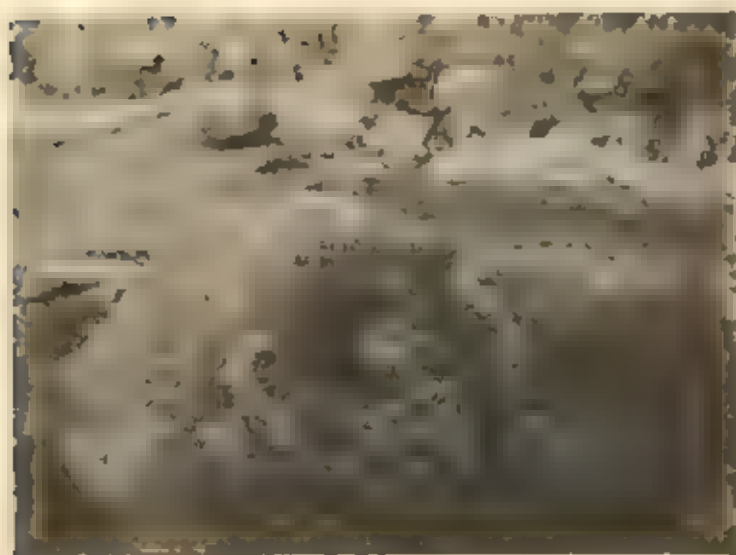


Fig. 2

Rock Carvings near Khalatse Fort







Plate II

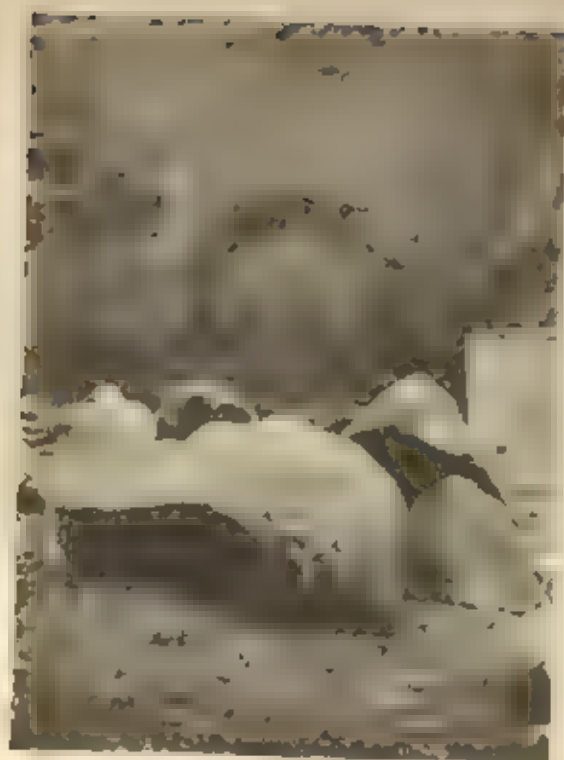


Fig 1

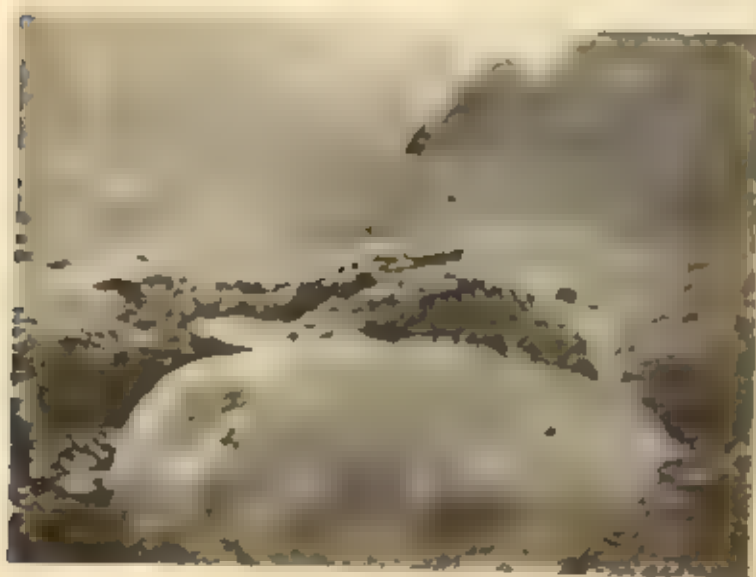


Fig 2

Rock Carvings near Khalatse Fort







At the present day we find two types of writing in general use in Ladakh: *dbu med* (headless) and *dbu can* (headed). The 'head' of the character is the *consonant* of the *har* below which the letters used to be written in India. Thus in India we meet with three kinds of writing: (1) Headless characters, for instance, in the ancient Brāhmi Alphabet. (2) Complete line with characters fastened to it, for instance, in several current scripts of North India. (3) Headed character, i. e., remnants of the *har* on the top of the character, for instance, in the modern Devanagari Alphabet. It is remarkable that in Tibet the second type of writing (that with a complete line) is entirely unknown.

The Tibetan *dbu can* (headed) characters are the *holy* characters; they are used for religious purposes only. The Lamas do not allow profane subjects (the *Kesar Saga* among them) to be written in headed characters. The *dbu med* (headless) alphabet is the alphabet of the Tibetan merchant.

Now I wish to draw attention to the fact that the most ancient records of *stūpas* in Ladakh are not written in the *holy* character, but in an ancient form of the 'headless' type of writing. This fact makes it almost certain that in Ladakh the Buddhist priest was preceded by the Tibetan merchant. If the 'headed' alphabet had been known at the time of the erection of the ancient *stūpas*, it would certainly have been used, as it is used almost exclusively for such purposes now-a-days in consequence of its meritorious powers.

But I go a step further. Although it cannot yet be proved for certain, it is not quite improbable that the whole of Tibet was in possession of a 'headless' alphabet before the introduction of Buddhism, and that Thonmisaṃbhota, the renowned so-called inventor of the Tibetan Alphabet, did not merely transform the alphabet of the Tibetan merchant with 'heads' and adapt it for the writing of Sanskrit names.

My reasons are the following: (1) If no alphabet was in existence in Tibet at the time of Thonmisaṃbhota, why did he not derive the Tibetan letters (t, th, d, n) from their Indian prototypes, instead of forming them by reversing the ordinary Tibetan t, th, d, n? (2) Can we expect the Tibetan merchants to have been ingenious enough to distinguish between what is essential as a letter and what is not, and to see, for instance, that in the Tibetan *ḥ* the uppermost part is not the 'head' only, but an essential part of the character, whilst in a *d* and *t* it is not? (3) The Tibetan alphabet is most closely related to Indian alphabets of the Himalayan frontier district. In very ancient times Tibet was perhaps not so exclusive as she is now-a-days. Why should she not have accepted from her neighbours what is of practical value? (4) The alphabet of the Lepchas is a *dbu med* (headless) alphabet of a type which is most closely related to the Tibetan *dbu med*. If the Lepcha Alphabet was also derived from a 'headed' alphabet, why did the latter not survive?

#### The Alphabet of the ancient inscriptions from Lower Ladakh

k kh g ng o oh j ny t th d n p ph b m  
 ཀ ཁ ག ཁྱ ལ ལྱ ཏ ཏྱ ཐ ཐྱ ན ནྱ པ པྱ བ བྱ  
 la the ds w sh z 'a y r l sh u h a  
 ལ ལྱ ཏ ཏྱ ཐ ཐྱ ན ནྱ པ པྱ བ བྱ མ མྱ ས སྱ

#### Compound letters.

st rgy br kby rk ad shy  
 སྲ རྒྱ བྲ ཀབྱ རྐ འད ཤྱ

#### Vowels.

gi 'i ku su she rgye to lo  
 གི ཀི ཀུ སུ ཤེ རྒྱེ ཏོ ལོ

\* Perhaps as a sign of holiness. In his time holy and profane alphabets may have been distinguished in India.



## ASÔKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.).

## I.—Mahendra, brother of Asoka.

The Indian tradition which represents Mahendra, the missionary to Ceylon, as the brother of the emperor Asoka, and not as his illegitimate son, which is the Ceylonese version, appears to me the more probable. Nobody knows the origin of the tradition embodied in the Pal. books, of which the *Asoka Mahavamsa*, dated probably from the fourth century A. D. The question of the credibility of the Ceylonese chronicles generally has been well treated by Mr. Boullenger in his *Journal*, which have not received as much attention as they deserve, with the result that the chronicles must be accepted with less weight than it has been the custom to assign to them. My studies led me independently to the same conclusion.

The tradition that Mahendra was Asoka's brother was learned by the Chinese pilgrims at Pataliputra, and it is more probable that the truth was preserved at Asoka's capital than in Ceylon. Fa-hien's date is nearly the same as that of the *Mahavamsa*. His statement that King Asoka had a younger brother who had attained to be an Arhat and resided in Tapasvika-hi, finding his delight in solitude and quiet (Vol. XXVII, page 6) reads like genuine history. It is true that he adds an inaccurate explanation of the construction of the stone-cell occupied by the saint, but that cannot be regarded as discrediting the tradition of Asoka's saintly brother. Every structure in which exceptionally large stones are employed is invariably ascribed to supernatural agency.

The name of the emperor's brother, Mahendra, is supplied by Hsuen Tsang (Vol. II, 246), who credits him with the conversion of Ceylon. In an earlier passage (II, 11) the pilgrim relates the legend of the stone-cell at Pataliputra, and in a third passage (II, 231) he states that the ancient monastery in the Malakata country on the south of India had been built by Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka. It is clear therefore that not only the Chinese pilgrims, who obtained their information both in Northern and Southern India knew Mahendra as the younger brother of Asoka. Neither of them had heard the Ceylonese story that Mahendra and his sister Sanghamitra were Asoka's illegitimate children by a Southern lady of V. lineage (or Hetiyagiri, according to Tamil versions). The name Sanghamitra, friend of the mother, has a male appearance and I regard the whole legend of Sanghamitra's mission to ordain nuns in Ceylon as unhistorical.

Hsuen Tsang's statement that a monastery in Southern India was built by Mahendra, the emperor's younger brother, is, I believe, true. The missionary probably passed from Southern India to Ceylon.

## The history of Tibet offers a parallel to the case of Mahendra.

King Ral-pachan, who was assassinated in A. D. 838, on account of his strictness in enforcing the clerical laws, was an ardent Buddhist, and "sought to have done much toward giving the priesthood a regular organization and hierarchy." His son's brother entered the priesthood, becoming a famous teacher, and wrote several *sastras*. Says that Ma-hi-ma was Asoka's younger brother the Tibetan case is a sufficiently close parallel and offers an authentic instance of a sovereign's brother turning monk and so far confirms the Indian version of Mahendra's mission.

\* The *Vinayadipika* of the Buddhist Literature of Ceylon, vol. XVII (1890), p. 100. See also *Asoka*, Vol. XIX (1891), p. 115.

\* Ma-hi-ma seems to have included the whole of Southern India beyond the Kaveri-Hettirach ante, Vol. XVIII, p. 242.

\* Brookton, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 225.



11 — The Dharma mahāmātrā, or Censors of the Law of Piety.

Since the publication of my book I have come across two examples from modern India of the maintenance of officers charged with duties similar to those of Ashoka's Censors.

Macnall (*Recherches*, p. 27) and the *Canadian Review* for 1834 Vol. XV, p. xxx, as authorities for the statement that "nearly every Indian officer called Dharmadikari as a title, both within throughout the Dooran, in Kandjoh, and even in some parts of the Concan." "Their jurisdiction nearly comprises all the rules of caste, for which they lay fines, &c. for farmers, never proceeds to execution or sale."

The next year, the *Shah* of Kashmir gave a new, and the *Shah* of Kashmir. In 1872, when Sir Henry H. D. was in the position of Governor, the publication of the *Shah* of Kashmir, which was a new edition of the *Shah* of Kashmir, was published by the Government. The *Shah* himself, who is a strong and powerful man, has been the first to publish the *Shah* of Kashmir, and the *Shah* of Kashmir, who is a strong and powerful man, has been the first to publish the *Shah* of Kashmir. The exact nature and amount of the penance is settled by five *Shah* of Kashmir, who are the most respected and most powerful among the *Shah* of Kashmir. The other *Shah* of Kashmir are also very powerful.

There at least can help us to understand and realize the working of Association as it is designed for the regulation of public morals.

### III.—Aukua's Father-Confessor.

According to the definition, classical (i.e., well-posed) problems in real-time computing, the computer  $AS_k$  was chosen (i.e., an  $Mlog_{10} 10$  number ( $Mlog_{10} 10 = 1$ )).

According to the former tradition he was imprisoned in Ceylon the land of the  
a prisoner. Both accounts are entirely untrue. It is a well known fact that  
was known to the natives of the island by the name of the "Tissa" and is recorded by the  
Indians as the "Tissa" was an ancient name of the island of Ceylon and is mentioned in the  
in a small popular work. Lt. Colonel Waddell has proved conclusively, as I think, that  
the Tissa of the Ceylonese is the Upagupta of Indian tradition. The fact is that the  
the "Tissa" was an ancient name of the island of Ceylon and is mentioned in the  
permit of no doubt that the two personages are really one.

He suggests that the name of the saint in the Ceylonese tale may be 'Maitreya', the name of the future Buddha, and that the names of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, Mahakassapa and Ananda, are fused in the name of the saint. This suggestion is not impossible, but it is not very probable.

This suggestion seems plausible.

With reference to the story of Mahabharata I have seen that when the Jaina writers say  
tehtwa = effect the presumption is in favour of the version which was preserved in the  
note of Anandasambhava. The same argument holds good in this case. The presumption is that  
Upagupta was the real name of Ashoka's father-confessor, and that the fact was known  
to all Jains who wrote up for some reason such as that suggested by the Waddell inscrip-  
tion. The only fact which seems to stand in the way of a doubt is the suggested explanation of the  
reference among the inscriptions on the Sanchi railo caukots of the mention of a certain person  
the son of Magadha. The alphabetical characters suggest an illiterate scribe who had no con-  
fidence with Ashoka, his sons at least, were acquainted with the Buddhist Ashoka's name. Moreover the

\* *Thompson Rogers of Tennessee* in *J. H. P. R.* 1846, V. VII. p. 129.

Uganda, the Fauna-Birds of Uganda and the Fauna of the Nile. Part I, 1907, p. 75; *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 70.



found with the names of the father and the mother of the deceased son of Moggallāna (Kāśyapa) and Maybima (Madhyama), who were certainly among Asoka's ministers. These names therefore befittingly are that the son of Moggallāna, whose relics were placed in the stupa, was a temporary inmate of the stupa. Probably he was a friend or companion. There is no adequate reason for identifying him with the Tissa of the Mahāvamsa, and I do not admit that the Sākyā evidence gives ground for accepting the Ceylonese statement that Asoka's father was Tissa, the son of Moggallāna, in preference to the better authenticated statement that he was Upagupta, the son of Gupta.

Although no distinct epigraphic evidence of Upagupta's real existence has yet been discovered, the fact that the words on the Ruminidol pillar, *Attho upagutto*, 'Here the Venerable One was born' are identical with those ascribed by tradition to Upagupta as one of the seven great monks regarded as the founders of Buddhism, is in favour of the assumption that the legend of the Asokavamsa has a historical basis. The words on the pillar, it will be observed, agree with the fact that he was a monk, and not with the parting of the ways.

A great Buddhist saint named Upagupta certainly existed. A monastery at Mathura and many places in South India were associated with his name. (*Ibid.* I. 182, II. 273.)

Heavy Tsiang clearly believed that the Upagupta who instructed Asoka was the famous saint associated with the traditions of Malabar and South India, and the real existence of the saint Upagupta being admitted, we too are justified in believing that he was Asoka's teacher.

If there is sufficient evidence to warrant the belief that the father-confessor of Asoka was Upagupta the son of Gupta, he cannot possibly have been Tissa, the son of Moggallāna, and the name is added to the pile of facts showing the untrustworthiness of the Ceylon chronicles for the Asoka period and the early history of Buddhism. There is no independent evidence of the existence of Tissa, the son of Moggallāna.

I believe that Lt Col Wheeler, like me, gives less credit to "the relatively vague and less trustworthy Ceylonese traditions" than to those current in Northern India and Tibet. My attitude towards the Ceylonese traditions has been corrected the more I examine their account of the early development of Buddhism: the more convinced I am of its untrustworthiness. The Ceylonese narrative seems to me to bear marks of deliberate invention, and not of a merely careless or unconscious mythological imagination.

## SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIII CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART

(Continued from p. 34.)

### CALICO.

- F 2. They charge great quantities of Munging Calicoes &c  
 F 27. Names of Calicoes or Silks.  
 F 31. Very Considerable quantities of these following Commodities are here (Pest  
 ject), wrong and sent to foreign Merchants vizt . . . Painted Calicoes of divers  
 Sorts.  
 F 37. Metchinton. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities vizt all Sorts  
 of fine Calicoes plaine and coloured.  
 F 4. Strained through a piece of Calicoe or what else y<sup>e</sup> is fine.  
 F 40. This part of y<sup>e</sup> Country [Narsipore], affordeth plenty of divers Sorts of  
 Calicoes.



Fol. 51. This Kingdome [Golcondah] amongst y<sup>e</sup> many Merchandizes it affordeth as all sorts of Callicoes.

Fol. 56. [On the Gingalee Coast] great Store of Calicoes are made here Especially betwixt (w<sup>ch</sup> wee call Muslin).

Fol. 59. [Haraspoore] here are considerable quantities of Callicoes made and sold to y<sup>e</sup> English and Dutch, but are first brought over land to them to their factories in Ballasore in y<sup>e</sup> bay of Bengala.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . Callicoes of Sundry Sorts.

Fol. 74. there are many [Bazars] where onely Cotton course Callicoes provisions &c are to be sold.

Fol. 77. in Exchange for . . . Callicoes.

Fol. 131. all y<sup>e</sup> traffick wee have here [Janselone] is to trucke Callicoes blew and white . . . for tunc.

Fol. 134. Two of y<sup>e</sup> Grandees of his Conneill must also be Pleached w<sup>th</sup> 6 pieces of fine Callicoes . . . The most Proper and beneficall Commodities w<sup>ch</sup> are for this place [Janselone] be blew Callicoes viz<sup>t</sup> Longe cloth . . . but 20 bales of Chint and Callicoes is Enough for  $\frac{1}{2}$  a yeare for the whole countrey.

Fol. 157. The Chief Commodities brought hither [Achen] from Sarath are Some Sorts of Callicoes viz<sup>t</sup> Balton.

Fol. 162. And there wee pay for y<sup>e</sup> Chopp 2 pieces of very fine callicoes or Mashago.

Fol. 177. The present of fine Callicoes Cloth of Gold or what else is carried up in great State, Vpon Golden Vessels.

See Yale, s. v. Calico. [The above quotations are valuable as showing that in . . . al so "were included muslin, singlet and cambric in fact it was a generic term for cotton cloth. See ante, Vol. XXVIII. p. 196.]

#### CAMPHOR.

Fol. 158. From y<sup>e</sup> West Coast of this Island [Sumatra] Store of very Excellent Beapama, Camphir.

See Yale, s. v. Camphor.

#### DANDARREN.

Fol. 51. a rough Dandar that weyeth above 70 or 72 Condorines y<sup>e</sup> Exact weight of one Royal of 8 it must be for y<sup>e</sup> King's owne Use.

See Yale s. v. Candarrene. [This quotation is useful for the history of the word. See ante, Vol. XXVI. p. 315 f., Vol. XXVII. pp. 33 ff., 91 f.]

#### CANDY.

Fol. 63. The Vsmall Weights of this Coast [Choro-mandel] are y<sup>e</sup> Candil A Candil Cont. 500 pound w<sup>t</sup> Avordupois Or twenty Maunds.

See Yale, s. v. Candy. [See ante, Vol. XXVI. p. 245.]

#### CABERA.

Fol. 24. in my journey Anno Domini 1672 from Fort St George's toward Metellipatan overland I happened to stopp at a towne called Carero.

Not in Yale. [For this interesting name, see ante, Vol. XXX. p. 349. It represents Karêda on the Madras Coast.]







## CEYLON.

Fol. 36. The Kings of Golconda hath Severall Ships y<sup>e</sup> trade yearly to . . . .  
Ceylone.

Fol. 77. annually trade to Sea, Some to Ceylone . . . . The Elephants of Ceylone  
are best Esteemed of here . . . They are bought from y<sup>e</sup> Dutch (who have in a  
manner fortified y<sup>e</sup> Island Ceylone quite round).

Fol. 79. Hee found 5 Saile of Bengala Ships in y<sup>e</sup> roads newly arrived from Ceylone.

See Yule, *s. v.* Ceylon [The quotations are useful for spelling.]

## CHANK.

Fol. 91. many of them have y<sup>e</sup> Shackles on theire arms made of Chanke, a great Shell  
brought from Tutacree . . . the Shell is as bigge or bigger then a man's fist hollow and  
are Sawed into rings & are worne by y<sup>e</sup> people of Oriza and Bengalia Some weare them white  
(theire Naturall colour) and Others will have them painted redd, but both are Esteemed  
highly as a rich Ornament.

See Yule, *s. v.* Chank. [This is a valuable quotation for description.]

## CHEROOT.

Fol. 46. The poore Sort of Inhabitants viz y<sup>e</sup> Gentles Mallabars &c : Smoke theire  
tobacco After a Very meane, but I judge Original manner, Onely y<sup>e</sup> leafe rowled up, and light  
one end, holdinge y<sup>e</sup> Other betwene their lips, and Smoke until it is soe farre Consumed as  
to warren theire lips, and then heave y<sup>e</sup> End away, this is called a bunko, and by y<sup>e</sup> Portugals  
a Cheroota.

See Yule, *s. v.* Cheroot. [This is the earliest known quotation for this word.]

## CHICACOLE.

Fol. 56. [Coast of Gingales] Of w<sup>ch</sup> Chicaco. is y<sup>e</sup> most famous for large and Stately  
buildings.

Not in Yule.

## CHIM CHAM.

Fol. 70. a great Banjan Merchant called Chim Cham : great broker to y<sup>e</sup> English East  
India Company . . . Enquired who that was goinge by with Such a traine It was  
answered Chim Cham y<sup>e</sup> Banjan Merchant . . . Chim Cham Seemed Melancholy  
. . . . Nay Chim Cham Said y<sup>e</sup> Nubob, I am now well satisfied as to y<sup>e</sup> report I  
heard of y<sup>e</sup>

Not in Yule. [A famous merchant of the 17th century dealing with Europeans and  
constantly mentioned in their letters and despatches. The name of the firm was probably  
Khēm Chānd Obintāman.]

## CHINTZ.

Fol. 37. Metchi patam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, viz! . . . .  
divers Sorts of Chintz curiously flowered, which doth much represent flowered Sattin, of Curious  
lively Colours.

Fol. 134. Two of y<sup>e</sup> Grandees of his Council must alsoe be Pleased w<sup>th</sup> 6 pieces of  
fine Callicoes or Chintz each of them . . . fine and coarse Chintz of very Small flowers  
. . . . but 20 bales of Chintz and Callicoes is Enough for  $\frac{1}{2}$  a yeare for the whole  
country.

Fol. 158 are brought hither [Achin] . . . fine Chintz of Metchi patam.

See Yule, *s. v.* Chintz. [*N and E.* p. 17, for 22nd April, 1680, has "Chinta."]



## CHOOLIA

Fol. 141. buildings houses . . . w<sup>ch</sup> were noe Sooner built but were given to one Chulijar or Other y<sup>e</sup> Radjas favourites.

Fol. 141. and in there Stead he placed Chulyars . . . whereupon y<sup>e</sup> Malayars and Syamers rose Up in arms . . . and killed . . . all y<sup>e</sup> Moors and Chulyars . . . I judge they killed in this manner on 7 or 75 Moors and Chulyars.

Fol. 112 The Chulyars are a People v<sup>ch</sup> range into al Kingdoms and Countreys in Asia and are a Native and Ragnish people, of y<sup>e</sup> Mahomedan Sect but not very great themselves of many of his laws, there Native land is Upon y<sup>e</sup> Southernmost parts of y<sup>e</sup> Chermendell Coast, Viz Porto Novo: Pullicherrie: Negapatam: &c.

Fol. 144 See the goods to Sarah Cawn a Chulyar & chiefe Sabdar of Quench (and rogue Enough too) . . . but got very little or noe Satisfaction, he age outwitted by this Cunning Chulyar.

See Yale, s. v. Choolia. The above notations are remarkable for the period and valual for the history of the name and for the accuracy of the description of this class of adventure is Muhammadans from the East Coast of Madras.

## CHOPP

Fol. 54 he the Governor a Very ready to give his Chopp w<sup>ch</sup> is Signet by Vertue of w<sup>ch</sup> he goeth very safely to y<sup>e</sup> next Government and there tolerated with his Chopp and so forward it is a Seale put upon his wrist in black w<sup>ch</sup> gives a durable impression not at once Easily washed off.

Fol. 93. y<sup>e</sup> water and Muscle of y<sup>e</sup> Ganges Sent from thence the Bencheman, with the Choppe or Seale Upon it is accounted Sacred . . . Braued w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> great Braides and Choppes (Otherwise of noe Esteeme).

Fol. 101 See the Queen of Aracan Sendeth down to them her Chopp (i. e. her broad Seale, and then it is granted according to there request if y<sup>e</sup> Chopp cometh not down to them they must desert from y<sup>e</sup> Increase in hand, and find something else. The Chopp is made of Silver 8 or 12 inches long & like a Mace w<sup>th</sup> peneth on y<sup>e</sup> top where y<sup>e</sup> signet is placed. Before any thing great can be done in this Part he must receive this Chopp, and then later he freed me to buy and Sell and have goods at pleasure, the like must be done when he is a most ready to depart y<sup>e</sup> Countrey, by y<sup>e</sup> Master or Commander onely else it is taken as a most great Affront . . . and y<sup>e</sup> Choppe is made ready about 9 or 10 y<sup>e</sup> next mornings.

Fol. 112 A Chopp was pay for y<sup>e</sup> Chopp 2 pieces of very fine callicos or Muslins of 4 to 6 inches wide at points & 12 inches long.

Fol. 113. See the Other duties are payable by any of y<sup>e</sup> English Nation Except y<sup>e</sup> Chopp and out.

Fol. 64 to inform y<sup>e</sup> Officers that we are ready and want one y<sup>e</sup> Queen's Chopp

Fol. 60 such once more he must give to y<sup>e</sup> Customs house and there take y<sup>e</sup> Chopp for his departure

See Yale, s. v. Chop.

Yale, p. 2. May 24th 1780 A goods except banks and such bulky things of substance going & coming by sea must pass through the sea gate & there be searched examined and customed and being chopt with Red Lake P may pass out or in without



further question from any person' P. 23 3rd June, 1680 Measure or cause to be measured with such lawin | measures as shall have the Company's chop upon them a..'

## CHOLTRY

Fol. 74. one of y<sup>e</sup> best Chowltories or free lodgings houses for all travellers that is contained in this Kingdoms [Bengala].

See Yule, s. v. Choltry. [N. and A. has frequent references to the word in its sense of Court-house, see pp 10, 21, 23 and 39, all for 1680. Carrying this essentially Madras word to Bengal in the text is curious.]

## CHUNAM.

Fol. 163. then [cut] one beales leave or two . . . . and Spread a n<sup>e</sup> equalled time thereon w<sup>th</sup> by them is called Chenam.

See Yule, s. v. Chunam.

## COBANG.

Fol. 152 y<sup>e</sup> Coyne [of Quada] is good gold and in Small pieces & are called Copans, 3 of which Value one Ryall of 8 or 4<sup>s</sup> 6d English. 4 Copans is one mace . . . Small Coppar monnyas turned over called Tarra 96 of w<sup>ch</sup> make one Copan.

Not in Yule. [See ante, Vol. XXVII p. 223, Vol. XXXI, p. 51 ff.]

## COCHIN-CHINA.

Fol. 101. Great quantities of Muske brought from Cochin-China and China it self.

See Yule, s. v. Cochin-China. The spelling in the text is remarkable for the period.

## COCKS ISLAND

Fol. 91. The River of Ganges is of large & wonderfull Extent: Once I went through a Small rivolet of it called Dobra w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Cocks.

Fol. 95. neere y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Ganges. vpon my returne of a V<sup>e</sup> jauge to y<sup>e</sup> Maldiva I lost 3 men by their Savagenesse. I sent them On Shore upon Cocks Island to eat what we larmed . . . 3 were kille in pieces by y<sup>e</sup> Tygers w<sup>th</sup> two Moors and one Portugues.

Not in Yule. [An isle at the entrance of the Hugh River which has now absorbed into Suager Island. See Yule, *Hager Diary*, Vol. III, p. 27.]

## COCONUT

Fol. 29. y<sup>e</sup> Groves consistinge of . . . Coco nut trees.

Fol. 69. [Cutlack] adorned with . . . delicate branches of . . . Coconut trees all very much adorneinge.

Fol. 134 f. acth after Send us henna ducks coconuts . . . as the frute this countrey [Janslons] affordeth is Coconut.

See Yule, s. v. Coco.

## COFFEE.

Fol. 43. drinke much Coffee.

See Yule, s. v. Coffee.

## COIR.

Fol. 27. the boats they doe made and Vn<sup>e</sup> ade Ships or Vessels with . . . Sowed together w<sup>th</sup> Cayre.

Fol. 48. y<sup>e</sup> falls of 15 or 16 inch Coyre Cable.



Fol. 49. The Cables, Strapps &c are made of Cayre, vizt y<sup>e</sup> Rhine of Coco nuts very fine Spun, y<sup>e</sup> best Sort of w<sup>ch</sup> is brought from the Maldiva Isles . . . y<sup>e</sup> Cayre of y<sup>e</sup> Maldiva grows Upon a very brackish Soyle.

Fol. 77. y<sup>e</sup> rest 6 or 7 yearly goe to y<sup>e</sup> 12000 Islands called Maldiva to fetch cowries and Cayre.

See Yule, *s. v.* Coir. [It is used in the text in the sense of rope made from coconut husk. See *ante*, Vol. XXX, p. 399.]

#### COLOMBO.

Fol. 77. They are bought [in Ceylone] from y<sup>e</sup> Dutch . . . in Gale or Colomba.

See Yule, *s. v.* Colombo. [The transition spelling in the text is valuable.]

#### COMBOY.

Fol. 134 Cambayas of 8 Cerefs longe Checkered w<sup>th</sup> blew and white w<sup>th</sup> red Striped heads and borders.

Fol. 168. From Bengala . . . . . Cambayas.

See Yule, *s. v.* Comboy [The quotations are valuable. *N. and E.* p. 18, 8th April 1680, has "about 30 peeces of Cambayas."]

#### COMORIN, CAPE.

Fol. 91 Talaoree (a Dutch Factorie neare y<sup>e</sup> Cape Comorin)

See Yule, *s. v.* Comorin.

#### CONGOE.

Fol. 20. Congyo w<sup>ch</sup> is noe more then fresh Water boyled with a little rice in it.

Fol. 54. Congy w<sup>ch</sup> is water boyled very well with Some rice in it.

See Yule, *s. v.* Congoe [Water in which rice has been boiled; invalid diet, slops also a substitute for starch in stiffening cloth.] [*N. and E.* p. 18, 18th April, 1680: "The washers engage to wash, whiten, congee, beat and well cure according to custom all callicoes and cloth at the rates following."]

#### CONICOPOLY.

Fol. 18. there Secretaries are called Conecopols's.

See Yule, *s. v.* Conicopoly In Madras, a clerk. [*N. and E.* pp. 21 and 27, has Cancopys, and on p. 31 for 21st Sept. 1680 a very valuable quotation: "The Governour accompanied with the Counce . . . attended by six files of Soldiers . . . the Cancoplys of the Towne and of the grounds went the circuit of Madras ground, which was described by the Cancoply of the grounds and lyes noe intermixed with others (as is customary in these Countreys) that tis impossible to be knowne to any others, therefore every village has a Cancoply and a Parryar who are employed in this office which goes from Father to Son for ever"]

#### CONJAGUAREE, POINT

Fol. 69 a very wild Open bay that Extendeth it selfe from Point Conjaguaree to Palmyra.

Not in Yule. {An undefined point near Point Palmyra, probably representing a form Kanhayyagayht or Kanilgayhl.}

#### CORINGA.

Fol. 2 It [the Choromandel Coast] Extendeth it Selfe to point Goodaware on y<sup>e</sup> South Side of y<sup>e</sup> bay Corango.



Fol. 56. Point or Cape Goodawares the Entrance or South Side of y<sup>e</sup> bay Corango  
 . . . . . beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour is namely in Corango.

Yule, s. v. Coringa, has no quotations.

#### COROMANDEL.

Fol. 2. The Extent of the Choromandel coast This coast begineth at Negapatan.  
 . . . . . It extendeth .i. Seife to point Goodawares on y<sup>e</sup> South Side of y<sup>e</sup> bay Corango  
 which by Computation is in length 400 English miles.

See Yule, s. v. Coromandel.

#### COSSA.

Fol. 101. From Dacca: The Chief Commodities brought are fine Cossas, commonly  
 called Muslings.

See Yule s. v. Piece-goods. [The above is a valuable quotation. The word is *khadd*  
 a cotton cloth still used in India, softer than a gageloth, and closer than muslin between  
 longcloth and muslin.]

#### COSSIM.

Fol. 92 Cossumbazar . . . whence it received this name, Cossum significinge  
 y<sup>e</sup> husband or Chiefe and Bazar a Markett.

Not in Yule. [This derivation of this once well-known name in Bengal is of course  
 fanciful.]

#### COSSIMBAZAR.

Fol. 9 Cossumbazar A Very famous and pleasant towne.

See Yule, s. v. Cassimbazar. See ante, Vol. XXVIII p. 204

#### COTWAL.

Fol. 90. Every Thursday night repaire to y<sup>e</sup> Governours and Cottwalla . . . the Jewes et  
 place his oode, before whom they doe and must dance and Singe.

See Yule, s. v. Cotwal. [The spelling is remarkable for the period.]

#### COUNTRY.

Fol. 35. y<sup>e</sup> Abundance of fish caught here for y<sup>e</sup> Supply of many countrey Cities and  
 inland towne.

See Yule s. v. Country. It means 'Indian' as opposed to European. [A ship has  
 y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> November 1680. safe arriv'd in the bay of the English ships since Country  
 ships being cast away.]

#### COVID.

Fol. 24. They measure . . . Calcees Saks &c . . . . . by y<sup>e</sup> Covid w<sup>ch</sup>  
 cont 18 inches and is called hawt.

Fol. 124. Cambayas of 8 covets longe.

See Yule, s. v. Covid. [The covid is a cubit or ell.]

#### COWRY.

Fol. 77. y<sup>e</sup> rest 6 or 7 goe yearly to y<sup>e</sup> 12000 Is and is call'd Madras to fetch cowries.

Fol. 86. Cowries . . . y<sup>e</sup> current monney of this Kingdome. He, gale' & Orixa  
 and Arackan . . . Cowries . . . . . are Small Shells brought from y<sup>e</sup> Islands  
 . . . . . 1 Madras a great quantitie passe for one Rupee, not lesse than 3200



Fol. 94. These Small moneyes called **Cowries** being Small Shells taken out of y<sup>e</sup> Sea, passe very current by tale . . . . They acedome rise or fall more then 2 Pone u one Rupee and y<sup>e</sup> onely in Balasore at y<sup>e</sup> arrivall of the Ships from Ind<sup>e</sup> Madag<sup>e</sup>.

See Yule, s. v. Cowry. See ante, Vol. XXVI p. 290 ff., Vol. XXVIII p. 170 ff., Vol. XXIX pp. 38, 41.

#### CREASE.

Fol. 160. Which see enraged the Old bloody Tyrant that he drew his Creest and stabbed his Son dead.

Fol. 176. and armed w<sup>th</sup> Creest and Lance.

See Yule, s. v. Crease, the Many dagger or *kreis*. The form in the text may be compared with the spelling **Christ** adopted by the 17th Century translator of La Loubere, though I have unfortunately mislaid the quotation.

#### CUPINE.

Fol. 132. When wee have a considerable quantitie of these Small pieces of tinne together [in Janszons] wee weigh w<sup>th</sup> Scales or Stylyard 32 pound w<sup>th</sup> and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and melt it in a Steele panne for y<sup>e</sup> Purpose, and runne it into a mold of wood or clay and that is an Exact Cupine: . . . . In any considerable quantitie of goods Sold together wee agree for soe many Baharre or soe many Cupines.

Not in Yule. Vide ante, Vol. XXXI, p. 51 ff.

#### CUTTACK.

Fol. 69. The Second best City that is in this Kingdome [Bengala] is called **Cattack** a very decent and more comely City then Dacca.

Fol. 71. The Old Nabob of **Cattack** beinge Sent for to the Court at Dacca.

Fol. 73. Some few days afterwards the Nabob rode through y<sup>e</sup> towne of Balasore in his greatest State, mounted upon a Very large Elephant, and thus proceeded towards the City **Cattack**.

See Yule, s. v. Cuttack.

#### DACCA.

Fol. 64. Hee fled to a Small Villadge Seated upon the banks of Ganges and thence to **Dacca** y<sup>e</sup> Metropolitan of this Kingdome [Bengala]

Fol. 64. the Arackan Kinge Sends a parcell of Galyars viz<sup>t</sup> Galya, well fitted and manned w<sup>th</sup> Arackabern and Frangoes who came through y<sup>e</sup> Rivers to **Dacca**.

Fol. 65. Hee makes **Dacca** y<sup>e</sup> Metropolitan beinge a fairer and Stronger City then Rajah Mehal: the antient Metropolis.

Fol. 68. The City **Dacca** is a Very large spacious one but standeth Upon low marshy & Swampy ground . . . . haveinge a fine and large River that runneth close by y<sup>e</sup> walls thereof.

Fol. 69. The English and Dutch have each of them a fectorie in the City of **Dacca**.

Fol. 72. up y<sup>e</sup> River of Ganges as high as **Dacca**.

Fol. 94. rupees, halfe rupees and quarters, a very good Sort of fine Silver moneyes Coyned in y<sup>e</sup> Mint at **Dacca**.

Fol. 101. from **Dacca**. The Chiefe Commodities brought are fine Cogoes, common y<sup>e</sup> called Mazlinge.

See Yule, s. v. Dacca.



## DAMMAR.

*Fol. 158.* From y<sup>e</sup> W<sup>t</sup> Coast of this Jaland (Sumatra) . . . Dammar . . .  
The Dammar of Sumatra is accounted and I know it by Experience to be better then any other  
in Janna or South Seas. wee make all our pitch and Tarre w<sup>th</sup> Dammar and Oyle as fol<sup>l</sup>oweth  
One third dammar and 2 3 Oyle, well boyled together, make very good tarre, but not so  
valuable for any ropes, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> Oyle. Again 2 3 Dammar and 1 3 Oyle make a Very  
Excellent Sort of pitch not inferiour to y<sup>e</sup> best wee use for our Shippinge in Eng<sup>l</sup>and And  
indeed wee have noe Other Pitch or tarre in any of y<sup>e</sup> Eastern parts of y<sup>e</sup> knowne World.

See Yule, s. v. Dammar. See ante, Vol. XXX. p. 337.

## DECCAN

*Fol. 62.* Hee Sent . . . La third Son Aurrenge-Zebe into Deccan.

See Yule, s. v. Deccan.

## DELHI

*Fol. 65.* Much flyinge news arrived att Agra and Delly.

*Fol. 67.* hence was a Short answer y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> treasure was as Safe in Dacca as in his owne  
Exchequer in Agra or Delly.

See Yule, s. v. Delhi [It is a pity that Yule did not trace the rise of the *h* in Delhi, as it  
is not in the vernacular forms, nor in the old 17th century writers.]

## DOBRA RIVER.

*Fol. 51.* The River of Ganges is of large & wonderfull Extent. Once I went through a  
Small rivolet of rivolet of it called Dobra. w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Cocks.

Not in Yule. [It is almost impossible to trace this among the existing deltaic streams on  
the left bank of the Hughli, by Saugar Island.]

## DIVI, POINT.

*Fol. 31.* Pettipolee . . . lyeth to the Sward of Point Due.

*Fol. 51.* y<sup>e</sup> River Krishna . . . passeth out Vpon Point Due. y<sup>e</sup> Entrance of y<sup>e</sup>  
Roade of Metchlipatam.

Not in Yule. [Well known to mariners of old as the Southern point of the *h* straits in y<sup>e</sup>  
*Vide ante*, Vol XXX. p. 392.]

## DUBASH

*Fol. 24.* my Dubashee whose name was Narsa asked me if I wold Stay to See a hand  
some younge Widdow burned.

*Fol. 162.* Some of y<sup>e</sup> Custome-house Officers and commonly y<sup>e</sup> English Dubashee  
. . . but in y<sup>e</sup> interim w<sup>th</sup> Shabanwar & Dubashee . . . doth accompanie  
him and discourse most friendly.

*Fol. 164.* wee sold to y<sup>e</sup> Custome house y<sup>e</sup> English Dubashee to informe y<sup>e</sup> Officers the  
that wee are ready.

See Yule, s. v. Dubash [The quotations are good for the date and the form of the word  
It meant an interpreter and mercantile broker.]

[N. and E. p. 20 for 25th May 1680 bringing letters . . . that Verous the  
Dubass was dead P 27. for 5th July 1680 the wages of the Company's Dubassee "  
P 43. for 28th Dec. 1680: " Resolved to Tasberill the seven Chief Merchants and the Chief  
Dubass upon New Years Day."]

(To be continued.)



## MISCELLANEA.

## HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

## I.

## The Shrines of Bālak Rūpi, near Gujanpur in Kangra.

My informants are:—(1) Chuhār, Brāhman Obālā (or disciple), (2) Lāhnan Brāhman, (3) Nim Nāth Jōgi,<sup>1</sup> (4) Bāl Jōgi, (5) Darbhnan Jōgi, and (6) Biskhū Jōgi, *jōgis* of Bālak Rūpi.

One Gandesh Brāhman, a *parāhī* of the Jaawāl Rājā, gave up his office and took up his abode in Dhār Bālak Rūpi, whence he repaired to Har, where the temple of Bābā Bālak Rūpi now stands. His grandson, Jōgū, when he was about 10 or 12 years old, one day went to his fields with a plough on his shoulder. In the jungle he met a young *goddā*, who asked him if he would serve him. Jōgū consented, whereupon the *goddā* instructed him not to tell anybody what had passed between them.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving the *goddā*, Jōgū went to the fields, where other men were working, and on his arrival there, began to dance involuntarily saying that he did not know where he had left his plough. The men rejoined that the plough was on his shoulder and asked what was the matter with him. Jōgū told them the whole story, but when he had finished telling it he became mad. Gandesh, his father, thereupon took some cotton-thread, and went to a *goddā*, by name Kanthar Nāth, who recited some *mantras*, blew on the thread, and told him to put it round the neck of Jōgū, who on wearing it was partially cured. Kanthar Nāth then advised Gandesh to take the lad to Bābā Lāl Pārī, a good Mahātmā, who lived in the village of Ganyārā Ganjhar, which he did. Lāl Pārī let him depart, telling him that he would follow him. He also declared that the *goddā*, whom the mad lad had met, was Bābā Bālak Rūpi, and that he had been afflicted because he had betrayed the Bābā. Gandesh went his way home, but Bābā Lāl Pārī reached Har before him. Thereafter both Bābā Lāl Pārī and Jōgi Kanthar Nāth began to search for Bābā Bālak Rūpi.

At that time, on the site where Bālak Rūpi's temple now stands, was a temple of Guggā, and close to it was a rose-bush. Bābā Lāl Pārī told

Gandesh to cut down the bush and to dig beneath it. When he had dug to a depth of four or five cubits he discovered a flat-stone pillar against which the spade with which he was digging struck the mark caused by the stroke of a flat cable and then began to come from it. The whole pit was filled with blood. After a short time the blood stopped and milk began to flow out of it. Next came a stream of golden water, and finally by a confluence of water. Bābā Lāl Pārī said that all these were signs of Bābā Bālak Rūpi. He then took the pillar to the Nāgā Nāth in order to bathe it, whereupon milk again began to issue from it. The pillar was then taken back to its former place.

While on the way near Bhāchar Kund a tank near the temple on the roadside the pillar itself moved from the palanquin, in which it was being carried, and went into the tank. Bābā Lāl Pārī and Kanthar Nāth recovered it and brought it back to its place where it had first appeared. During the night it was revealed to Bābā Lāl Pārī in a vision that Guggā's temple should be demolished and its remains cast into the Nāgā Kund, or Nāth, or used in building a temple to Bālak Rūpi on the same site.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly the idol was stationed on the place pointed out.<sup>4</sup> Bābā Lāl Pārī said that Jōgū's eldest son and his descendants would have the right to worship the idol, while the out-door duties would be performed by Kanthar Jōgi's descendants. At that time Saadām Chand Kātch was the Rājā of this territory.

First of all Rājā Abhī Chand made a vow at the temple of Bābā Bālak Rūpi in order that he might be blessed with a son. When he begot a child, the Rājā began to be resorted to more eagerly.

A Rājput girl was once told by her brother's wife to graze cattle, and on her refusing, the latter said—'Yes, it is below your dignity to graze cattle because you are a Rājā; be sure you will not be married to a Rājā.' The girl in distress at the remark untied the cattle and led them to jungle. At that time Bābā Bālak Rūpi had again become manifest. The girl sought him and said that she would not believe him to

was hostile to that of Guggā? Has the latter cult been displaced elsewhere by that of a Śikh?

<sup>4</sup> This looks like Śiva worship. Is Bālak Rūpi to be considered an incarnation of Śiva?

<sup>1</sup> Nim Nāth, or lord of the nim tree. The names of Jōgis will repay investigation.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the story of Birag Lok, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Does this mean that the cult of Bālak Rūpi is, or



be really Bālak Rāpi unless she married a Rājā, adding that if her desire were fulfilled she would offer a bullock<sup>2</sup> of copper at his temple. Five or seven days had not elapsed when a Rājā of the Kāśh dynasty chanced to pass where the girl was herding cattle, and seeing the girl, he ordered her to be taken to his seraglio, where he married her. Unfortunately the girl forgot to fulfil her vow, and so a short time after all the Rāpis in the seraglio began to nod their heads *khānd*,<sup>3</sup> as if under the influence of a spirit), and continued doing so day and night. The Rājā summoned all the *śāsthas* and *chāhīs*. One of the latter said that the cause of the Rāpis' being possessed by spirits was that a vow to Bābā Bālak Rāpi had not been fulfilled. The Rājā replied that if all the Rāpis recovered he would take all his family to the temple and present the promised offering. The *chāhī* then prepared a thread in the name of the Bālak, and this was put round the necks of the persons possessed, who recovered. Thereafter a bullock was made of copper, and the Rājā also erected a temple. When the bullock was offered (*jāb-dan*), the artist who had made it died forthwith.<sup>4</sup>

Whenever any misfortune is to befall the family of the Kāśh Rājās, the copper bullock is affected as if by fear. This occurred on the 20th of Bar Sambat 1902, and His Highness Rājā Partāb Chaud died on the 15th of Sāwan in that year. On that day Bābā Bālak Pārī's idol also perished. It is for these reasons that the bullock is worshipped and vows are made to it. The *jātrīs* (offerers) who make vows at the temple of the bullock, offer on the fulfilment of their desires *jōpi tōpi* and *bānd*,<sup>5</sup> and rub the bullock with the offering. They also put a bell round his neck. These offerings are taken by the *jōgi* on duty, there being several *jōgis* who attend by turn.

Four fairs, taking eight days, are held in honour of Bālak Rāpi on every Saturday in Jēth and Hār. Those who have vowed to offer living he-goats present them alive, while those who had vowed to kill he-goats slaughter them at a fixed place within the temple precincts. The head, fore-legs, and skin are given to the *jōgi* on duty, and some rice and a pice are also paid to him as

compensation for ancestor-worship.<sup>6</sup> The *jōgis* who are appointed to be stationed there are killed at Naga Kāl and cooked and eaten at the same place. Sometimes they take the bullock to their home and distribute it as a *jōgi* thing.

The ceremony of *jāmdān*<sup>7</sup> (or shaving the hair of a child for the first time) is usually performed in the temple of Bālak Rāpi, and the hair is thereupon offered at the temple, or those who observe a ceremony seldom often come to the temple to offer the hair. An additional present, the amount of which varies from two pice to two *rupees* (the *rupees* being allowed as *rupees*). All these offerings are taken by the *jōgi* on duty. The *jātrīs* who make offerings (e. g., a human being, i. e., a child or a buffalo, cow, horse, etc., according to their vows,<sup>8</sup> give it, if an animal, to the *jōgi* on duty, while in the case of a child its price is paid to the *jōgi* and the infant is taken back. Besides, cash, curds, umbrellas, coconuts, and *ghat* are also offered. These offerings are preserved in the *bāndār* (store-house).

The people living in the vicinity of the temple, within 15 or 20 *kds* distance, do not eat any fresh corn (termed *nawān*, literally meaning 'new') unless they have offered it at Bālak Pārī's temple.<sup>9</sup>

## II

### The Shrine of Bawa Baroh Mahadeo, near Jawnia Mukhi.

The real history of the Bāwā is not known, but the story goes that under a *baryān* or 'barf' tree (whence the name *Baroh*) appeared an idol of stone still to be seen in Danāyā, by name Kālī Nāth, whose merits Bāwā Lāl Pārī preached. In A. 1740 B. S. Singh, Wāsi of Gōlār, was imprisoned at Kōtlā and a soldier at the Fort, a native of Danāyā, persuaded him to make a vow to Bāwā Baroh, in consequence of which he was released. The *Wāsi*, however, forgot his vow and so fell ill until he made a large pecuniary offering to the shrine. In this year the small old temple was replaced by the present larger one under Bābā Bāl Pārī. The *jōgīs* in charge have been — (1) Bāl Pārī — Shub Pārī, *gur-bhāṭā*; (2) Sukh Pārī, died A. 1938; (3) Dōo Pārī.

<sup>1</sup> *Ball* in the Vernacular. Again, this looks like the bull of Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> Can anyone explain this use of *khānd* (*khānd*) for demoniacal possession?

<sup>3</sup> Parallels are wanted. [There is something very like this in the legends relating to the erection of the colossal Jain figures at Belgā: vide ante, Devil-worship of the Talwās, stories of Halkūda and Kālīkṛti. — Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Not traceable in Dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> What does 'compensation for ancestor-worship' mean.

<sup>6</sup> Why so called? *Jāmdān* is the usual term.

<sup>7</sup> Under what circumstances is a child vowed to Bālak Rāpi?

<sup>8</sup> An instance of first-fruits offered to the god.



The followers of Bāwā Bopā keep a *jāṭṭ* (cloth bag), an iron chain, *kharison* (sandals), and a *chāl* or shirt, in their houses.

Grain is usually offered at the shrine, with flour, *phl* and *gur* for the bullock (there appears to be an image of a bullock also). If a he-goat is sacrificed, the skin and a hind-leg are offered up, the rest being eaten by the *jāṭis* on his way home.

Sometimes a *kudāḥ*, or living he-goat, is offered, as the substitute for a life in case of sickness, or by one who is childless. Women can enter the shrine.

### III

#### The Shrine of Bīrag Lok, near Palampur.

The founder of the shrine, when a boy, once, when herding cattle, met a *goddā*, who told him never to disclose the fact of their friendship or he would no longer remain in his place. Keeping the secret however made him ill, and so at last he told his parents all about the *goddā*.<sup>14</sup> They gave him *sattu* for the holy man, but when about to cook it, the boy complained that he had no water whereupon the *goddā* struck the ground with his *gaḍ* (an iron stick) and a spring appeared, which still exists. The *goddā* did not eat the food, saying his hunger was satisfied by its smell. The boy then caught the *goddā* by the arm, upon

which the latter struck him with his hand and turned him into stone.

A few days later a Bhāt Brāhman became possessed and saw all that had occurred. So a temple was erected and the place called Bīrag (Goswā Lok) connected from *ahy*, disappearance. As Goswā Lok had been a herdsmen he became particularly the god of cattle and fairs were made regarding cattle. The fair is on Har 3rd. *Rāg* and corn are offered. In this shrine temple there is also an image of Goraaknāth placed there by a Goswā Mān in the 18th century. The stone leg of the boy has disappeared. The followers of the shrine regard the *goddā* as Goraaknāth himself. The keepers of the shrine are (1) Goswā and Bhāt Brāhman.

### IV.

#### Bawa Fathu's Shrine, near Raniwal.

300 years ago a Brāhman of the Bhāri *clan* in Rawalpindi District asked Bēḍī Bāwā Parjāpati for a charm, as his children had all died, and vowed to give his first-born to him. The Brāhman had five sons, but failed to keep his word, so two of them died. Thereupon he brought one of his sons, Fathu, to the Bēḍī who kept him with him. So Bāwā Fathu became a *sādhu*, and people began to pay him visits.<sup>15</sup> The Brāhman of the shrine are descendants of Bāwā Parjāpati, a Bhagat of Guru Nānak. The fair is held on 1st Baisākh.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### QIVA SAVED BY A SPIDER ON HIS FLIGHT.

(A Query by Prof. Ludwig.)

YKMANA (the Telugana poet; age?) alludes to such a story in his *Padyamulu* (Book III, strophe 159):—

para Haranaka uḥa paraga tā nēria  
athiramu galga jūḍaḥḥama' gye  
nīlakḥmivacca? nīyabhakti hēluva,

"formerly for Hara's benefit a web the spider himself weaving, permanent-become knowledgeable obtained having (having obtained a soul endowed with true knowledge)—for the weaving what came (what of this reward was the quota for the weaving)? (nothing; for) true (inborn) faith (or devotion) (alone was) the motive (for the reward)."

<sup>14</sup> These images point to some ceremony of initiation. The followers of the god have the devotee's *jāṭṭ*, but the meaning of the iron chain, etc., is obscure.

<sup>15</sup> These stories point to some allegorical meaning underlying the popular legend. The *goddā* is said to be

An analogous story is told about an escape by Robert Bruce, and I am informed likewise of King David in a *Midraṣ*, viz., that he was saved by the intervention of a spider, which spread its net across the opening of a cavern, where he had sought and found a temporary refuge. In neither of these two instances I am able to furnish the exact references, although the facts themselves are well known.

Although it is pity to risk that future fugitives may fail to derive advantage from well-intentioned spiders by giving greater publicity to these stories, it would be interesting to learn whether the story about Qiva is of exclusively South Indian origin or is known in the North or any other part of India also. I do not remember to have met with it in the course of a tolerably extensive reading.

Gōraknāth himself. Can anyone say what is the belief underlying these legends?

<sup>16</sup> An instance of worship being transferred from the god of the shrine to a person vowed to him and so made holy or account.



## BOOK-NOTICE.

**CHANDRA-VYAKARAṆA: DIE GRAMMATIK DES CHANDRA-  
GOMIN. SŪTRA, UṢĀHA, DĀTṬAVRITTI. Edited by  
DR. BRUNO LIEBICH. Brookhaus, Leipzig, 1902.**

THE foundation of the scientific study of the native system of Sanskrit grammar having been laid by nothing in his two editions of Pāṇini and Yāskī in his monumental edition of the *Maṇu-smṛiti*, the path of research in this field is now worthily continued by the able scholar Prof. Liebich of the University of Bremen, himself long well-known by his writings on Pāṇini and the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*. He has in the volume now before us produced a valuable critical edition of the most important parts of the system of the Buddhist Sanskrit grammarian Chandra-gomin. This grammar, though not belonging to the Pāṇinian system, is yet of historical value in connexion with that system, since Sūtras of Chandra which have no parallel in Pāṇini and Patañjali, are borrowed, in a modified or unmodified form, by the authors of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, but always without any acknowledgment of the source (e.g., Chandra S. 111. v, 61 in K. V. IV. i, 138 and IV. iv, 72.7 in K. V. V, iv, 75). Hence Prof. Liebich's edition of Chandra-gomin is a necessary preliminary step towards the elucidation of several passages in the present text of the *Kāśikā*. Sanskritists will look forward to the critical edition of the latter commentary which Prof. Liebich intends to bring out later on.

The expectation that MSS. of Chandra-gomin's grammar might turn up in a Buddhist country like Ceylon, has never been fulfilled. But the work was at one time undoubtedly known there; for an elementary Sanskrit grammar entitled *Balīśābōdhana*, which is an abstract of Chandra written about 1200 A. D. by a Buddhist monk in Ceylon, has been preserved (published at Colombo in 1895).

In Kashmir, which was probably the native country of Chandra-gomin, nothing beyond a single leaf containing the *coro-sūtras*, or phonology, and the *parīkūṣha-sūtras*, or rules of interpretation, belonging to this grammarian's system, has been brought to light. This fragment, though so small in extent, has, however, proved of critical value in connexion with the texts subsequently discovered.

On the other hand, Nepal, that small country to which we owe the preservation of so many works of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, has yielded, after persistent search, MSS. of all the most important treatises connected with

Chandra's grammar. These and several secondary texts and commentaries, comprising altogether twenty works, are described in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1890, p. 134, and are all preserved in the Tibetan translations made between 700 and 900 A. D., and contained in the *Tanjur*. These accurate translations are of the utmost value to the editors of the corresponding Sanskrit texts.

The main part of Prof. Liebich's edition consists of the *Sūtra* of the grammar itself (pp. 1-13). This is preceded by the *Industrielle* (pp. 14-16), to which is added a transit table of the roots in alphabetical order (pp. 35-47). Judging by the pagination, this part of the volume was added after the rest had been printed. The third part is formed by the *Uṣṭi-Sūtra* (pp. 140-171), to which is appended a transliterated alphabetical list of the Uṣṭi words (pp. 172-181). The volume concludes with an index to the grammatical and the Uṣṭi Sūtras combined (pp. 182-235). There is a short preface of four pages dealing chiefly with the MS. material used by the editor. A long introduction was unnecessary after the author's extensive article on the Chandra-vyākaraṇa in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1895 (pp. 272-321), and his contribution to the *Vierteljahrsschrift* for 1899 on the date of Chandra-gomin (pp. 308-315). His chronological argument, in the latter article, is based on a happy and convincing conjectural emendation of a sentence occurring in his MS. of the Chandra-vṛtti, a commentary on the Chandra-sūtra, which he believes Chandra-gomin himself to have composed, though he reserves the proof of this belief for a future occasion. The sentence in question, *ajayad Guptā Hāṇas iti*, is employed as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express that an event occurred within the lifetime of the speaker. Now the event here spoken of can only refer to the temporary defeat of the Hāṇas by Śiśuṇagupta soon after 465 A. D., or to their final expulsion, in the year 544 A. D., by Yaśodharman. The author of the Chandra-vṛtti must therefore have flourished either about 480 or 550 A. D., the former date being the more probable according to Prof. Liebich's showing. Even if the foregoing argument were to be set aside, the date of Chandra-gomin's grammar could not be later than 600 A. D., as it was known to the authors of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*.

The grammatical Sūtras, which number about 3,100, are printed separately, each line containing but one Sūtra together with the reference to the







## NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

*Extracted and rendered into English, with the author's permission from the "Journal Asiatique," July-Dec., 1896, pp. 414 to 484, and Jan. June, 1897, pp. 5 to 42, by W. R. PHILLIPS.*

THERE were published not long ago by M. Sylvain Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique* some interesting Notes on the Indo-Scythians, in connection with the question of the date of Kanishka and other points of early Indian history. Some people may differ from M. Lévi's conclusions, and others may think that he has not carried them quite far enough. No one, however, can fail to admire the thorough and lucid manner in which he has dealt with his subject, and to appreciate the value of the matter which he has laid before us. And an English rendering of these Notes will be acceptable and useful to students to whom the Notes themselves may not be accessible in the original. The object of this paper and its continuations is to supply what is necessary in that direction. Space has rendered some abridgment unavoidable and, as the result, an abstract has mostly to be offered, instead of a full translation. But all the leading features of these Notes are, it is believed, brought to the front. M. Lévi has kindly looked through a proof of the English rendering, and has made some corrections in details, and has added some supplementary information.

M. Lévi's Notes are divided as follows:—

- Part I. — *Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec. 1896, pp. 414 to 484. — **Stories.**  
 Part II. — *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 5 to 26. — **Historical Texts.**  
 Part III. — *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 27 to 42. — **St. Thomas, Gondophares, and Masdeo.**

M. Lévi's spellings of Chinese names and words are followed but the Indian ones have been altered so as to be in harmony with the system of transliteration generally observed in the *Index Indipary*. Chinese characters, where they appear in the original have necessarily been omitted. The figures in this type in square brackets mark the pages of the original to facilitate reference if it should be desired to follow up more fully any particular points.

## PART I. — STORIES.

[444] In the traditions of Northern Buddhism, the name of Kanishka has been surrounded with a halo, but in literature we find little information about the history or legend of this king. According to the Chinese, he was the founder of a tower, Kanishkavara, and of several regions having as names *can* or *tan* (Kanishkan or Tan). The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang relates the miraculous circumstances of his conversion predicted by the Buddha, his pious zeal, the convocation of the last council during his reign, and mentions several times the vast extent of his dominions and the fame of his power (I., 84-95; *Memoires* (II), 42, 106, 113-172, 193). The Chinese T'arshih also relates the meeting of a great religious assembly and the prosperity of Buddhism in his reign, but expressly distinguishes him from another prince of almost the same name whom he calls [445] Kanika. Schlegel's translation, 2, 54-81. Chinese and European have partly corrected and completed these data and shown the strange syncretism of Kanishka—who borrowed his gods and formulas partly from China and from Iran, from Greek sources and from India. Nevertheless we do not know much about him, we can however get a little additional light from some of the stories preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. M. Lévi takes these tales from three works, which though of Indian origin, linger exist in Sanskrit. They are the *Dutramakara*, the *Samyakaratana-parisa*, and the *Dharma-pitaka nihsa sūtra* ("











authorities. The Rajatarangini puts the Turushka or Yue-tchi dynasty just after Nagārjuna. The Buddha's prophecy quoted by Hsüan Tsang announces Kanishka's accession in the year 400 of the Nirvana. Finally, the Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka, which puts Kanishka and the arhat Kāśyapa together, makes the arhat appear 760 years after the Nirvana.<sup>1</sup>

The mention of Charaka is the first positive indication obtained as to the date of the learned practitioner who disputes with Susruta the glory of having founded medical science in India. The Greek influences thought to be found in Charaka's teaching are easily explained if he lived at the time, and at the court, of the Indo-Scythians, when Hellenism seemed to be conquering the old brahmanical civilisation.

The appearance of Jains in the legend of Kanishka is not surprising. The Kankali Tila inscriptions, at Mathurā, have recently revealed the prosperity of Jainism under Kanishka and his successors. Buddhism doubtless had much to fear from this rival for Asvaghosha pursued it [452] with implacable fury—it appears often in his stories, and always in odious or ridiculous guise. One of his sutras, preserved only in the Korean edition, and reprinted in the new Japanese one shows Ni-ken-tzeu (Nirgrantha-putra) reduced to the part of hearer, and being instructed on the sense of the "Not-I" (*On-ya, Anātma*, (Ni-ken-tzeu-gwan on-ya-i-king Japanese edition, 10th 2211 fasc. 2).<sup>2</sup>

So far, M. Lévi's introductory remarks. We now come to the stories transcribed by him. Space does not permit of their being quoted in full—we must suffice to give only such particulars as bring out the traditional facts about Kanishka to which M. Lévi has a quest, and which the Chinese notices showing the Chinese version of Susruta put in a light.

#### Sūtrālanhkāra (ch. 3).

[452] This describes how the king Tchen-t'an K'ien-t'ien (*t'ien-t'ien kanishka*) met 100 mendicants while he was on the way to visit the town of Kanishka (*kanishka-pura*). Presumably the journey was made on horseback, for when [453] the minister I-t'ien-t'ien (*ts'ien-t'ien*) asked him that he got off his horse to speak to the king. The king explains to him the request made by the mendicants, and the lesson to be drawn from it and [454 to 457] the minister replies.

On the question of identification of *t'ien-t'ien* = *Chinasthāna* [rāj] and *ts'ien-t'ien* (son of Heaven), M. Lévi has referred us [452, note] to *Monumenta Chinensia* (Paris) *Index des noms propres* p. 182, and he has observed that the transfer, from *K'ien-t'ien* suggests the pronunciation *kanishka* along with the ordinary form *kanishka*, and that this interpretation is confirmed especially by Huxham in *Esquisse* I, p. 371 372. Mathura inscriptions No. 3. *Inscriptions* II, 106-212 No. 26. On the first of these points, he has now added some remarks, as follows:—"*Tchen-t'ien* suggests still another explanation, in addition to *ts'ien-t'ien*. Sarat Chandra Das, in the *Annals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1886 (Vol. LV, Part I) p. 123, said on the strength of Tibetan texts:—"*In ancient times when Buddha Kāśyapa appeared in this world, he said:—[the country of Khoten]—was called the country of Chanakya,*" to which he added in a note:—"*The earliest intercourse of the Indians*

<sup>1</sup> M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows:—"*The dates assigned by Buddhist traditions to Asvaghosha are, equally, no discordant that, from the end of the fourth century, the first monks who had attained the state of arhat appeared (1) in the time of Ashoka (2) after the Nirvana (3) in the year 100 (4) in the year 300 (5) in the year 400 of the Nirvana. I may be content at present to refer to the Introduction of the *Mañjuśrī-sūtra*, translated from Chinese by M. Tettarō Suzuki (Asvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana, Chicago 1900).*"

<sup>2</sup> M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows:—"*In fact I have since found another version of this sūtra, in the edition of the Tripitaka of the Ming, that which is entered in Nanjio's Catalogue under No. 616 (Japanese edition, v. 1 37). It is there erroneously designated as a tradition of the Śāli-vasthavasūtra, with which it has nothing in common. The sūtra does not there bear the name of its author, the translator is the Indian monk Vasubandhu (373-413) A. D.*"



with China was through Khoten which they called Chandaṇa and it is very probable that they subsequently extended that designation to China. Unfortunately, Sarat Chandra Das does not give his authorities. But the fact seems to me very probable. And I had been personally led, in an independent manner, to form that hypothesis. But with a good reason. *Chandaṇa* seems to me to be a form restored in Tibetan out of the Chinese *Tchen-tan* = China-tāna. The original Tchen-tan or Chentaṇa would be Kusigara, and Tchen-tan kamsaka would be Kan-shka, king of Khoten. I cannot avoid believing that the cradle of the power of the Tukhāra-Turushana is to be found in that region.

M. Lévi points out [455, note] that a verse of some stanzas uttered by Tien-fa at the end of the story is almost identical with the 5th verse in "One hundred and fifty stanzas in honour of the Buddha" by Mātṛphāṇa, preserved in the Chinese translation of Hsiao. Now, according to Tārnāṭha (p. 89) the śākyas Mātṛphāṇa, revealed by the B. l. lha to be a glorious author of hymns, was the same person as Asvaghōṣa Śākyas. Darllhar-lha, Dharmaka-Subhita, all these names designate one individual contemporary of Kan-ka. It has also been observed that Indian poets, in spite of their reluctance to literary plagiarism, liked to insert an identical stanza in their different works, as if to mark their common authorship. Thus the repetition of the same verse in the Sūtrāṇḍkāra and the Saṅghasāntaka seems to confirm Tārnāṭha. The analogy of procedure in the Sūtrāṇḍkāra and the Jatakamālā is equally striking. In both the story is developed like a sermon, and a text from the sacred books is taken as theme. In acts, prose and verse are intermingled with taste, and, even though the medium of the Chinese version, an equal happiness of style is apparent. If the Jatakamālā was not by Asvaghōṣa, it probably came from his school.

#### Būtrāṇḍkāra (ch. 6).

[457] This story begins: "In the race of Kṛi-cha (*Aśvaka*) there was a king named Tchen-tan " Kṛi-cha-tel'ā (*Īcāputra Kanishka*). He conquered Young T'ien-tchen (Eastern India) and pacified the country. His power spread fear, his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land. At that time the king's heart was pleased " on y with the religion of the B. l. lha he made it his necklace. Now, in the place where he stopped, " he [458] saw afar off a stūpa which he took for a stūpa of the Buddha. With a suite of one " thousand men he went to visit it. When he got near the stūpa, he got off his horse, and advanced " on foot. The imperial cap set with precious stones adorned his head."

The king, after reciting some stanzas bowed his head and adored. At that very moment the stūpa broke into little pieces. The king was troubled and affrighted. He thought the destruction must be due to magic. [459] In the past he had adored a hundred thousand stūpas, and never one was the least damaged. He feared some impending calamities. [460] At last a man of a neighbouring village approached and explained that the stūpa was not one of the Buddha, but of the Nī-kiēn (*Nirgrantha*), who " are very stupid", moreover there were no riches in it. The king was filled with joy. Among the stanzas he then utters, we have:—

[461] " He is not pure, the son of Nī-kiēn (*Nirgrantha-putra*). "

" At the moment when the stūpa tumbled down, a great noise came from it, which denoted " it as a stūpa of Jou-to-tsen (*Jūsta-putra*). "

" The Buddha formerly having gone where Kā-cha (*Kāśyapa*) was, Kā-cha adored the feet of the Buddha. — " I, I, O Bhagavat, it is I, O Buddha Lokajyestha! "

As to the Nī-kiēn, " their knowledge is not omniscience, "

" Nan-ou-po-ku-pā (*Namo Bhagavatē*), it is he whom all adore as the master of deliverance. "

[462] " Ad heretics together are not worth a straw. How much less than the master of the " Nī-kiēn, Fou-lan-na Kā-cha (*Pārāṇa Kāśyapa*). "







considered as his intimate friends: the first was called Ma-mu-ka, poet as (*Avarakusha* *Do-thien-ta*); the second who was prime minister, was called Ma-tch'a-k (*Mathura*); the third was a famous physician named Li-tsu-ka (*Chosaka*). These three intimate friends of the king were treated with honour and courtesy. When he was on a journey or when he was resting they were on his right hand and on his left. Then, if he was travelling any of each of these counsellors to the king. The advice of the prime minister was: "I have a great project to the feet of the king of his servant will not living long, the emperor will not be able to see the emperor." [473] This advice was followed and there was a great war, and the emperor died. In the west, three of the four regions were at peace, only the eastern region had not yet come to submit itself and to demand protection. When he equipped a great army to go to chastise it, in front he made the Hou (barbarians) march and the whole of the army as he led the emperor and his gales. The king followed, and he led his army behind. He wished to go as far as Ta-mu-ang (Hoi-t). In crossing the passes, those who rode the elephants and the horses in front could not advance any longer. The king in his surprise let out the secret of his expectation, and his minister warned him that as he had done so death was near. The king understood, and, as in his war he had slain more than three hundred thousand men, he was troubled at the thought of the punishments awaiting him. So [474] he confessed his fault and repented, gave alms, kept the great monks, built a monastery, and gave food to the monks. His counsellors represent to him that his past has been so bad, that these good works will not now profit him. The king has a large polished mirror and shows his ring in it, and allegorically convinces the counsellors of their error. They rejoice at his wisdom.

[475] Fon-fa-te'ang-in-inen-teh'o-en

(Sri-Dharma-pitaka-sampradāya-nidāna?).

(Chap. 5.)

We learn here how Ma-mung (*Avarakusha*) by his music and teaching caused 500 kings sons in Hsueh-shen (*Patalaputra*, literally "the town of flowers," *Kusumapura*) to give up the world. So the king, in fear that his kingdom would become empty, ordered the music to be stopped.

The total number of sons in the town of Hsueh-shen was one hundred thousand. The king of the kingdom in the Yue-tse [476] Teh-shan K. (*deraputra Kanishka*) equipped "the four forces," came to Hsueh-shen, and in a battle defeated his king who made his submission. The conqueror demanded one hundred thousand gold pieces. Then the king of Hsueh-shen, considering that Ma-mung, too Buddha's wooden bowl and a naturally compassionate cock which would not drink water containing insects were each worth three hundred thousand pieces, offered the three to Kanishka, who accepted them joyfully and returned to his kingdom.

Then follows a story telling how a ball of clay placed at the top of a stupa, [477] was miraculously changed into a statue of the Buddha at his prayer. Kanishka

The history of the Jain stupa which turned to pieces is here also given as in the *Sutrāṃkāra* (see above, p. 385).

The next story of Kanishka and a barber has nothing worth extracting.

[478] The bhikṣu Ta-mo-mu (*Tamamuta*) is mentioned as being at that time of great renown in Kanishka's kingdom. "He was able to well recite and explain the characters of the 'Samsamang' (*samādhi*). This comes the story of the visit of two bhikṣus from the kingdom of Nāgādeva to Kanishka. The story is the same as the similar story of the visit to Kanishka in the *Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka* (see above, p. 386).

Kanishka also goes to visit Ta-mo-mu in the mountains of Kanishka. The bhikṣu teaches the king a short formula in a short formula, and the king returns to his kingdom, and on the way explains the formula to his ministers. (Compare the similar story in the *Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka*, 15 see above, p. 386.)



[479] After this we have again the story of Kanakka and the mendicants. (*f. b. d. m. shikara* ch. 3 (see above, p. 384).

"At that time, the king of the Ngans (*Pahlava*) was very stupid and of a violent nature. At the head of two four forces he attacked Kanakka, who defended him and slew nine hundred thousand men. Then he asked his ministers if this sin could be wiped out or not, and to instruct them, and a pot be filled and put his ring in it, &c. (*f. Samyaktva ratna-pataka* story 16 (see above, p. 387).

There was a Brahmin arhat who, seeing the evil done by the king—a slaughter of nine hundred thousand men,—wished to make him repent. So by his supernatural force he caused the king to see the torments of hell. The king was terrified and repented. [480] Then Ma-nung told him that if he obeyed his teaching he would escape hell. Kanakka replied:

"Well, I receive the teaching." Then Ma-nung expounded the law, and gradually caused the sin to be entirely weakened.

There was also a physician called Tche-lo (*Chura-lo* *Charaka*). Kanakka had often heard of him and wanted to see him. It happened that Tche-lo came of his own accord to the palace. [481] The king promised to follow any advice he might give. Soon after this the king's favorite wife had a difficult confinement, and Tche-lo delivered her of a dead man-child. He advised the king not to touch this wife in future. His advice was not followed, and another child was delivered with the same pains as before. [482] Tche-lo therefore quitted the court and left the world.

There was a minister named Ma-tchono-lo (*Mâtara*). He told Kanakka that if he followed his advice without diverging in all the earth would be subject to him, "the eight regions will take refuge in thy virtue." The king promised to do so; the minister chose good generals, equipped the four forces, and the peoples of three regions were subdued. Then the king set out that he intended to conquer the northern region [483] and his people, hearing this, took counsel among themselves: "The king is greedy, cruel and unreasonable; his campaigns and frequent conquests have fatigued the mass of his servants. He cannot be contented; he wants to reign over the four regions. The garrisons cover distant frontiers and our relations are far from us. As such is the case, we must all agree to get rid of him. After that, we shall be able to be happy." As the king was ill, they put a blanket (coverlet) over him—a man sat upon it, and the king expired at once.

Because he had heard Ma-nung (*Aśvaghoṣa*) expound the law, he was born as a thousand-headed lion in the great ocean, but, in consequence of his needs, his heads were constantly cut off and thus he was tortured terribly in successive existences for an immeasurable time. There was, however, an arhat who, among the monks, was the We-ra (*Karmadāna* bell-ringer). The king told him that, [484] when the bell was rung his sufferings were alleviated and he asked the bhikkhu a charity to prolong the ringing. This was done, and, at the end of seven days the evil, which had lasted so long, ceased. On account of the king, the bell on top of this monastery was continually rung, and to this day it is kept up now.

In a note [485] M. Lévi explains that the *Karmadāna* was the ringer of the bells *ghanta* of a convent (*f. Liang*, *Les Religieuses bouddhistes* trad. CHAVANES, p. 83. As regards the hybrid transcription *we-ra*, cf. Liang, *A Record of Buddhist Practices*, trans. *Asakura*, p. 148.

#### Supplementary Note.

From the 'Journal Asiatique' July-Dec., 1897, pp. 525 ff.

M. Lévi here gives an additional story of Kanakka from the *Fa-men-tseu-tan* ch. 50 appended, both at vol. B, p. 114, which cites as its source the *Pi-po-sha-tan* *Vishvasamāstra* composed by Kasyapa-putra and translated into Chinese by Sanghabhuta in 383.



This story begins thus: — "Formerly Kien-tschak a king of Kien-t'cho (Gianthara), had "a door all yellow, to his palace. He passed all his time in an uninteresting household affairs, affairs of interior and hardly went out into the city and to the outside. Then follows the tale of how he saw, which ends in saying: — "He charged a high functionary henceforth "to make known to him the outside affairs."

With reference to the "yellow door" of the "golden door" of the royal palace at Bhatnagar, in Oudeh: *Sketches from Nipal*, 1: 134, and Le Roy: *Les monuments de l'Inde*, fig. 269.

In answer to a query expressed by a friendly critic as to the identity of Kien-tschak and Kien-tschak, M. Lévy refers to the *Itinerarium of the King* (*Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec. 1895, p. 337). Ou King or rather his mountaineer, that was really an episode related in detail by Hsien-tsang, he designates under the name of Kien-tschak the king who in Hsien-tsang calls Kien-tschak. Further, the *Itinerarium* 77 (144) relates the numerous conversion of Kien-tschak in the same manner as Hsien-tsang (*Memoires*, I, 297), but substitutes the form *Kien-tschak* of our text for the *Kien-tschak* of Hsien-tsang.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF STONE-IMPLEMENTS FROM LADAKH.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

In the Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga (*Ann. Vol. XXXI*, p. 39) I remarked that the Stone Age was not quite a matter of the past in Ladakh, and that remains of it were to be found there to the present day. Ladakh is still in many respects in the Stone Age, and a collection of genuine stone-implements still in use is to be made with but a little difficulty. In fact the articles included in the illustrations to this paper were collected without any great trouble within the space of three months.

The articles in this collection fall naturally into two groups. Those in common use, made out of a soft serpentine or basaltic stone, the *Spekstein* of German, and those practically never now used, made out of a hard granite or gneiss. Both varieties were collected readily.

In Plate I, Fig. 1, are shown articles made of the serpentine, and in Fig. 2 articles made of hard stone. I do not yet know exactly how the *Spekstein* articles are worked up, but a good deal of skill is required in their manufacture, as I ascertained, that the stone was not easily worked with even steel tools. They are nevertheless very cheap in price, the larger vessels costing from six shillings to a rupee and a half. The manufacturers are Baltis, who either make them in Baltistan and bring them to Ladakh for sale, or come to a village called *Dong* near Wanla in Ladakh, where there is a suitable stone and make them there.

Of stone implements not shown in the illustrations, may be mentioned the following:

1. Granite rectangular — has been used up and is got from the ground as the ordinary Ladakh, without a handle. They are *very rough*, and about 8 inches from the ground, and are found in many houses.
2. Oil-press for expressing oil from apricot kernels. The upper surface resembles a very flat disc with a mouthpiece. They are called *log*.
3. Granite chessboard for playing *gum-pang* carved in heavy boulders. There is one such near the Fort of Khatlatte and another in the middle of the village.
4. An Oblong granite "log" for breaking up firewood by beating.



## Description of the Plates.

## Plate I., Fig. 1.

Nos. 1 to 5. — These are stone-pots, called *ni-lag*. The special name of Nos. 1 and 2 is *ni-th* and of Nos. 3 to 5 is *ni-lag*. The extreme width of No. 4 is 15 inches and the diameter of No. 5 is 3 inches. These pots are to be found in every house in Khatatse, and are used as kettles.

Nos. 6 and 8. — These are lamps to be found in every house. No. 6 bears an ornament in relief of the following pattern :—



No. 6 is 5 inches and No. 8 is 4 inches in length. These lamps are furnished with wicks of wool burning in an oil made out of apricot kernels.

No. 7. — This is a spindle-whorl called *phay-g*. It is  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter.

No. 9. — This is the tobacco-holder of a *hukka* called *trab*. The accompanying water vessel is made of cow horn.

No. 10. — This is the ordinary butter-dish of Khatatse, called *mar-lug*. Its length is 7 inches.

No. 11. — This is a small cup case, resembling the usual wooden cup of Khatatse. It is 3 inches in diameter.

Nos. 12 and 13. — These are stone spoons, but No. 13 is made of slate. The handle is bound round with strips of leather. I have seen spoons of serpent or beautifully worked up stones to represent the silver spoons of the rich Ladakhis which are highly valued.

## Plate I., Fig. 2.

Nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16. — These are specimens of the old Ladakhi *katam*, a kind of blunt axe. Nos. 2 and 16 are halves only. The handles were of wood, and two such halves were bound round in Nos. 11 and 14 to show how they were used. The *katam* was really a stone piece of flat granite, through which a carefully polished bar was bored. Its use was and probably still is, to cut down yaks for breaking up dry wood for fuel, and for rooting out sandy and shaggy woody roots of certain plants also used for fuel. No. 13 is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

No. 1. — This is also a *katam*, but it differs from the rest in being entirely polished. It may be the hunted butt of an axe that once had an edge, or even a hammer.

Nos. 8 and 9. — These are edged stone axes with a very narrow perforation about half an inch in diameter. But the thickness of Ladakh makes a very tough thin stick or handle. The length of No. 9 is 7 inches. These axes are called *mar-gat*.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. — These are stone knives called *ri-lag*. The blades are of rough slate with a natural edge. Only in one case have I seen any traces of polishing. The handles of the specimens illustrated are shown with their original leather fastenings. The length of No. 5 is 12 inches.

## Find-Spots.

Plate I., Fig. 1. — No. 9 came from Hant. No. 13 from Nubra, the rest from Khatatse.  
Plate I., Fig. 2. — Nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 13, 16, came from the store-rooms of inhabitants of Wanla.



# STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM LADAKH

Plate I



Fig. 1

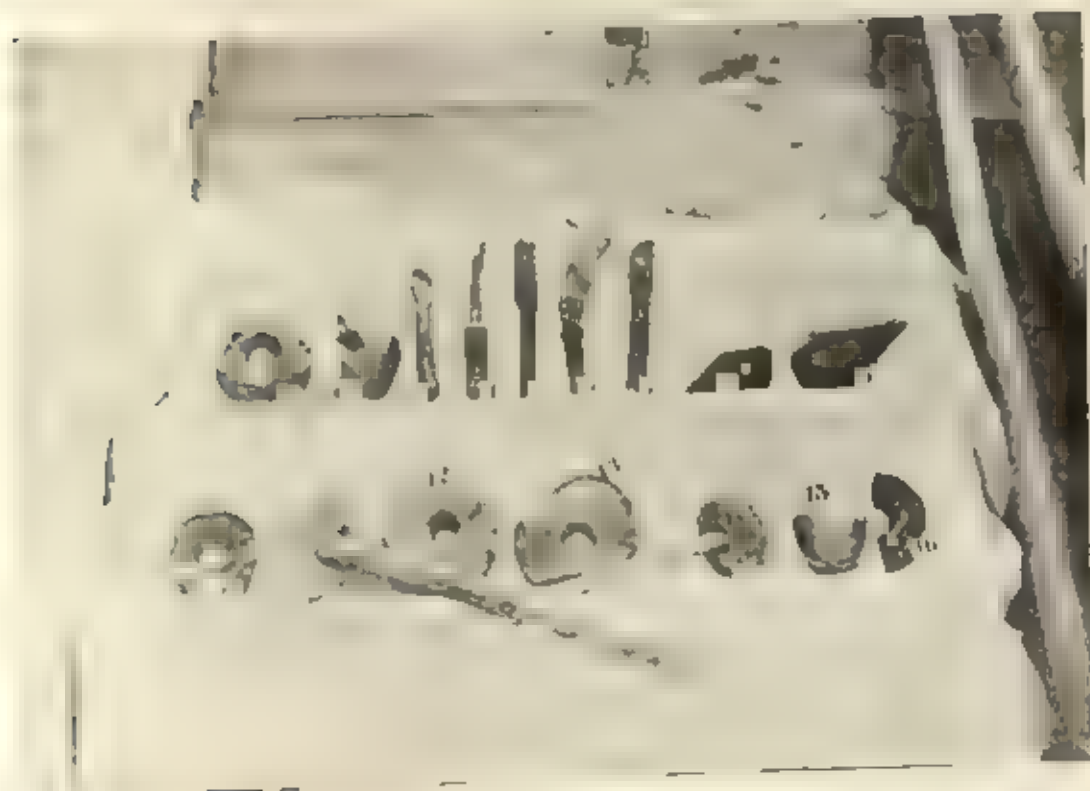


Fig. 2







STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM LADAKH.

Plate II



The Boulder-mortar of Ladakh







No. 11 is from Khalatse, No. 14 from Skyangling, 7 miles distant from Kholatse. Nos. 4 & 5, are still in the store-rooms of Skyangling. Nos. 6, 7, 8, are from Nubra. Though out of daily use, these articles are still kept in store.

### The Boulder-mortar of Ladakh.

In Plate II. is shown one boulder out of many in Leh, used by the people as a mortar for their daily wants. That in the illus. rather contained one small and five large mortar loes, the largest being 15 inches deep and saucer-like the small end of an egg. The smallest only two or three inches deep and hemispherical. The others vary from 8 to 12 inches in depth and in sphericity.

These boulder-mortars are called 'og-stun, and the pestle for using them *yong-stun*. In the illustration a man is shown in the act of using a boulder-mortar.

## MUHAMMAD. HIS LIFE. BASED ON THE ARABIC SOURCES.

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(Translated by G. E. Narman.)

### Prefatory Notes.

THE following relation of Muhammad's life, which forms a necessary complement to the exposition of his doctrines, is based throughout on original sources published either in the Orient or the Occident and in which, so far as I know, all information worth having has been exhaustively set forth. In utilizing these sources, I have pretty faithfully followed each other than those along which most of my predecessors had proceeded, and, in consequence, I have been more often than not unable to share their views.

In respect of the traditional literature I consider an attitude of caution absolutely requisite. No one can question that the early recollections of the traditions offer much that is genuine and indispensable to an historical outline of the life of the Prophet. Yet it is equally true that no that into no province of literature is deliberate falsehood worked up with so much unflinching effrontery as here. But we are still far from possessing a method or test which should differentiate the spurious from the true with intangible certainty: a number of independent investigations on the compilations, authorities, contents and forms of the traditions is necessary to this end. Nevertheless individual explorers must still fall back each upon his own subjective judgment. And one cannot penetrate too far back to the *ans al-urij* in order to clear the ground of the prevailing perversions. Besides, always full of dated traditions of events the *Ahadith* embody much, too much, trivial matter which is at best authentic and imaginary, is at best events immaterial to history. What for instance, avails it to us, who do not participate in the Moslem's ever retrospective and imitative instinct, to know how the Prophet made his toilet, to what dishes he was particularly partial, or what pet-names he bestowed upon his favourite horses, asses, and camels? Even if all the traditions suffer from the besetting and inherent evil that they reflect only the spirit of the Medina and never the earlier Mecca, epoch of Islam. This would still remain the greatest blinding defect, should we be even able to trace with tolerable precision the falsification and mutilation of facts to the latter-day court theologians or to the garrulous loquacity of the original biographers.

If, therefore, we had to depend solely on the *Ahadith* for an account of the life of Muhammad, we should be in a predicament similar to that of the thirsty wanderer in the desert who catches sight, not of water, but of the elusive mirage. Happily, however, a strong spring of veracity bubbles up for us in the *Qur'an*, and I have endeavoured to turn it to the account. Not, however, that even here there is no need of circumspection. The difficulty is not the question















to the sixth birthday of Muhammad. The next two years were spent under the fostering care of Abd al-Muttalib, the grandfather. At six months, Muhammad, now eight years old, was taken for the grand unveiling of his uncle Abu Talib, a close brother of Abd al-Muttalib, and brought him up to make a estate. The incident is recorded in various accounts of the future Prophet's childhood, but the exact details are not clear as they are generally not clear or there is some confusion as to the passage to the Cave. The story of the fostering care to Muhammad's childhood is imbedded in Sura 93, 98 :-

Thy Lord did not shame thee, nor despised,  
Yet the next world shall be better for thee than this  
And thy Lord will endow thee with content.  
Did He not find thee an orphan, and yet gave thee shelter?  
He found thee astray and conducted thee aright,  
And He found thee needy and has enriched thee.

From the above we are to the certainty that Mahammad was an orphan in his infancy. He was not a brother, nor that on a distant degree, or a part of a straitened circle, that is to be taken on consideration. The latter change was apparently brought about by his first marriage. When he was made a knight marriage by Abu Sa'ad, and had taken part, several journeys undertaken for purposes of trade, especially to Syria, a rich Meccan widow, named Khadija, who had consented to apply for a son-in-law, and a tennier, gave him her second in marriage. She was twenty years of age. Muammad wanted himself to Khadija aged 16. He was not 16 for his new wife, nor fortune, no mean distinction for a Meccan, as in a rich house, he was shown by the superiority of his character, which had won for him the heart of a soldier of Aboos or the Kaaba. Khadija bore him two sons and four daughters. Nam: Abu A'la, Bakara, Loon, Kusr, and Fatima. The sons died in infancy. In the name of his Abu, as on Muammad got his surname of Abu Kasim, father of Kasim, from the name of his eldest boy.

[illegible]

M. and his group, by the full forty years of age, a man, like no other man. Then, however, because of the total plan of his own, he struck into the path of miracles and vision and was struck away, rejected, rejected, as a so-called being, who held communion with God Himself and founded and spread a new religion.

While the given by Ibn Ishaq, the best of the earlier biographers of Muhammad may be summarised as under.

14 - In

[illegible]

<sup>10</sup> [The story is as interesting as it is apocryphal. See Muir, *op. cit.*, 98. — Ts.]







esteemed traditions. Still, if the testimony of the earliest comrades is not forthcoming, we have that of the *Qur'ân* — a testimony which is authentic and not buried in a mass of apocrypha.

### Primitive Islam based on Social Reform.

Now since the testimony of Muslim tradition is extremely doubtful, we shall do well to have solved by Muhammad himself the problem of the origin of the Islamic movement and the circumstances in particular under which Muhammad set out on his career as the founder of a religion, that is, in other words, with the help of the statement the Prophet affords us in his *Qur'ân*.

No idea or view in the *Qur'ân* is indicated with such sustained insistence as that the Book was the reproduction or recapitulation of supernatural revelation, to proclaim which to the world Muhammad was appointed by God. The manner and mode of this apocalypse is represented in varying images and concepts not lacking a certain air of the mysterious about them. Nevertheless it is not denied for these inspired divagations that they are without a precedent or parallel, and that Muhammad, as the messenger of the divine commands and prohibitions, occupied an unique and unexampled position in the scheme of creation. On the contrary, the *Qur'ân* witnesses to several personages of Arab and non-Arab descent, who were the recipients of the written word of God, the so-called *Kutûb*; and in virtue of the writing vouchsafed to himself, Muhammad seems to have regarded himself, not as a superhuman being but only as a link in the chain of a closely-favoured men. Besides, the times in which he lived evince striking instances of the phenomenon of prophetic vocations assumed by Muhammad. There was a class of men, of an extraordinary mental disposition whose propensities, to our thinking, bordered upon hallucination. In this connection an inscription which along with several others constituting a group, has been recently brought to light,<sup>19</sup> is worthy of notice. The peculiarity of these stone-cut writings consists in their manifestly monotheistic tone, in which we fail to discover any specific Jewish or Christian traits. The age of the inscriptions may, with certainty, be fixed at the middle of the fifth century; but they may be even of a later origin. They embody prayers in a style greatly akin to the *Qur'ân*, and addressed to Rahman or the Merciful, imploring his forgiveness for sins committed and his acceptance of the offered sacrifices and desiring that he would grant revelations — if the interpretation here does not err — and unfold the future to the faithful. This lends probability to the assumption that in South Arabia there prevailed a monotheistic sect, according to whose tenets God favoured the men who offered prayers to Him with revelations, though we are left in the dark relative to the mode and the import of such celestial communications. It must have been an analogous notion or belief, with which people were actuated or inspired in Muhammad's age in various localities of Mecca, South Arabia, and which expressed itself in pretensions to divine inspiration. Of these pretenders, the prophet of Yemen, called *Muslama*, whom the Moslems denigrate as a false prophet, occupies special interest. His teachings, which bear a peculiar and rational stamp of their own, and by no means contain all the doctrines of Islam, argue that he was no shadow and sheer imitator of Muhammad. Ibn Hisham (p. 189) says that so early as in the pre-Meccan period the name *Masana* was known as the preceptor of the Prophet, which, if a fact, would demonstrate that Muslama's prophetic calling began before Muhammad's. Besides, there arose in the tribe of Asma a prophet *El-Aswad* by name, who carried with him a large part of Yemen. Further, there arose a prophetess called *Sagub*, in whose character, as well as in that of *El-Aswad*, we come upon many a feature reminiscent of Muhammad. They consider themselves inspired, but whether their claim was based on imitation of Muhammad's pretensions, who had set up, as *Allah's* mouthpiece much earlier, is an obscure point.

Finally the system of the *Kahins*, divination, which was four-hundred years old in South Arabia, was, as Wachhausen (*Skizzen und Exzerpten* III 133) properly observes, rooted in the popular belief or in fact that celestial or supra-terrestrial existences are in communication with men as the organs through whom to announce the future. And we have added down to us apocryphal of *Kahins* in which they speak directly in the first person of the Deity.

<sup>19</sup> *Deutscher Zettelkasten für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1896, p. 285, no.



Muhammad's claim, therefore to divine inspiration, viewed at in the light of his own genius, cannot be held something out of the common and astonishing. When however, he voiced his call to prophecy with moral earnestness and impressed the circle of his first proselytes with a spirit of ethical rigour, it was not due so much to his so-called inspiration as the singular nature of the contents of his prophetic utterances. For, while the clairvoyance of the Kahins concerned itself with the questions of private life and touching matters of secondary moment, while Muhammad's gift of prophetic vision was occupied with axioms and rules for the conduct of life, while that of Ishmael to a great extent subverted political interests, Muhammad evoked the aim and ultimate purpose of his mission in advancing in burning words, to those around him, the "message" of an approaching doom-day. This doctrine of the Judgment Day, which starts with the resurrection of the dead and ends with the division of the human race, one part being assigned the region of eternal felicity, the other the seat of the flaming abyss of inferno — this doctrine of the last day Muhammad shared with the Jewish-Christian concept of the same. But with him it is invested with a certain originality in that he contemplates it through the vision of presence and proclaims it in the poetic phraseology of the Kahins.

The verification of the doctrine of doom-day is the pivot on which turns the entire system of primitive Islam. It was calculated to strike terrifying awe into the minds of his audience, to permanently turn towards and fix their thoughts on God, and to purge their demeanour in practical life of the barbarous taint of heathenism. Those who acknowledged the Judge of creation must abandon all belief in the Arabian gods of old. The omnipotence of the Lord of man and the world had no point of contact with the enumerated power of the heathen deities, male and female. The former ruled over the latter, who were merely his subordinate creatures, if not empty inanities.

The earliest components of the *Qur'ân* lay more stress on moral obligations than on dogmatic virtues, for therein resided the source of internal purification and preparation for the world to come. Prayers were such a source, good works in a higher degree so, but alms was reckoned the supreme fount of purification. Even this precept at the first blush appears to possess slender title to originality, since it was formulated by Judaism and Christianity prior to Muhammad's teaching. The Jews had the identical term *zakat* to denote "means of purification." But it does not, therefore, follow that the Prophet borrowed it from Judeo-Christianity, and, so to say, translated it into Arabic. The preacher of Mecca knew so little about Christians and Jews that, long after his first apparition, he still assumed a sympathiser and supporter in every Jew and Christian and in consequence expected that the truth of his teaching would be corroborated and countenanced by both.<sup>19</sup> Not was it till after his entry on the Medina period that he came in personal intercourse with the followers of both these religions and learnt of the principles of their faith which divided them from Islam. Accordingly, what is apparently of Judeo-Christian origin in Muhammad's first evangel, he most doubtless have acquired in an indirect or roundabout way, and the intermediary must be sought in the circle of those men whom Moslem tradition designates *Hanifs*, and further describes as settlers in diverse places of Central Arabia, Mecca, &c. They were inclined to eschew the numerous Arabian deities and the agricultural feasts, to worship instead the God of Abraham, to avoid social abuses like the burying alive of new born infants, and lastly to devote themselves to an ascetic mode of life. It will be evident therefore that we have to look upon the Hanifs of mid-Arabia as the exponents of a monotheistic community arisen on the confines of Christianity and Judaism.

In Hanifism however, Muhammad saw but a preliminary step towards the sanctuary of his new dynasty. He did not stop himself a Hanif and confined the myth almost exclusively to Abraham. The reason, indeed, probably, of himself being a Prophet raised him above the relatively inferior status of a Hanif and he was actuated by the ambition to see the reverence paid to his own disciples deepen and to bring that awful homage in line with the circumstances and

<sup>19</sup> Sûras 10, 24, 25, 17, 23, 22.



which he was placed in Mecca. For it was in Mecca that his keen observation spied out the numerous evils of this honoured royaume, which were corroding society and were crying the loudest for reform. A class of affluent inhabitants, who had the monopoly of money and market, was opposed to the silent many, whose faces it ground with relentless cruelty. The heaviest indictments and attacks in the *Qorân* are directed against this aristocracy, who were prompted by their insatiate passion for lucre, and who perpetrated fraud with false weights and measures. Against them are contrasted the famishing poor, the merchants that are spurned, the orphans who are defrauded and the slaves who in vain struggle for manumission or ransom.<sup>20</sup> This social atmosphere of Mecca as delineated by the Prophet, enables us to comprehend how Muhammad's first exhortations placed the advancement of practical piety at the head of the duties incumbent upon the faithful who feared the Judgment Day, and why he recommended eleemosynary gifts as the *sua qua non* of spiritual purification. Nevertheless, that this cleansing of the soul was so prescribed as to be solely dependent upon the free will and the unfettered action of the individual is a characteristic feature of the primitive Islam. "Let him who will adopt the path leading to his Lord" (*Sûra* 76, 29). At this period the doctrines of the limitations to salvation, election and predestination as yet were not propounded. The hopes entertained were too fervid and the success obtained against the bad world too rapid for the introduction of such circumscribing innovations.

Then, with this programme, behold Muhammad standing at the commencement of his mission. What is novel and what imparts greatness to the initial stage of his career is that he unites in one person the ecstatic Kâhin and the ascetic Hanif, the preacher of the gospel of doomsday and the enthusiastic social reformer.

(To be continued.)

### SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

*Translated from German Poets.*

BY PROFESSOR C. CAPELLER, Ph.D., JENA.

(Continued from p. 308.)

Great and Small.

30

Wisst ihr, wie auch der Kleine was ist? Er mache das Kleine  
Recht, der Grosse begehrt just so das Grosse zu thun. GOETHE

अल्पोऽपि पात्रतामेति सम्यकुर्वन्त्यल्पकम् ।

एतेनैव प्रकारेण यन्महत्कुरुते महान् ॥

alpô 'pi pâtrâtâm êti samyak kurvan yad alpakam ।  
êtênairva prakârêṇa yan mahat kuruṭê mahân ॥

31

Wenn einer sich wohl im Kleinen denkt,  
So denke, der hat was Grosses erreicht.

GOETHE.

स्वल्पे वस्तुनि कस्मिंश्चित्परितुष्यति यो नरः ।

अनेनैव महत्किंचिदवाप्तिं विभाति मे ॥

avalpê vastuni kasmimśchit paritushyati yô narah ।  
anênairva mahat kimchid avâptiṁ vibhâti mē ॥

\* *Sûra* 108, 1, 100, 8, 82, 1, 89, 16; also 107, 2, 80, 1.



32

Mit leichtem Mutho knüpft der arme Fischer  
Den kleinen Nachen an um sichern Port,  
Sieht er im Sturm das grosse Meerschiff stranden

SCHILLER.

लघूदुपं प्रसन्नात्मा तीरे बध्नाति धीवरः ।

नावं सुमहतीं पश्यन्भज्यमानां महार्णवे ॥

laghūdūpaṁ prasannātmā tīrē badhnāti dhīvaraḥ ।  
nāvāṁ sumahatīṁ paśyan bhajyamānāṁ mahārṇavē ॥

33

Nicht jeder wandelt nur gemeine Stege:  
Du siehst, die Spinnen bauen luftige Wege.

• GÖTTE.

न क्षुद्रोऽपि जनो नित्यं नीचारम्भणतत्परः ।

उच्चैःस्थानेषु लूताभिर्वध्यन्ते पश्य तन्तवः ॥

na kṣudrō 'pi janō nityaṁ nīchārambhaṇataparāḥ ।  
uchchāiḥsthāneṣu lūtābhirvadyantē paśya tantavaḥ ॥

34

Frei von Tadel zu sein ist der niedrigste Grad und der höchste  
Denn nur die Ohnmacht führt oder die Grösse dazu.

SCHILLER.

जघन्यां च गतिं विद्धि परमां च विदोषताम् ।

तस्या यत्प्रतिमा हेतुः शीलस्य महिमायवा ॥

jaghanyāṁ cha gatim vidhhi paramāṁ cha vidōṣhatām ।  
tasyā yat laghīmā hētauḥ śhāsyā mahimāihavā ॥

Cf. *Sahśāśatīkālā* 1925.

35

Die Sterne sankten sich, wer grosseres Licht verbreite,  
Die Sonne stieg: aus war es mit dem Streite.

NICOLAI.

ताराभिः स्पर्धमानाभिर्मम ज्योतिर्महत्तरम् ।

इति स्यक्तो विवादोऽसावुदये तीक्ष्णमालिनः ॥

tārābhīḥ spardhamānābhir mama jyōtīr mahattaram ।  
iti tyaktō vivādō 'sāv udayē tīkṣṇamālināḥ ॥

Cf. *Drikṣāntak*. 94.

36

Völker verwechseln,  
Namen verklingen;  
Finstre Vergessenheit  
Brentet die dunkelnachtenden Schwingen  
Ueber ganze Geschlechter aus.



Aber der Fürsten  
Einsame Häupter  
Gänzen erhellet,  
Und Aurora berührt sie  
Mit den ewigen Strahlen,  
Als die ragenden Gipfel der Welt.

SCHILLER.

नश्यन्ति क्षितयो जनाश्च वन रे वंशाश्च नामानि च  
क्षिप्रं विस्मृतिनामनी जनपदान्व्याप्नोति सान्द्रा भुवि ।  
ईशानां तु यशांसि भान्ति विरलं शृङ्गाणि भूमेरिव  
स्पृष्टान्यर्कमरीचिभिः समुदितैः स्मर्तव्यशोभानि च ॥

naśyanti kṣitayō janāś cha vana ré vaṁśāś cha nāmāṇi cha  
kṣipraṁ viśmṛti nāmāṇi janapadāṇv vyāpnōti sāndrā bhuvī ।  
īśāṇāṁ tu yashāṁsi bhānti viralaṁ śṛṅgāṇi bhūmēṛ iva  
spṛṣṭhāṇy arka mārīcibhiḥ samuditaiḥ smartavyaśōbhāni cha ॥

Lords and Servants.

37

Mit einem Herren steht es gut,  
Der was er befehlen selber thut.

GOETHE

भर्तुर्वेत्विधस्यैव कार्यासिद्धिर्भवित्यति ।  
यो यदाज्ञापयामास भृत्यवत्कुरुते स्वयम् ॥

bhartuṛveṭ viḍhasyēva kāryasiddhir bhavishyati ।  
yō yad ājñāpayamāsa bhṛtyavat kurutē svayam ॥

38

Wer ist ein unbrauchbarer Mann ?  
Wer nicht befehlen und auch nicht gehorchen kann.

GOETHE

अमुं कुरुरूपं मन्ये यो न ज्ञापयितुं स्वयम् ।  
न च श्रुश्रूयितुं वाचं साधूनामध्यवस्यति ॥

amūṁ kūrurūpaṁ manyē yō nā jñāpayitūṁ svayam ।  
na cha śruśhrūyatūṁ vācaṁ sādūṇāṁ adhyavasyati ॥

39

Mancher liegt schon lang im Grabe und beherrscht noch diese Welt .  
Unterdessehn schläft der andre, der zum Herrschen ist bestellt. W. MÜLLER

कश्चिच्छास्ति गुणोत्कर्षान्मर्हो चिरमृतोऽपि सन् ।  
साम्राज्ये स्थापितो यावदन्यो मुह्यति निद्रया ॥

kaśchichhāstī guṇōtkarṣhāṇ mahīm chiram tō 'pī. san ।  
sāmrajyē sthāpitō yāvad anyō muhyati nidrayā ॥



40

Aber wenn sich die Fürsten befehlen,  
Müssen die Diener sich morden und tödten ;  
Das ist die Ordnung, so will es das Recht.

S. 111.

अन्योन्यं चेदसूयन्ति विद्विषन्ति च पार्थिवाः ।  
व्यतिघ्नन्ति प्रजास्तेषामिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥

anyô 'nyam ebêd asûyanti vidvishanti cha pârthivâh ।  
vyatighnanti prajâs têsâm iti dharmô vyavasthitah ॥

41

Entwei und gebote! tüchtig Wort,  
Versin und leite! besser Hort.

GORTAL.

वरं मित्रोपलम्भेन प्रष्टेन साधुना पथा ।  
न तु शत्रूपजापेन शमितु विवशाः प्रजाः ॥

varam mitrôpalambhena prâptena sâdhunâ pathâ ।  
na tu âtrûpajâpene ââtitum vîvashâh prajâh ॥

Friends and Poes.

42

Wer Freunde sucht, ist nie zu finden worth ;  
Wer keinen hat, hat keinen noch begehrt.

L. 1881/90.

मित्रमिच्छति यो लब्धुं स मित्रं प्राप्नुमर्हति ।  
यस्य नो सन्ति मित्राणि न मित्राण्यन्विषेय सः ॥

mitram icchati yô labdhum sa mitram prâptum arhati ।  
yasya n sânti mitrâni na mitrâny anvîshêha sah ॥

43

Der sei dir nicht erkiest,  
Der Freund ihm selbst nicht ist ;  
Wer Freund ihm selbst nur ist,  
Der sei dir nicht erkiest.

L. 1881/90.

आत्मनो नास्ति यन्मित्रं तस्य सान्विष्य सौहृदम् ।  
न चाप्येष सुहृत्कार्यः प्रिय आत्मन एव यः ॥

âtmânô nâsti yan mitram tasya sânvishya sauhrîdam ।  
na chapy âsi n suhrt karyah priya âtmânâ eva yah ॥

44

Wenn die Armuth keine die Türe kommt ges. bleiben in das Haus,  
Stirzt auch schon die falsch: Freunde hat, was dem Fenster sich heraus.

W. M. 1881/90.

यदा विपत्तिरिदं द्वारेण शनैर्गृहम् ।  
कुमित्राणि गवाक्षेण निष्पतन्ति बहिः क्षणात् ॥

yadâ vîpattir idam dvârêṇa śanâkair grîham ।  
kumitrâṇi gavakṣeṇa niṣpataṇti bahiḥ kṣaṇât ॥

Cf. Mîrâchâh. I. 4.



45

Reche den Forken nicht an, der zwischen Freunden ergriffen ist  
 Letzt ist versöhnt wie sie ist und da bist beiden verlassen.

HERDER.

मा कृया मित्रयोरन्तर्वैरञ्जलनधुत्तणम् ।

अचिराच्चकुर्याः संधिं स्वयं देयमुपैष्यसि ॥

mā kṛitāḥ mitrayōr antar vairajvalanadbhukhaṇam ।

achirāch chakrushōḥ sandham svayam dēsham upaishyasi ॥

46

1. euer stin r der Freund d en auch den Feind kan i ch nutzen

Zeigt mir der Freund was ich kann, lehrt mich der Feind was ich soll.

SCHILLER.

वयस्यो बहुमानव्यो न त्वमित्रोऽप्यनर्थकः ।

शक्यक्रियं दिशम्येकः कार्यं यत्त्वस्ति मेऽपरः ॥

vayasyō bahumantavyō na tv amitrō 'py anarthakaḥ ।

shakyakriyam dīshamyēkaḥ kāryam yat tv asti mē 'paraḥ ॥

47

Zum Hassen oder Lieben  
 Ist alle Welt getrieben,  
 Es bleibt keine Wahl,  
 Der Teufel ist neutral.

BRENTANO.

कर्तव्यौ सर्वलोकैर्न रागद्वेषौ ब्रवीम्यहम् ।

प्रसक्तं पक्षपातिव्य उदासीनो नपुंसकः ॥

kartavyau sarvalōkēna rāgadvēṣau bravīmy aham ।

prasaktā pakṣhapātīva udāsīnō napuṃsakaḥ ॥

Calumny.

48

Die Mücken singen erst, bevor sie einen stechen ;  
 Verleumder lästern drauf, indem sie lieblich sprechen.

LOCAT.

रुन्ति प्रथमं कर्णे नृदन्ति मशकान्ततः ।

भाषन्ते मधुरं यावद्दुःखान्यन्यपरं खलाः ॥

ruṇanti prathamam karnē nṛdanti maśakās tataḥ ।

bhāṣantē madhuraṁ yāvad duḥkhaṇyanyaparāṁ khalāḥ ॥

Cf. Hitop. I. 76.

49

Wenn dich die Lasterunge sticht,  
 So laß dir dies zum Troste sagen :  
 Die schlechtesten Früchte sind es nicht,  
 Woran die Wespen nagen.

BÜRGEL.

दष्टो लोकापवादेन सुखमान्ने विचक्षणः ।

कुफलानि न खाद्यन्ते मत्तिकाभिरिति स्मरन् ॥

daṣṭhō lōkāparādēna sukhamaṇṇe vicakṣaṇaḥ ।

kuphalāni na khādyantē matṭikābhīriti smaraṇ ॥



50

Es liebt die Welt das Strahlende zu schwärzen  
Und das Erhabne in den Staub zu nehen.

SCHILLER.

यतेनेभ्यः सदा लोकः श्यामीकर्तुं यदुज्ज्वलम् ।

उच्चस्थानगतं यच्च न्यकर्तुं पादपासुवन् ॥

ya te na-ebhyaḥ sadā lokaḥ śyāmī kartuṁ ya dujjvalam ॥

uccasthānagatam yacchā n'yakartuṁ pādapaśuvan ॥

## Concord and Strife

51

Schon ist der Friede ein leb'nd' Lenzknecht  
Lustig umhergeht am ruh'gen Rausch  
Und die müden Lammern grasen  
Lustig um ihn auf dem grünenden Rasen ;  
Süßes Tönen entlockt er der Flöte,  
Und das Echo des Berges wird wach,  
Oder im Schimmer der Abendröthe  
Wiegt ihn in Schlummer der ruhige Bach.

Aber der Krieg hat auch seine Ehre,  
Der Beweger des Menschengeschicks.  
Das Gesetz ist der Freund der Schwachen,  
Allen will es nur eben machen,  
Möchte gerne die Welt verfluchen ;  
Aber der Krieg läßt die Kraft erscheinen,  
Alles erhebt er zum Ungemeinen,  
Selber dem Feigen ersengt er den Muth.

SCHILLER.

सुगम्यः क्षेमो यः प्रियतमवर्णालक इव

प्रसन्नाया नद्याः सुन्धवति शेने वृमनटे ।

गवां मध्ये प्रीतो मुस्वग्यति वंशो च मधुरं

लघुं न्वस्मै स्वप्नं श्रवणमुभगागायति मग्नि ॥

प्रथमयुष्यान्त्ये नृकलनकरं विप्रदमपि

प्रतन्वन्तं शौर्यं सकलगुणवृद्धिं त्रिदधतम् ।

वरं वीर्यं धर्मादवलजनमित्रान्वयतने

समीकर्तुं कुन्तन् प्रकृतिविधमं यो जगदिति ॥

suramyah kshemah yaḥ priyatamavarṇāḥ laka iva  
prasannāyā nadyāḥ suṇdhavati shēne vṛmanṭe ।

gavāṃ madhye prīto musvagyati vaṇśo cha madhuraṁ  
laghunaṁ nvaṣmāi svapnaṁ śravaṇam ubhaga-gāyati mṛgṇi ॥

prathamayūṣyāntye nṛkalana-karaṁ vipradamapi  
pratānvantaṁ śauryaṁ sakala-guṇavṛddhiṁ tridadhataṁ ।

varaṁ vīryaṁ dharmādavalajana-mitrāṇvayataṇe  
samīkartuṁ kṛtantaṁ prakṛtivyahamaṁ yo jagad-iti ॥



52

Es kann der Frömmste nicht in Frieden bleiben,  
Wenn es dem bösen Nachbar nicht gefällt.

SCHILLER.

नोऽसहेत क्षमिष्ठोऽपि संधिं संपरिरक्षितुम् ।  
विग्रहो यदि रोचेत दुर्धिये प्रतिवेशिने ॥

nôtsahêta kshamishthô 'pi sandham samparirakshitum ।  
vigrahô yadi rôchêta durdhiyê pratवेशिने ॥

Pleasure, Wealth, Merit.

53

'Gerne dien' ich den Freunden, doch thu ich es leider mit Neigung,  
Und so wurmt es mich oft, dass ich nicht tugendhaft bin."  
Da ist kein anderer Rath, du musset suchen, wo zu vernichten  
I und mit Abscheu alsdann thun, was die Pflicht dir gebent."

SCHILLER.

कामान्मित्रजनं सेवे न धर्मेश प्रचोदितः ।  
तस्मादधार्मिकोऽस्मीति दह्यते हृदयं मम ॥  
यत्तिनयं सखीन्द्रेष्टुं प्रीतिमुन्मूल्य तत्परम् ।  
धर्महेनोर्भजस्वैनानन्यदत्र न विद्यते ॥

kâmân mitrajanam sêvê na dharmêsha prachôditah ।  
tasmâd adhârmikô 'asmîti dahyâtê hridayam mama ॥  
yatitavyatê sakhibu dvêshjñam prîyam unmulva tatparam ।  
dharmahênôr bhajasvânân anyad atra na vidyate ॥

54

Nicht an die Guter hänge dein Herz,  
Die das Leben vergänglich sieren ;  
Wer besitzt, der lerne verlieren,  
Wer im Glück ist, der lerne den Schmerz.

SCHILLER.

मा द्रव्येषु मनो धत्स्व न भ्रष्टव्यनिशोभिषु ।  
चिन्तनीयः क्षयो वृद्धौ स्मर्तव्यापद्य संपदि ॥

mâ dravyêshu manô dhatsva nabhrastavyanishôbbishu ।  
chinantniyah kshayô vridhau smartavyâpadya sampadi ॥

55

Wüsst' ich mein Herz an zeitlich Gut gefesselt,  
Den Brand würf' ich hinein mit eigner Hand.

SCHILLER.

विज्ञेयु यदि जानीयामासक्तं हृदयं मम ।  
आनीय विजहस्ताभ्यां दहेयं तानि वह्निना ॥

vijñeyu yadi janiyâm âsaktaṁ hridayam mama ।  
ânîya vijahastâbhyâm dahēyam tāni vahnînâ ॥



56

Gemeine was du hast, als ob du heute  
Noch sterben solltest, aber spar' es auch,  
Als ob du ewig lebstest. Der allein ist weise,  
Der, beides eingedenk, im Sparen an  
Genossen, im Genuss an sparen weise.

WIELAND.

मुमुक्षुरद्येव धनानि भुङ्क्ष्व  
जिजीविषुस्तानि सदेव रक्ष ।  
यो रक्षति स्वानि धनानि भुङ्क्ष्व-  
न्भुङ्क्ष्व च रक्षन्स जनो मनस्वी ॥

mumûksur adyêva dhanâni bhukshva  
jijivishus tâni sadêva raksha ।  
yô rakshati svâni dhanâni bhukshva  
bhukshâtê cha rakshan as janô manasvî ॥

Cf. Hitop. Introd. 3.

57

Lockte die Neugier nicht den Menschen mit heftigen Reizen,  
Spricht, erfuhr' er wohl je, wie schön sich die weltlichen Dinge  
Neben einander verhalten ? Denn erst verlangt er das Neue.  
Suchet das Nützliche dann mit uermüdlichem Fleisse,  
Endlich begehrt er das Gute, das ihn erhebet und worth macht

GÖTTE

दुर्धर्षेण कुतूहलेन यदि न प्रेर्येत जन्तुः सदा  
वस्तुनां व्यतिषद्भ्रमद्रुतमिमं लोके समीचेत किम् ।  
आदौ प्रार्थयते नञ् प्रियकरं यत्स्वर्गकृत्तवरं  
पश्चाद्दर्मपथं चरन्बहुमतौ यात्युन्नतिं पुण्यभाक् ॥

durdharshêṇa kutûhalêṇa yadi na prêryêta jantuh sadâ  
vastutanam vyatishadbhramadrutamimam loke samîcheṭa kim ।  
âdau prârthayatê navaṁ priyakaram yat iv arthakrit tatparam  
paschâd dharma-patham charan bahumatô jâty unnatin puṇyabhak ॥

Thu nur das Rechte in deinen Sachen,  
Das andre wird sich von selber machen.

GÖTTE.

धर्ममाचर विश्वस्तः सर्वेषु तव कर्मसु ।  
धर्मस्य व्रजतां मार्गे यद्यदीप्सन्ति सेत्स्यति ॥

dharmaṁ âchata विश्वataḥ sarveṣu tava karmasu ।  
dharmaṁsya vrapatâm mârge yad yad âpsanti sêtsyati ॥



59

Thu nur das Gute und wirf es ins Meer;  
Weiss es der Fisch nicht, so weiss es der Herr.

सत्कृत्यैव यथाशक्ति क्षिप सत्कारमर्णवे ।  
मस्यो यद्यपि नो वेद वेद त्वत्कृतमीश्वरः ॥  
satkṛityaiṇa yathāśakti kṣipu satkāram arṇave ।  
masyo yady api nō vēda vēda tvatkṛitam īśvaraḥ ॥

60

Und was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,  
Das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüth.

SCHILLER.

यच्च बुद्धिमतां बुद्ध्या मनागपि न दृश्यते ।  
स्वैरं तदाचरस्येव बालको मुग्धमानसः ॥  
yach cha buddhimatām buddhyā manāg api na dṛśyate ।  
svairam tad ācharaty ēva bālakō mugdhamānasaḥ ॥

Love.

61

Mein Herz, ich will dich fragen  
Was ist denn Liebe? Sag! —  
"Zwei Seelen und ein Gedanke,  
Zwei Herzen und ein Schlag!"

Und sprich: woher kommt Liebe?  
"Sie kommt und sie ist da."  
Und sprich: wie schwindet Liebe?  
"Die war nicht, dars geschah."

HALL.

हृदय ब्रूहि किंभूतः शृङ्गारः प्रतिभाति ते ।  
चित्तद्वन्द्वस्य धीरेका कम्प एको द्वयोर्हृदोः ॥  
किमुद्भवस्तु शृङ्गार उद्भवत्यास्ति च क्षणे ।  
किमन्तो नास्ति तस्यान्तो नाभवद्भवत्वादि ॥

hṛdaya brūhi kimbhūtaḥ śṛṅgāraḥ pratibhāti te ।  
chittadvandvasya dhīreka kampa ēkō dvayōr hṛiddh ॥  
kimudbhavas tu śṛṅgāra udbhavaty asti cha kṣaṇe ।  
kimantō nāsti tasyāntō nābhavad dhy abhavad yadi ॥

62

Das ist die wahre Liebe, die immer und ewig sich gleich bleibt,  
Wenn man ihr alles gewahrt, wenn man ihr alles versagt.

GOETHE

सत्यां प्रीतिमवैम्येतां तुल्यतां या न मुञ्चति ।  
कामं प्राप्य च सर्वत्र प्रतिषिद्धा च सर्वतः ॥  
satyām prītim avaimyētām tulyatām yā na muñcati ।  
kāmaṁ prāpya cha sarvatra pratishidhā cha sarvataḥ ॥



63

Auch die Liebe bewegt das Leben,  
Dass sich die gesuchten Farben ersehen.  
Leicht betrügt ein sieglichen Jahre,  
Die gefällige Tochter des Schauspiels  
In das Gemeine und Traurige-wahre  
Macht sie die Bilder des goldenen Traums.

SCHILLER.

कामोऽपि लोकस्य महाप्रचोदको  
विचित्रयस्यस्य विधुमराकुनिम् ।  
नस्त्रे च मायां ललितां विमिश्रय-  
न्प्रताम्यत्यभ्यधिकं वयो नवम् ॥

kāmō 'pi lokasya mahāpra-bhōdako  
vichitra-yasyasya vidhumarakuniṁ ;  
nastre cha māyāṁ lalitāṁ vimishrayan  
pratamayaty abhyadhikam vayo navam ॥

64

Liebe, menschlich zu beglücken,  
Nähert sie ein edles Zwei ;  
Doch um göttlich zu entzücken,  
Bildet sie ein köstlich Drei.

GOETHE.

कामो मानुषहर्षाय शुभं योजयति द्वयम् ।  
देवानां तु महानृत्ये निर्माति त्रयमद्भुतम् ॥

kāmō manushaharshaya shubham yojayati dvayam  
devānam tu mahatnṛtye nirmāti trayam adbhutam ॥

Separation.

65

Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt,  
Weiss was ich leide!  
Allein und abgetrennt  
Von aller Freude,  
Seh ich ans Firmament  
Nach jener Seite.  
Ach, der mich liebt und kennt  
Ist in der Wüste.  
Es schwindelt mich, es brennt  
Mein Herz geworden.

GOETHE.

मौमुक्षुस्यानभिज्ञः प्रणयिविरहिता यत्तमेऽहं न वेद  
योत्पश्यन्ती दिगन्तं गतनयनमुखा तुष्टिहीना स्थितास्मि ।  
यो मां जानाति यो मां मनसि निहितवान्दुरवर्तो जनांश्चौ  
भ्रान्त्याक्रान्तं शिरो मे ददति च हृदयं निर्देयः कामवह्निः ॥

antsukhsyānabhijñah prāṇayavirahitā yat tame 'haṁ na ved  
yotpashyanti dīgantaṁ gatanayanamukhā tuṣṭihīnā sthitāsmi ।  
'yo māṁ janāti 'yo māṁ manasi nihitavān dūravartō janāṁśchō  
bhṛāntyākrāntam śiro me dadati cha hrdayam nirdayah kāmarahn ॥



66

Das ist im Leben hässlich eingerichtet,  
Dass bei den Bezen gleich die Dornen stehn,  
Und was das arme Herz auch schut und dichtet,  
Zum Schlusse kommt das Voneinandergehn.

SCHERFFAL.

केतकीनां सुगन्धीनां यथा कण्टकवेष्टनम् ।  
विक्षेपः प्रणयस्यान्तो हतदैवेन कल्पितः ॥

kētakīnāṁ sugandhīnāṁ yathā kaṇṭakaveṣṭanam ।  
vikṣepaḥ praṇayasyāntō hatadāivēna kalpitah ॥

Care.

67

Die Sorge niestet gleich im tiefen Herzen,  
Dort wirkt sie geheime Schmerzen,  
Unruhig wiegt sie sich und störet Glück und Ruh ;  
Sie deckt sich stets mit neuen Masken zu,  
Sie mag als Haas und Hof, als Weib und Kind erscheinen,  
Als Feuer, Wasser, Dolch und Gift ;  
Du bebst vor allem, was nicht trifft,  
Und was du nie verlierst, das mußt du stets beweinen

GÖTTE.

चिन्ता रे हृदयं नृणां निविशते दुःखं रहः कुर्वन्ती  
स्वास्थ्यं चात्र विनाशयत्यहरहः संरुन्धती निर्वृतिम् ।  
नानाविधधरा विषाग्निसलिलर्षागुवरूपान्विता  
मिथ्या संतनुते भयं विलपनं चैतस्य नष्टं न यत् ॥

chintā rē hṛdayam nṛṇāṁ nivishatē duḥkhaṁ rahah kurvatī  
svāsthyaṁ chatra vināśayatī ahar ahar saṁrundhatī nirvṛtiṁ ।  
nānāvīdhadhara viśāgnisalilarṣāguvarūpānvitā  
mithyā santanutē bhayaṁ vilapanam chaitasya naṣṭam na yat ॥

Cf. Oād. 62.

68

Nimmer verzagt der Mensch umringt von dusteren Sorgen.  
Auf das Dunkel der Nacht folget der leuchtende Tag.

BENZ.

चिन्तातिमिरसंछन्नो मा विषीदतु मानुषः ।  
उद्यतः सवितुर्ज्योतिः शर्वरीमनुषज्जते ॥

chintātimirasacchannō mā viśīdatu mānuṣah ।  
udyataḥ savitūr jyōtiḥ śarvarīm anuṣajjate ॥

Cf. M. Bā. III. 15489; XII. 754; XIV. 1229.

(To be continued.)



## MISCELLANEA

## THE LUSHAIS AT HOME

MARRIAGE is entirely civil contract among the Lushais, and can be dissolved by either party. A woman on leaving her husband takes with her only what she brought originally from her father's house. If a young man takes a fancy to a girl and wishes to marry, he informs his father, who sets about negotiations with the girl's parents, aided by two old counsellors, who are called *pillar*, and who do all the talking and fix the amount demanded. The parents of the girl generally commence by asking a great deal, but eventually a settlement is made, the price being in ordinary cases a gun, valued at Rs. 25 to Rs. 30, and a pig or fowls. On the price being paid, the pig is killed, and several lug jars of rice-beer are brewed and feasting and dancing take place. On the second day the bride goes to her husband's house and they are man and wife. It may happen that a father, tempted by a high offer, gives his daughter in marriage to some one she does not like. In this case she runs away from her husband and is not thought wrong for doing so, but her father has to return the price paid for his daughter, and she is free to marry again. Very lengthened periods elapse sometimes before the price of the bride is paid by the husband, and I mention as an instance an old friend of mine, Shyalonga by name, who is the father of eight children, and who only paid the remainder of his wife's purchase a very short time ago on receiving a large reward from me for services rendered as a guide.

Women are held in much consideration among the Lushais, and they have much influence and are consulted on all matters. Yet upon them falls all the heavy bodily burden of fetching water, hewing wood, bringing food from the *ghams*, cooking, brewing liquor and spinning. The Lushais are not prolific as a race, and seldom have more than three or four children. They stalk their children for a great length of time—up to three and four years of age. One peculiarity I have noticed, viz., that a mother gives her child rice two or three days after birth, a thing I have never known among any other natives of India. She chews the rice in her mouth and puts it into the child's mouth with her tongue.

Just before entering every Lushai village one sees great tips of *medjans* made of hewed logs, and

all houses them upright poles covered with heads of pigs, deer, goats, and other animals. These are the burial-grounds. When any one falls, and seems like yet to die, the *Paithsons*, literally the great knower, we should call him sorcerer. A *Paithson* The Lushais and their doctors join them as well in such cases, may direct, say, to get at a dog's head and fasten it on a night portion being given to the sick man who may or may not recover. In the case of a goat being the animal killed, a small portion of its skin with hair attached is tied to another as a person's neck. If the sick person dies, as he may, you are a dog in and a young dog to the family, and a pig, a deer, and a head of deer, and reserves are reserved. Quantities of liquor are drunk, and the next day the body is buried in the ground. If a male with the corpse is placed his *paithson* as a dagger or spear, and in all cases cooked rice and a small quantity of rice-beer are placed by the side of the body. In some cases, such as when the father of a family dies, the corpse is dressed in a fine cloth and wrapped up in the presence of all the friends and relatives, food is placed in front of him and a pipe is placed between his teeth, and he is addressed thus: "Eat and drink. You have a long journey before you."

When a chief or his son dies, the ceremony is, of course, more imposing. When a large and powerful Saiti chief died some years ago, six *ghams* were inaugurated by his relatives and friends, and the feasting and drinking lasted for several months. On one occasion I witnessed when visiting the Haining Chief Say-pun, witnessed the funeral rites of his son, a boy about ten years of age, who had been laid for more than a month going on. I was invited into his house as I have known to be well, and this is what I saw. In the centre of the room was a coffin roughly hewed out of a tree, in which the corpse lay. The top had been plastered with mud to make it air-tight, and from the bottom of the coffin through the floor of the house ran a large bamboo tube, which was buried deep in the ground. By the coffin was a gun and a case to fasten the *paithson* together, weeping and crying, and hot sun to name. At times she would turn to me and say, "Brother, you know my son and he called me father and I was a dead." I was much affected and, according to custom, I purchased a goat and blooded it in honour of the dead.

\* From *The Pioneer* No. 6, May 1890.



To continue, however. The corpse was kept in this coffin in the house for five months, during which time Sayipia never left his house, never ate rice or meat. At the end of five months the bones were taken out and removed to the family burial ground. The Shendas from what stile we saw of their country during the last expedition have more elaborate burials grounds. The graves are lined with huge slabs of stone, and slabs are also erected over the tomb, and on one occasion in addition to the skulls of animals, two human skulls were seen fastened on poles over the tomb. When Hausata's tomb was opened out by us after burning his village during the late expedition, by his side was Lieutenant Stewart's gun, the chief's pipe, knife, a bottle of liquor, and a small head-dress made of the tail feathers of the cheemraj bird.

The Lushais as a race may be said to be free from any infectious diseases. They suffer from remittent fever, boils, and inflammation of the bowels, brought on from over-eating and over-drinking. They, in the year 1861, brought back cholera with them from a raid they made in British territory, and thus spread the greatest terror among them, many of them. I am told, blowing out their brains on the first appearance of the disease showing itself. They named cholera *ray-dem-rot* (foreign sickness). In the same way they once caught small-pox in the Kassalong Bazaar in 1860.

A very curious fact is that the Lushais have absolutely no knowledge of any drug or medicine in any form whatever. Thus I look upon as most extraordinary, and I have never heard of any tribe, however savage it may be, without any knowledge of such. The Chukma, Maghs, and Tipperas, who, though in a certain extent civilized, still have the same mode of life as the Lushais, all have their drugs. A great many of the Lushais have, of course, heard of our medicines, and the result is that, when visiting their villages, old men and women, young men and old women and children, various ailments are brought to me to be doctored. I restrict myself to cases of fever, and the effect of a few grains of quinine on them is a most marvellous. I have effected a few cures with the aid of quinine, cholera-dyne, and essence of ginger, but the climax in my doctoring capabilities was reached when a husband brought his wife to me and solemnly assured me that her accouchement was already two months overdue, and could I give any drug that would make up for that time? I saw at a glance that the poor woman was

suffering from dropsy but looked very wise and suggested that perhaps the cares of his family coupled with the scarcity of rice had interfered with his powers of calculation. As I am writing this I have with some difficulty persuaded an old Lushai friend of mine to bring in his daughter to be operated on by our medical officer here. The woman is suffering from a cancerous tumour on the back of the head, which is necessarily very painful, and she has with great courage given herself entirely into my hands, though I told her she would suffer pain and have to be lanced. I am glad to say the operation has been most successful.

The Lushais have in every village one or more blacksmiths, the *thir-dag*, who is a man of some importance; he receives certain tribute of rice and other produce for his work. Close to the smith a small shed is generally found, and this is the forge, which is very simple but at the same time effective. It consists of two upright hollow bamboos about six inches in diameter, which are placed in the ground; into these two rammers made of bird's feathers, with handles attached, when pulled up and down act as bellows on the channel made at the foot of the bamboos. The Lushais have learnt all they know of blacksmith's work from Bengal captives, and the trade has been handed down. They can repair the locks of guns, can make spears, daws and knives, and I have heard, though I cannot vouch for the accuracy of it, that they have been known to turn a snider rifle into a flint-lock. Brass they can also work slightly in, the stems of all the women's pipes being made of an ornamental pattern in brass, also the handles of knives. Then, again, the bowls of the men's bamboo pipes are often lined with copper made from pice procured in the bazaar. The Lushai's knowledge of pottery is confined to making cooking pots and huge big vessels for making rice-beer. They are made of a blackish clay and are very strong and rarely break. The liquor vessels are made nearly an inch thick and about two feet in height. They have wooden platters for their food and wooden or bamboo spoons. They make all kinds of very fine basket-work with split cane and bamboo, and are very ingenious in making devices. It is astonishing what a complete feature in the life of all the Chittagong Hill tribes the bamboo is as well as the cane. I may mention here a few of their uses. First, the houses are nearly all bamboo, the roof being of cane leaves; the water is fetched by the women from their springs in hollow bamboos; from bamboo they make spoons,



rice-sifting baskets, baskets to carry loads, baskets to hold their household goods, baskets to hold fowls; they use bamboo root to make handles for their daws, when in the jungle they even cook their rice in green bamboos; and last, but not least, they eat the bamboo shoots, and very delicious they are.

The Lushais give to the name of the Creator the word Pathien, who is supreme. After him comes Khua-Vang, who carries out the Pathien's orders and appears on earth at certain times. I give a story of the appearance of Khua-Vang as it was told me by a Lushai. He was sitting drinking in the chief's house and found he could not get drunk, which perplexed him. On returning to his house he saw a man whom he knew to be Khua-Vang by his enormous stature. He addressed him in fear and trembling, but received no answer, and as he watched him Khua-Vang became smaller and smaller till he dwindled into space. Soon after this his village was raided and an enormous number of captives taken, men and women slaughtered, and the chief's power completely broken. The Lushais further believe that besides the deity the sun and moon are gods, and that the worship of them is agreeable to the deity. Their ideas of an after-world are very quaint. There are two abodes, the Piel Rai abode and the Mi-thi-Khna (people-dead-village). These two are separated by the big river Piel, from which Piel Rai takes its name. Piel Rai answers to our heaven, and no one from either abode can cross the river. Mighty hunters and great warriors only go to Piel Rai, where they live at ease and have no labour of any kind; they hunt and enjoy themselves. No woman can go to Piel Rai, but small children of both sexes who died before they had left their mothers' breasts are exceptions to this. To the Mi-thi-Khna go all men who have in no way distinguished themselves and all women. Life here is much the same as on earth; they have their daily labour and household duties, etc. In both abodes all live and die three times. After the third death the spirit becomes mist, falls to the ground, and with it is extinguished for ever. The idea is that when people on earth become sick and die, Khua-Vang is slowly but surely eating all the flesh from off their bodies and death is the result, the spirit going to one of the two mentioned abodes.

Every chief has one or two, or in case of big chiefs three or four, old men who act as his counsellors and ambassadors; these are called

by them *koubai* and by us *harbaris*. On entering a chief's village, the custom is to go to the *harbaris*, and there wait until the chief demands your presence. These *harbaris* are held in great estimation, and receive a yearly tribute of rice from the village. I have heard of a custom, answering much to the fiery cross of the old days, when a chief wishes to collect any of his clan or give emphasis to any order, he gives his spear to the messenger. If a hostile message be intended a fighting sword is sent with the messenger. Another form of expressing orders is a small cross made of split bamboo wands, which can signify various things. If the tips of the cross be broken, a demand for blackmail is intended; if the tips be charred, it implies an urgent assemblage at the chief's house; if a green chilli be fixed on the tip, it implies disobedience to obey orders will be rewarded by punishment as hot as the chilli.

The whole art of war among the Lushais may be described in one word—"surprise." They always send forward spies to see if their foes can be taken unawares; if the foes be on the alert, they are left in peace. As an instance of this I know of a village in the south of the Hill Tracts, whose inhabitants only numbered, men, women and children, about 100. The village, owing to a recent raid on a neighbouring village, had a night patrol. Two hundred Shendu warriors crept up to the village at early dawn. One of the sentries saw them and threw a stone at them, whereupon they all disappeared. The village, I may add, was stockaded to a certain extent.

A raid being decided on, the preliminary step is a sacrifice and a big drink. On starting off for the raid the old men and women of the village accompany the raiders for an hour or two on their journey and then leave them with such expressed wishes as these: "May you bring home many heads and come back unhurt!" On arriving at some distance from the village to be raided, they make their preparations, and creep up to the village just before dawn. They generally commence by firing several shots at the village and rush on the surprised inhabitants. I have never heard of a village thus attacked attempting to defend itself. At the first shot every man, woman and child bolts into the jungle. The women are seized, and if old and unmarried are killed on the spot. All children too small to travel are killed and frequently torn from their mothers' breasts and murdered before their eyes.



After two or three hours' bloodshed, unless the raiders feel no danger of a surprise, in which case they prolong their stay, they move out of the village, taking the women and girls captives with them, all tied together. They never take a full-grown male captive; it saves them trouble to kill him on the spot. As a rule the heads of all slain are carried off, though sometimes only the scalps. On their return journey the captives endure many hardships: if any one through weakness or ill-treatment cannot keep up, instant death is the result. When nearing their village the raiders are again met, if successful, by all the women and old men, who bring them down cooked food and liquor and accompany them in triumph to their houses. On entering the village one or more captives are always sacrificed as a thanksgiving offering, the booty is divided and the captives are set to work as slaves. As a rule after they have been a short time in the village they are well treated. The women invariably marry one from among their captors, and have been known when offered release years after to cling to them and refuse to go back to their own relatives.

One extraordinary custom among the Lushais which I would not have believed had I not had personal knowledge of the fact is that men and women change their sex in all outward appearances and customs. I give as an instance a woman who has twice accompanied a chief to see me and who is dressed as a man, smokes a man's pipe, goes out hunting with men, lives with them and has in every way adapted herself to the habits of man. She actually married a young girl who lived with her for one year. I myself asked in the presence of several chiefs and other Lushais why she had, being a woman, become a man. She at first denied being a woman, but when I suggested that we should change coats she demurred and finally confessed she was a woman, but that her *thwa-woy* was not good and so she became a man. I have heard of other cases in which men have adopted the dress and customs of women.

Constant disputes arise among the chiefs, regarding their necklaces of amber and other stones, which arise through intermarriages of different clans, and I have found it a hard task sometimes to settle these disputes satisfactorily when I have been appointed arbitrator by them. Differences arise owing to sisters, brothers, wives, sons and daughters claiming portions on the death of a chief, and often ended in the old days in bloody feuds.

The Lushais are great at songs and dancing. I give a few typical songs, translated literally:—

1.—“The long day song” runs thus

I do not aspire for the day,  
Evening dusk I want not,  
Sweet girls? their speech I solicit,  
Then I wish for the day again.

2.—An ode to Think-Pui, a famous gallant, and his mistress Dil-Thangi, a great beauty.

Walk on, walk on, Oh Big Think-Pui,  
Walking on the cloudy plain  
Far over the vault of the sky,  
Go and embrace Dil-Thangi.

Powerful chiefs have their songs dedicated to them and the various clans have their songs, all of which are sung on the occasion of big feasts.

One of the great difficulties in gathering genealogical tables, etc., is the extraordinary way in which the relatives of two chiefs, who may be at distinct enmity with one another, intermarry, and also the migrations of chiefs and their followers from one clan to another distinct clan. Broadly speaking, I would classify these tribes as follows.—All west of the Komeduin I would call Lushais, and east of it or across it Shendus. These, again, can be classified. The Lushais consist of Sailûs and Haulongs and Tanglanas, but have living in their territory Pankhoas and Banjoxas, who are distinct offshoots of the Shendus. The Shendus consist of Molien-Pus, Thiang-Thanga, Lakhera, Halkas, etc., under the general designation of Pous. The main difference in the appearance of the Lushais and the Shendus can be seen at a glance. The Lushai men and women wear their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head, while the Shendus or Pous, as they are called, wear the hair tied in a huge knot right over the forehead. In the latter in the case of men only. The languages are totally distinct also, but the Lushai language is, I believe, understood as far as the west border of the Chin country in Burma. One thing has struck me as being most extraordinary, and that is how rarely one meets a really old man amongst these people. Old women I have seen in abundance, but from what I can judge of their ages, I should say that a man of over 65 years is most uncommon.

Taking the Lushais as I have found them in their own villages, they are far superior to many savages one reads about. They are most hospitable, and I rarely enter a house in any village



without being offered food and drink, even when I have known myself at times the person offering it has barely enough for his day's food. They are extremely intelligent and quickly master the meaning of anything said to them or shown them. In fact it is most difficult to reconcile their apparent mildness with the well known instances of the atrocities committed by them when raiding. One of my old friends and guides, who is now the father of a grown-up family of eight children and who is apparently an exceedingly mild and benevolent old gentleman, astonished me very much the other day when I questioned him about the feats of his youth. I led him on gradually and eventually he told me he had with his own hands speared and killed six persons. I asked him if they were men or women, and he then told me three were men and three were women. I got an account of the death of each one from him, his features becoming gradually more ferocious as he continued his narrative, till, finally, when he described how his last victim had been a woman whom he had speared in cold blood, he became quite excited and with a piece of stick in his hand enacted the whole performance over again. He gradually subsided, but no amount of expostulation on my part would convince him that he had behaved in a way not to boast of.

Notwithstanding it being most unpleasant at times, still I have always tried as the most effectual way of thoroughly understanding these people to adopt the policy of "when you are at Rome," etc., and by this means only can one get a thorough insight into the character of the people. Another good old saying I have found most effective, namely, "*In vino veritas*," and many a time by a judicious application of rum at the right moment I have wormed out information which was being kept back.

I have given a fair outline, I think, of the Lushais and their habits and customs, and I will now content myself with giving a few anecdotes in connection with the people generally by way of illustrating their character, etc. I paid my first visit into the heart of the Lushai country in February, 1887, when I went with a guard of ten men to Sayipua's village, a chief I had heard a great deal of. I traveled to the feet of Sayipua having previously known Captain Lewin, who interviewed him in 1872 (from which time he had never seen a European), and to a certain knowledge of the language and of the Lushais' customs and habits which I had acquired in villages

within our frontier, to getting, if not a welcome, at any rate an interview. When within a few hours' of the chief's village I left my men behind to cook and proceeded with a friendly chief to show me the way and my interpreter. On reaching the village, I marched boldly in and made for the Karbari's house, and he informed the chief I had arrived. I waited most patiently, according to custom, till the chief sent for me, and as this was not till 9 p.m. I became somewhat anxious. All this time I was surrounded by the men, women and children of the village, who clustered round me in hundreds exclaiming in wonder at my white skin. On the chief sending for me I went to his house, and though at first he was inclined to be grumpy we soon became chatty over several bottles of rum which I produced. I spent the next day with him and gave him more rum and a small present of rupees, he giving me a handsome cloth. The third day I went away well satisfied with my visit and returned to Demagiri, my starting point, through three other Haulong chiefs' villages, in all of which I was well received. In one village, where Mallura was the chief's name, I as usual produced rum and made merry with the chief and his friends. Unfortunately I found the rum running short, and in an evil moment I had it watered on the quest to make the supply last longer. But the chief spotted it at once, and was loud in his wrath at my giving him, as he said, "water" and not spirit. I was at my wit's end and in desperation produced my only bottle of whisky. he tasted it, and, with his eyes up-raised, exclaimed: "Words are not available to express how delicious it is!"—and he very soon got drunk. In his cups he boasted of his power and strength, etc., while his old warriors sitting alongside of him commenced chaffing him (he was lame I must mention from an accident to his hip when a boy), saying "You a warrior and a chief why you can't walk from one village to another," and so on. This little story shows what I have said previously, that no outward respect is paid to a chief, and that they have a great craving for strong drinks.

My next visit to Sayipua was in December, 1887, on this occasion I knew my ground better, was provided with more authority to deal with him, and last but not least, had a supply of rupees. Accordingly I asked him to swear an oath of friendship with me according to Lushai customs, and he at once agreed, and the following morning was fixed for the ceremony, which took place as follows. A gydl was tied in the open space facing



the chief's house. Sayipua came out dressed in his best, which was a very handsome check cloth, with an enormous plume made of the tail feathers of the *bâim-râj*, or mocking bird, in his hair, and a spear in his right hand. He called me to him close to the *gyâl*, and both of us, holding the spear in our right hands, simultaneously plunged it into the brute's ribs. Sayipua drew out the spear and taking the warm blood in his hand smeared his and my hands, face and legs with its blood, and then holding up the spear called out in a loud voice that all might hear as follows:—  
 "When the big streams and little streams shall dry up in these hills, then and not before shall this white man be mine enemy: what is mine is his, and by this oath you all know him to be my friend!"

The ceremony over, we adjourned to the chief's house and ratified the oath in numerous flagons of home-brewed rice-beer. Now I luckily happen to possess a strong head and thus has stood me in good stead, as one must drink with these people if one wishes to thoroughly adapt oneself to their customs. The drink is passed round in horns (generally a tame *gyâl's*) and their principle is "no heel taps," each person revering his horn to show he has emptied it. I was much amused on one occasion at one of these drinking bouts by Sayipua exclaiming "This is indeed a *o'af* why we can't even make him drink. The *Lushu* carry this drinking to such an extent that it is a common thing for the rice of last year's crop to be exhausted before the new crop is ripe, owing to the vast quantities consumed in manufacturing their drink. As a rule the *Lushus* are not quarrelsome in their cups, but when they have had as much as they can stand they quietly lie down on the floor and sleep off their drunkenness. Instances of quarrelling do of course occur, and I remember once, when sitting in a chief's house, one of his young warriors kept coming up to where I was sitting by the chief and bothering me to give him tobacco, to look at my arms, legs, etc., till I lost patience and told him to desist. The chief, too, seeing I was getting angry, remarked, "*Auro! he say-lall-song-a thua-ar-in sauk-ang-bok*"—"Be quiet, these foreign chiefs when angry are like tigers." I took this as a gentle hint and landed my young friend one straight between the eyes, much to his discomfort. To my astonishment,

instead of there being a row, I was applauded for what I had done, and the next day this same young fellow and I became quite friendly!

## THE TEMPTATION OF ZOROASTER

BY L. G. CASARELLI.

[In the long 19th *fargard* or chapter of the *Vendidad*, the first book contained in the *Avesta*, occurs this remarkable temptation of the great Eranian prophet, which reminds one of the temptation of Buddha by the fiend *Mâra*, practically rendered by Sir Edwin Arnold in the sixth book of his *Light of Asia*. The present attempt at a not too literal metrical rendering is based on the Zend text (rix. 1-35), partly sked out by the Pehlevi version.<sup>1</sup>

Now from the North, from regions of the North  
 Forth Auro-Mainyus rushed, the murderous one,  
 Demon of demons: then he, evil-minded  
 And slayer of many men, thus spake aloud:

"Hence, fiend, and slay the holy Zarathust!<sup>2</sup>  
 And Bât the fiend, the murderous, who deceives:  
 The souls of men, came rushing down upon him  
 But Zarathustra prayed the sacred prayer,<sup>3</sup>  
 The praises of the good Creation and the Law  
 And lo! the fiend, the murderous, who deceives  
 The souls of men, in terror fled away, [me:  
 And screamed "O Auro-Mainyus, thou tormentest  
 I see no sign of death upon the Holy One!"

But Zarathustra in his spirit saw  
 How wicked demons plotted for his death  
 Then fearless and unmoved he rose, and stepped  
 Forth 'gainst their enemy, whilst in his hands  
 He bare a sling of mighty stones, which God  
 Had given to him; and o'er this broad, round earth  
 Where runs the river with its lofty banks,  
 He carried them, and thus aloud proclaimed:

"O cruel Auro-Mainyus! lo! I come to smite  
 Thy ill-creation, thy demons, and the fiend,  
 The spirit of Idolatry! to combat till such time  
 As Saoshyant shall come, the Saviour,  
 The Victor, from the great Sea to the East."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Trübner's *Receid*, May 1899.

<sup>2</sup> The Ahura-Vairya prayer.

<sup>3</sup> The mythological Lake Manasya.



But evil-minded Auro-Mainyus cried  
 "O smite not my creation, Zarathust!  
 Thou art King Pourushaspa's son, and thou  
 Art born of human mother: lo! renounce  
 The Law of Mazda, and thou shalt receive  
 Reward as great as Vradaghno the Chief."

But Zarathustra: "I will not renounce  
 The holy Law of Mazda! Sooner may  
 Body and soul and intellect dissolve!"

Quoth Auro-Mainyus. "By what weapon, say,  
 Wilt thou then smite? or how wilt thou destroy  
 My creatures and creation?"

Answer made

The holy Zarathust: "Sacred vessels<sup>a</sup>  
 And holy prayers, these are my trusty arms.  
 With these words will I smite and every way  
 Destroy thee, baneful-minded Auro-Mainyus!  
 The Holy Spirit made these sacred words,  
 And the Immortal Saints,<sup>b</sup> the strong, the wise,  
 Have them proclaimed!"

And thereupon he prayed  
 The sacred prayer. The demons yelled aloud,  
 The wicked, Evil-minded Ones, — and fled, —  
 Fled to the lowest depths of murky hell!<sup>c</sup>

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### THE LIFE-INDEX BUILDINGS.

SOME time ago I was told that a wealthy *báná* (trader) of Ludhiana in the Punjab never left off building or rebuilding his house, because it was deemed to be unlucky for a man not to be constantly adding to or renewing his dwelling. This is undoubtedly a case of the Life-Index. Masson, in his *Journeys in Belochistan*, etc. (Vol. I. p. 49), notes a similar idea. He says that the Nawab of Tank never left off building, as a *faqir* had told him that his prosperity depended on his never ceasing to build. In Egypt there was a tradition in the family of Mahomet Ali, the Khedive, that the family was doomed to fall if it left off building. (Dicey's *Story of the Khedivate*, p. 68.)

Does this belief, (or some similar idea), explain why eastern rulers always endeavour to found a new capital? In Persia and in Egypt the palace of the ruler is not used after his death, but a new one is built for the new ruler, and the old one deserted. The necessity for a new palace naturally leads to the establishment of a new capital.

This tendency to move the site of the ruler's capital is exemplified in many of the Punjab States. Thus, Sirmur is the oldest known capital of the State of that name, and several capitals were founded and abandoned before the modern capital of Nabha was built. Delhi itself is apparently an illustration of the same custom.

The point is of some historical interest. The sudden appearance of a new capital in the ancient history of India or the East may not indicate a change of dynasty, but may merely be due

to the establishment of a new capital by a new ruler. The new capital would then give its name to the State, and so we should have the frequent and bewildering appearance of new kingdoms in ancient Hindu history. It would be of interest to know how far the custom prevails.

H. A. ROSE,

*Supdt. of Ethnography, Punjab*

8th Jan. 1903.

[Changes of capital in Burma were frequent, but not necessarily dynastic and not necessarily made on the accession of every ruler. If a dynasty lasted long enough, the capital, as I understand, was changed about every 40 years, and generally to a site but a few miles off, advantage being taken of a fresh accession to the throne to make the change. It is, of course, possible that the custom had a superstitious origin, but in practice two practical points came into consideration: a political one in connecting a new or shaky dynasty with a famous site, a medico-religious one in departing from a site that the insanitary habits of the people had practically made no longer inhabitable. There is no doubt that Mandalay would in ordinary circumstances have been succeeded by a new site on King Thibaw's death for sanitary reasons, just as the Burmese told me that the change from Amarapura to Mandalay (8 miles or so) was made after King Mindon's accession (1853 or thereabouts) fundamentally on sanitary grounds. Mandalay Hill was an old and famous Burmese shrine. This mixing up of practical and religious or superstitious customs is, of course, a very old human phenomenon. — ED.]

<sup>a</sup> The *worder* and *cup* for the haum sacrifice.

<sup>b</sup> The *Amshoupenias*.

<sup>c</sup> This last verse is taken from the very end (§ 117) of the *Farvard*. It appears to have been misplaced and to belong here.



## NOTES ON THE INDOSCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

of J. Green, Assistant Secretary, is hereby notified that the  
 W. B. PHILLIPS.

(Continued from p. 359)

## PART II. — HISTORICAL TEXTS.

THIS second article by M. Levy, in the *Journal Asiatique* Jan-June 1897 pp. 5 to 29, is in the public domain. What here follows is practically a translation of the whole of it. As before the figures in this report are square brackets mark the pages of the original.

[5] Chinese records allow us to chart fully the vicissitudes of the Yue-tchi, from the time when they were present on the Hsiang-shan about 1183 B. C., and their establishment in the territory of the Fung-shan of the Chou. But from that time until the Ya-shen came in contact with them, the Japanese fable which we see on Itan can only very seem to extend us to Chinese records. Two documents refer to the obscure period, both have been known, but the conclusions claimed to be drawn from these obscure texts demand a new examination.

[6] The first passage is found in the Annals of the Second Han Dynasty. It runs thus:—

[illegible]

The compiler Ma Tuan lin, who is concerned to set out a straight line to the source of K'ang Hsiang, who was born in Yueh-t'ung about 125 B. C. and resided in Ch'ang-an about 122 B. C. instead of being concerned to show that he is to be excluded from the journey of Chuang Kuei, the year 121 B. C. would correspond with the approximate date of the accession of the Han dynasty. But we must (7) adhere to the ordinary method of the Chinese dynasties, and expand if we want to get at facts. Ma Tuan lin has joined the two accounts together, without trying to coordinate them. The Chinese text clearly indicates the accession of the Han as the starting point of the calculation, and the actual date is thus the second late variety, at 121 B. C. (Hsiao, p. 324, note 4) proceeds accordingly for the conquest of the T'ien after 24 A. D. because the history of the first Han dynasty makes no mention of the reason for the omission of the records of Liu An prince, incorporated in the *Annals*, does not intend to trace a complete history of all the emperors, but only to set out the reigns of the emperors as determined by the *Annals*, and by other historical sources, as testimony of the truth of the story, but does not follow the reigns of the emperors as determined by the *Annals*.

of the 1940s. In 1941, the U.S. Navy was the first to use the term "atomic bomb" in a public statement. The term was used to describe the new type of weapon that was being developed. The U.S. Navy was the first to use the term "atomic bomb" in a public statement. The term was used to describe the new type of weapon that was being developed.







[illegible][illegible][illegible]

\* See the special note, "King-lou and the supposed I-tsun-koen," on page 124 below.







conversion of this barbarian. The spread of Buddhism towards the north-west had been for a long time stopped; now all at once the barrier was removed, and it could spread over a vast dominion under the patronage of a powerful sovereign, with the prospect also of ultimately reaching the Tukharas, the Chinas, and many other still unknown peoples. Since the memorable reign of Asoka-Piyadasi, Buddhism had not enjoyed a triumph so full of promise. The episode of King-kou (or King-nien) shows its first result in China; sixty years later, Buddhist priests were summoned to the court of the Han by imperial order.

The dates thus taken from different Chinese documents corroborate each other. If the first [22] Kushana king came to the throne about the middle of the first century B. C., we should expect to find the second of his successors about the beginning of the Christian era. Half a century leaves a normal space for the glorious reign of Kienou-tseou-ki-to, for Yen-kao-tchou's conquests, and for Kanishka's first years. From the Chinese point of view the question of the Yue-tchi results also in the same chronological conclusions. Until the middle of the first century B. C. the empire intervenes in the affairs of the peoples who border upon it; the kings of Kipin, more than half Indian as they are, solicit and receive investiture from the Han, though they might afterwards cut the throats of Chinese envoys. But in Youan-ti's reign (48—33 B. C.) China gives up the idea of avenging an outrageous affront it has just received. In vain does Kipin, menaced by pressing danger, confess its fault and offer reparation to Youan-ti's successor Tcheng-ti (32—7 B. C.); mistakes his predecessor's prudent reserve, and doubtless annihilates unfortunate Kipin: the invasion of the Yue-tchi, which Kan-tseou-ki-to leads to conquest. From that time the First Han Dynasty, in its last struggles and comes to an end in the convulsions of civil war, there is a rapid succession of feeble emperors, who lose their power, and usurpers contend for it. First the Trans-Pamirian states revolt, then the Cis-Pamirian provinces, and are separated from the empire. [23] In vain does the armistice Wang-mang, a pretender to the throne, try to ingratiate himself with the western countries by rich presents (4 A. D.). The year 8 of the Christian era marks the official cessation of relations between China and Si-Yu (the West). According to the testimony of the imperial historiographer, Pan-ko, the power of China in these regions was, at the end of the First Han Dynasty in the year 23 of the same era, reduced to nothing. If we believe the Chinese pilgrim Hsien-tsang, the arbitrator of the Chinese suzerainty was undoubtedly the king of the Kushanas, Kanishka. "The neighbouring kingdoms were agitated by his power, and the terror of his arms extended itself among all the peoples. He organized his army and extended his dominions to the east of the Issang-ting (Hindoukoucha). The tributary provinces established to the west of the river (Yehou), dread his power and sent him hostages" (*Mémoires*, trans. Julien, I, 42, 200).

The Yue-tchi conqueror had taken away from the Han not only their vassals, but also their title of sovereignty: and the hostages, who formerly prostrated themselves before the Son of Heaven (*tsien-tien*) at Tcheng-ouan, now prostrated themselves before the Son of Heaven (*tsen-tien*) at Pushkalāvati or at Peshawar.\*

[24] If, as is generally done, we take Kanishka's coronation as the starting-point for the Saka era (78 A. D.), [25] we meet with an extraordinary difficulty. Pan-tseou's victorious campaigns, pursued for thirty years (73—43 A. D.) without intermission, at the very time restored Si-Yu to the empire, and carried Chinese arms beyond the regions explored by Tcheng-tien, as far as the confines of the Greco-Roman world. By 73, the king of Khotan had made his submission, several kings of that country followed his example, and gave their eldest sons as hostages for their fidelity, Kanishka, immediately after returned to obedience. The two passages which the way to the north debouches into India were in the hands of the Chinese. The submission in the year 94, after a long resistance, of Kharashar and of Kou-tché secured to China also the route to the north. The Yue-tchi had not renounced their previous supremacy without a struggle. In the year 100 the king of the

\* See the special note, the *tsien-tien* (suzerains) of the Yue-tchi, on page 425 below.

† De Maille, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, trans. from the T'oung-tsun Kan-mou, 305 page.



Yue-tch' sent an ambassador to demand a CL here process in marriage. Pan-t'ch' leaving the request insolent, stopped the ambassador and sent him back. The king of the Yue-tch' raised an army of 70,000 horsemen under the orders of the viceroy Siu. Pan-t'ch' and his troops were affronted at the answer, [28] and his general had much trouble to reassure them, however he made them see that the enemy, worn out by a long march, and by the fatigues of forced marching he is attacking mountains was not in a position to attack them with advantage. So he was pushed and the king of the Yue-tch' did not fail to send every year the tribute required. [29] It was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who condescended to such a humiliation. Only a distant successor, at a power, but enfeebled, could have submitted to it.

[In connection with the above, attention may be called to the following articles in the *Journal Asiatique* — (1) *Nahapāna et l'ère Çaka*, by A. M. Haver, July-Dec., 1897, pp. 329-15, (2) *Les Indo-Sythes et l'époque du règne de Kanishka, d'après les sources chinoises*, by E. Specht, vol. pp. 152-163, (3) *Notes archéologiques sur les Indo-Sythes*, by S. Lévi, pp. 162-181, (4) *Les royaumes de Wang Huan-tse-hua l'Inde*, by S. Lévi, Janvier 1900, pp. 41-48, and (5) *L'époque de Kanishka*, by A. M. Boyer, *ibid.*, pp. 528-570.

[In the first article, M. Boyer gives reasons for thinking that the Saka era must have begun not in the reign of Kanishka, but from the accession of the Kanishka-Nahapāna war inscription and coins which have been found over Sakastana, Avantika and part of the west coast of the Dekkan, and who seems to have been a Saka conqueror from the north-west. He assigns to the era 117 A. D., the generally accepted year for the beginning of the era.

[In the second article, M. Specht connects the era with the M. Lévi drew from Chinese sources, and in particular his view that Kanishka was master of a part of China, and that his reign began about B. C. 5. With this part of the era M. Lévi has dealt in the fourth article named just above, pp. 447 ff., as will be seen in a continuation of these Notes.

[In the remaining article, M. Boyer argues that, though Kanishka is not inaugurated the Saka era, and as a matter of fact began through local legends of the first century of the Christian era.

[It is unfortunately not possible now to do more than thus briefly allude to the interesting articles by MM. Haver and Specht, which bring together and discuss so much information from Chinese sources bearing on the ancient history of India. Some notes from M. Lévi's additional articles mentioned above, (3) and (4), will be given in Part IV.]

### SPECIAL NOTES.

#### Lan-chen; Pushkalāvati.

See page 118 above, note 2.

original page 8, note 3, with an addition on page 42.)

The seeming variant *Kan-chen*, in the History of the First Han Dynasty, is only due to confusion of two almost identical characters. Ssu-ma Tsien and the History of the Second Han Dynasty guarantee the reading *Lan-chen*. The word *lan* designates plants from which blue dyes are extracted; and the analogy of the name *Hoa-chen* (the town) of Hsien to

<sup>1</sup> De Mailla 994. The original passage is found in the biography of Pan-t'ch' in the *Shi Han-shi* (p. 19). Father de Mailla's History seems to furnish another important clue regarding the Yue-tch' in the case of Pan-t'ch'. In the year 1. Pan-t'ch' so he made a gift of kingdom of Kyo to tributary to him, secured the forces and a duke Kanang king of Yue-tch' whom he put to death. (Hist. p. 307). But the original text (p. 307, p. 4) designates Kanang as king of Yue-tch' (Kharashar). De Mailla who transcribes doubt about the reading of the original for Pan-t'ch' so passes from there to the kingdom of Kyo (the Kentshi) which actually borders on Yue-tch'. The biography of Pan-t'ch' so notes on another occasion, the discussion of the Yue-tch' to Pan-t'ch' so "in the case the Yue-tch' has not intermarried with the K'ang-kuo (Foreign) and they were relaxed. Then Tehar sent ambassadors with rich presents to the king of the Yue-tch' while the king himself showed clearly to the king of K'ang-kuo the real truth. The king of K'ang-kuo abandoned his soldiers."



designate Kāsumavati, i. e. Pātaliputra, leads us to believe that *Lan-chen* is not a transcript, but a translation. *Lan-chen* in this case would correspond to Pāskulavati or Pushkarāvati (the town) 'of the blue otter.' The importance of this city is attested by Strabo, Ptolemy, the Periplus, Ptolemy and Arrian, according to Tchernia (p. 12) King Kan-shan's son had established his royal residence there. A story of Xuyao-shan (Sairamānāra, 37<sup>a</sup>, line 10) for across a frontier of the kingdom of Pashkalavat (Pashkashan-wu). Beal (*Buddhist Literature in China*, 13<sup>a</sup>) read *hā-kia* translated it by 'Bacra' and pointed out this passage as a proof that the villages of India were at an early time decorated by artists from Bactriana, where Greek art dominated. The territory of the Tatars, according to Ssu-ma Tsien, bordered on India and was situated south of the Oxus. The position of Pashkalavat fits in with these indications.

The same story is reproduced in the *Fa-shen-shou-hu* (XXXVI, 6, p. 43<sup>a</sup>, chap. 21 of the Japanese edition) from the *T'ch'ien-shan* of Nāgārjuna (Nanjo, 1139), but in this version Pashkalavati is designated as 'the capital of the Yue-tchi. *Ti Yue-tchi Pashkalavati* (the *Tai-pai* King) (Māhāyāna sutra, Kan-sutra, Nanjo, 117, Japan. ed., XI, p. 87<sup>a</sup>) designates *Pashkalavati* (Pushkalavati) as the 'royal residence.' The identity of *Lan-chen* and Pashkalavati seems thus well established.

### The identity of the Se and the Sakas.

(See page 418 above, and note 8;  
original page 10, note 1.)

The identity of the Se and the Sakas, though disputed by Lassen (*Ind. Ant.*, II<sup>a</sup> p. 378, cannot however, be doubted. The character *Se*, used to denote the name of this people, is regularly employed in transcribing from a Sanskrit to represent the sound *saka*, for example in *Gu-pu-se*, 'Gusaka,' *Mi-sha-se*, 'Mishasaka.' In fact Indian tradition so often rashly imputed to distinguish two races and two dynasties of Saktana invaders.

The Purāṇas class the Saka kings and the Takharas or Tasharas (Tchar Tash-lo) among the Yavana kings. The Vāyu P. counts 12 Sakas. The Matsya P. 18, the Vishnu P. 10, the Bhāgavata 10, the name into Kinkas, and also counts 10 of them. The number of Takhar kings is uniformly 14. A duration of 36 years (Brahmaṇḍa) or 380 (Vāyu, Matsya) is assigned to the Sakas and 500 (Matsya 700<sup>a</sup>) to the Tasharas.

The chronological tradition of the Jains summed up in their *Prasanna-mahāpurāṇa* (I, A, II, p. 362, ignores the Tasharas and only recognizes one Saka, Saka, who reigned four years, this Saka is evidently the Śāhānāshāh of the Sakas. He is associated with the history of Śāhānāshāh (cf. Lassen & D. M. G., XXXIV, 1883, 247-248, and Lassen ib., XXXVII, 1883, 493-521).

Among the Buddhists, a passage of the Saṃyuktāgama, quoted in a Chinese compilation of the 5th to 6th century (*Ch'ien-pou*, by Deng-shan about the year 500, Nanjo, 1468, Japanese edition, XXXV, 1 p. 71<sup>a</sup>, end) predicts the simultaneous dominion of the *Yō-pi-shō* (Yavanas, to the north, of the *Ch'ien* (Sakas) to the south of the *Po-lo-p'ia* (Parthians, to the west and of the *Tou-sha-lo* (Tasharas) to the east. The *Vaśīṣṭha-sūtra* (Nanjo 1270, Japan, ed., XXI, 9), translated into Chinese by Sanghabhata in 383 A. D., in an interesting discussion mentions the language of the *Tchen-tan* (Chinese) and that of the *Te-k'uei* (Tasharan). "The Bhagavat knows the *Tchen-tan* language better than the men of *Tchen-tan* the Bhagavat knows the *Te-k'uei* language better than the men of *Te-k'uei* (p. 52<sup>a</sup>). The Chinese version of another Buddhist text, the *Pan-sa-chien-ye king* (the *Pañcaviṃśatyā-niśa*, Nanjo, 1480), translated in 431 by Guṇavarman, substitutes in an analogous passage the name of the



Yue-tchi for that of the Tukhāras, he enumerates among the "parlers inférieurs" the sounds of the kingdom *To-pu-lo* (Drāvis), the sounds of *Wu-te*, *Iue-tchi*, *Tu-te-in*, *Ngan-it* and *Tchia-tan* (chap. 2; Japan ed., XV. 1, 33<sup>b</sup>).

The *Malabarata* frequently names the Tukhāras, almost always associated with the Yavanas and Sakas, and even also with the Pahlavas and Chinas, as in the preceding passage of the *Samyuktāgama* (M. Bh., 2, 1850, 3, 1990, 12350-6, 3297-8, 3652-12, 2422).

Jessen (*Ind. Alt.*, II<sup>2</sup> 381) identified the *Ta-Yue-tchi* with the Tochari of the classics, that is to say with the Tukhāras. So did von Richthofen, quite apart from chronological speculation (*Chine*, I, 449. n. 5).

If the name of the Tukhāra dynasty has not yet been found in documents we need not be surprised. All the countries in speaking of the sovereign call him king of the Koei-choang (Kushanas). The Han (Chinese), according to their ancient denomination, call them *Ta-Yue-tchi* (*Hsiao-Hsiao-chow*, ap. Specht *loc. cit.*).

Later, the name of the Turushkas (*Tou-kue*, was substituted for that of the Tukhāras *Tou-ko-lo*. The formation of this new race-name has a striking analogy with the formation of the royal names Kanishka, Hushka and Vasushka, an identical parallelism seems to be precisely established between the Greek transcriptions of these words: Kanerki Housk for Kanishka, Huvishka Tourkoï for Turushka. The more delicate Sanskrit notation seems to have differentiated two utterances confused into one in Greek and Chinese, *Turki*, and *Ten-kue* on one side *Turushka* on the other, imply an original such as *Tur + r + ka* and the unknown quantity is no doubt the very strong guttural aspirant which Greek has tried to represent by a *chi* (cf. below, in Part III). Kanishka is thus expressly designated as a *Turushka* (*Kojatse*, I, 170) the Turki kings, who occupied Gandhara in the 8th century, claimed him as the ancestor of their race (*Monnaire d'Ou-k'ang* J. A. July-Dec., 1895, 805).

An indication in Hünichandra, which seems hitherto to have escaped notice, well confirms the nationality of these kings. *Turushkās in sakhyah syāh* (v. 959) The *sukh* of this text are certainly the *sās* of the *Rājatarāngini*, kings of Gandhara.

### King-ton and the supposed I-tsun-keou.

(See page 412 above, and note 4;

original page 15, note 1.)

Specht takes the original of I-tsun-keou to be Hushka, while he declines to examine "if this Hushka was the first of the three Turushka kings named in the history of Kusimur." The ordinary rules of transcription and the usage of the language are radically opposed to this interpretation. Specht admits that the character represents here as an exception, the sound *ou* but in fact this character is constantly appropriated for transcribing the *hau* etc. The character *ts'un* is not found in transcription: an homophonous letter is indicated by Julien as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *chham* in Krakuchchuanoo. But Hushka is written in Sanskrit with the cerebral *sh*, which has no connexion with the low aspirated palatal employed in Krakuchchuanoo. Finally if *tsou* represents *ka* in Julien's method it is, by characteristic exception, in the sole name Kanakamuni. But the initial syllable of this name is actually uncertain: in Pāli confirmed by Asoka's inscription in Nāgā, the form *Konagamana* is employed, thus explaining the use of the sound *tsou* in *tsou* in Sanskrit, in the Chinese transcription. This parallelism of two forms, Kanakamuni and Konagamana, seems to appear again between the classical form Sakyamuni (Buddha) and the form *SAKYAMANO BOYAO*, on Kanishka's coins. The normal transcription of I-tsun-keou would give I-chhau-ko, which is very wide of Hushka.



But the word *k'ei* does not here have a simple preterite function: it combines with the following word *cheu*, 'to receive,' the two terms forming a compound phrase with the sense of *over-receive*. 'to receive actually' and this phrase has its counterpart in the purely Chinese idiom *ku p'ou cheu* 'to actually receive,' 'to actually receive' (see for example, *Chu Tse-tung* 11, 10). For examples of *k'ou cheu*, 'to receive orally' compare for instance, *Sung T'ien* ch. XIV, 1<sup>b</sup> "seventy disciples received orally his instructions" and *Po-tai-ni* ch. k. XLIII 28<sup>a</sup> "he received orally the knowledge of Sanskrit."

As to the characters *ts'au*, if we give up the idea of finding a transcription in them, we are able to give them a possible meaning. The word is a demonstrative pronoun 'this, that' 'to preserve' the first phrase would then be translated thus: 'King-t'au received an envoy from the king of the Great Yue-tse. He preserved, having received them orally, the first texts.' We must in any case give up the idea of finding in the second phrase a reference regarding the throne. We can translate word by word *ku cheu ts'au ts'au ts'au* 'when one speaks of the word founder it is this man.' This interpretation places the foundation of the school in the hands of the Buddha in the *ts'au* 'founder of the Way.' The first *ts'au* is the first founder of the religion, King-t'au, who introduced it into China, is the second.

Another interpretation is also possible. If we join the word *ts'au* to the preceding phrase we must translate: 'received (the) Buddhist scriptures' 'received that which you, who received' 'The reference in this case can not be to King-t'au: it must be to the personage mentioned a little farther back. The account, in fact, after having treated shortly of the Buddha and his country adds: *ts'au ts'au cheu ts'au ts'au* 'when one speaks of the word founder it is this man.' This phrase implies Sanskrit forms such as *Sariputa*. If we bear in mind that here we are not dealing with a scholarly transcription, the name at once suggests *Sariputa*, i.e., *Sariputa* (I have *Sariputa*, whence for example in *Singapore*, *Sariputa* (Spicer). Hardy always gives the name under this form). The important place given to this disciple, the title of *dharmasampada*, 'master of religion' bestowed upon him, when we suppose that he has been designated as 'the second founder of the law.' This interpretation would have the advantage of accounting for the first inserted phrase *ts'au ts'au*, etc., and of establishing by its means even a link of connection between the first account of the Buddha and the episode of King-t'au. Examined in this light, the account is even thrown into unexpected relief and radiance: the original conclusions were drawn from it. If the Buddhist works communicated to King-t'au in 2 B. C., translated the *Sāṃkhya* and other works, ever so much to pleasure at the school of the Buddha, we have ground to believe that these works emanated from the school of the Abhidharma when it was to be from him. Kien (*Bullington*, II, 332) observes that 'Sariputa has a vast reputation as the ideal type of the Abhidharma.' The career of Kanishka seems to have marked the triumph of this school. Varanasi, the president of the council was one of the most celebrated Abhidharmaists, and the five hundred monks who assembled there were always designated as the disciples of the great teacher of the Abhidharma. A *śāstra* (a *śāstra* *śāstra* *śāstra*) The edited works of Sariputa, recorded in the works communicated to King-t'au and then brought into Chinese letters, would be the immediate result of the council assembled by Kanishka.

A passage from the *Long-wo-ku-t'ien* (Chap. II, p. 380) inserted in the *Pu-tai* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales) suggests, however, another interpretation. The work mentions the journey of Lao-tze to Hsiao, where he became the Buddha. There are books of the discipline (*ts'au*) in nine myriads of sections: there are there 'precisely the sutras of *śāstra* *śāstra* of the Great Yue-tse: we enter Hsiao (Chinese) have received.' The legend so widespread, and recalled in this passage, which makes Lao-tze



reappear in India under the name of the Buddha allows us to class the Buddhist sutras as the continuation of the Chinese philosophy who has given the *Yao-tse* as his first manifestation. The former institution and the latter institution would refer to the Buddha himself considered as the metamorphose of Lao-tze.

### The t'ien-tzeu (dōvaputra) of the Yue-tchi.

(See page 421 above, and note 8 ;  
original page 28, note 2.)

The t'ien-tzeu of the Yue-tchi is expressly designated as a certain notice of India incorporated in the Chinese version of the *Dvādaśa-vimśatī-sūtra* (*Chen-wei-king*, Nan, no. 1974) the author of the translation dated 382 was the *śramaṇa* Kūśāṇka, a native of the western countries. The sutra is very short one, enumerates the movements of the Buddha during the twelve years of preaching. The account with which it ends has apparently escaped attention, though its date and the information contained make it of interest. A translation of the same is, therefore, given here:—

In the year of Jambūdvīpa there are 10 great kingdoms, 84,000 towns, 800,000 villages, 800,000 families of 11 are t'ien-tzeu. To the east there is the Son of Heaven of the Yau [the Eastern Tsin, 317-420, contemporaries of the translator Kūśāṇka], the people there are very prosperous. To the south there is the Son of Heaven of the kingdom Tien-tzeu (India) the country produces many renowned elephants. To the west there is the Son of Heaven of the Yau [the Han empire], the country produces gold, silver, precious stones in abundance. To the north-west there is the Son of Heaven of the Yue-tchi, the country produces many good horses.

In the 84,000 towns, there are 4,400 kinds of man, 10,000 kinds of languages, 6 hundred kinds of thousands of insects of grass (7 kinds of birds, 6,400 kinds of fish, 4,000 kinds of trees, 2,400 kinds of quadrupeds, 10,000 kinds of trees, 8,000 kinds of plants, 740 various kinds of medicinal plants, 48 various kinds of perfumes, 121 kinds of gems, 7 kinds of perfect gems.

In the sea there are 2,500 kingdoms which live upon the five sorts of grain, 330 kingdoms which live upon fish and turtles. There are 5 kings; a king commands 100 towns. The first king has for name King of the kingdom of the Sea (Sinhā 2400 Chōhō). They only worship the Buddha there and no other deities. The second king has name Kuei, the country produces 107 gems. The third king has name Pō, the country produces 42 kinds of perfumes, 100 kinds of glass (thou). The fourth king has name Chō-ye; the country produces red pepper, pigment and ordinary pepper. The fifth king has name Na-ko; the country produces the white pearl and glass (thou) of seven colours. In the five great kingdoms, the people of the towns are for the most part black and small. The distance between them is 450,000 li. After that there is only the son without inhabitants. One arrives at the province of the mountains of iron at 140,000 li" (Japanese ed., XXIV, 8, 30.)

The translation which I follow Jambūdvīpa mentions four sovereigns designated respectively "the master of man," "the master of elephants," "the master of treasures," "the master of horses." Reischert, *Reischert's* vol. 1, p. 82, in relation to the S-yau, by Tchang-hou, a Buddhist of the Han Tsin (I, lxxv, lxxvi), — a sovereign akin to the system of the four "Sons of Heaven."

(To be continued.)



## THE NIMBUS AND SIGNS OF DEIFICATION ON THE COINS OF THE INDO-SKYTHIAN KINGS.

BY M. E. DROUIN

(Translated from the *Revue Numismatique*, IVme Ser., Tome V, 1901, pp. 154-166.)

[The following paper appeared in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1901, pp. 154-166, and as the subject is of considerable interest to Indian antiquarians, whilst the French version may not be accessible to many of them I have had the following translation made of Mons. Drouin's valuable paper, — J. BUNCE.]

MUCH has been written on the subject of the halo or nimbus which surrounds the heads of deities, kings, and certain personages on coins, vases, paintings and sculptures of the pagan period. We know the *ἀσπασμός*, 'the halo the gods' of Hesiodos; Homer's golden *χρυσὸν ἀσπασμόν* *πάλαι*, 'round whom all grace beamed'; In Virgil, *Pallas a nimbo effulgens*, and she dispels the darkness, *lucunt aethera*, by her brightness. The idea of radiance and light accompanying divinity is quite a natural one, of which the representation is to be found in the earliest Egyptian antiquities. On Assyrian cylinders is seen the shining nimbus round the head and body of divine personages receiving the homage of worshippers. In an inscription of Assurbanipal (7th century B. C.) and on the magic tablet Ishtar is spoken of 'with the flaming aureole.' In the Catacombs, the heads of the holy martyrs are likewise surrounded by a luminous circle which distinguishes them among the other figures of the wall paintings. No doubt the nimbus in Christianity is partly, like so many other inventions, eastern, and partly a borrowing from paganism.

[155] Not only are divinities represented with the luminous aureole, or the circular nimbus, the Indo-Skythian kings claimed for themselves a celestial origin, and called themselves sons of heaven, like all the sovereigns of High Asia — as the Sassanians later on, who were of the same race, — *minochaher* *herm* *Yezdān*. But later, the Greeks were imitated in this by the Roman emperors; they desired to represent their kings the true god, *ΘΕΟΣ*, and the *Cæsars*, even in their lifetime, were *divi*.

Little has been said of the nimbus in numismatics. I wish to offer some observations on the subject of this symbol as we meet it on the coins of the Indo-Skythian kings and of their successors in ancient India.

We must remember that the Indo-Skythian dynasty is that of the Great Kushans or Ta Yuech who succeeded the Maikandaya dynasty of Baktria and of North Western India. About the year 25 B. C. the Ta Yuech invaded the country to the south of the Paropamisus mountains (Hind. Koh) under Hermionas, their chief Ku Tuo Kei (according to Chinese authors) and were struck with the bust of Hermionas under the name of Kozlo Koshana Kadiaphes. Nothing appears on his coins, or on those of his successor Kadiaphes, but on the beautiful gold pieces of Hyman Kadiaphes or Kadiaphes II (ΟΗΜΩ ΚΑΔΙΦΗΤ) the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from clouds like the gods of Greece who envelope themselves with clouds to descend upon the earth. All these are the characteristics of deification or of apothecosis.

With Kanishka, the first of the Tarnabikas appeared the nimbus, but only on some pieces, round the head of the king; it is much more frequent on certain gold pieces [156] of Huvishka. This emperor's gold is at once ornamented with the sun as flames and clouds. Wilson (*Asiatic Antiqua*, 1901, p. xiv), has given drawings of ten copper pieces of this king in ten attitudes. One of them represents him mounted on an elephant, his head adorned with a radiated nimbus, and his bust surrounded with



lambent rays the reverse bears the figure of the god *Lama*, MAO, on foot with the umbels and the aureole, on other coins *Huvishka* is seated on a throne, cross-legged (the attitude *mahārāja*, *jāsana* with a double umbelous circle, or else seated with one leg hanging down (*mahārāja*, royal relaxation) and a double umbel, three lobed and radiated surrounding the head and the feet. The coinage of this sovereign presents a great variety of pieces all interesting from an iconographic point of view.

*Vasudēva* as simply the umbels round his head, which is set surmounted by a pointed crown. This last type remains that of the Indo-Skythian Kusano Kings called Later Kushans, who reigned in India till about the year 800 to 310 A. D., when their place was taken by the dynasty of the Guptas, whose sovereigns 319 to 550 preserved the same attributes.

The coins of *Kanishka* and of *Huvishka*, further present on the reverse an infinite variety of legends, representing for the most part Greek or Iranian divinities, such as *Selenia*, *Helios*, *Mentor*, *Nana*, *Arakus*, *Man*, &c. and have the head surrounded with the umbels. On several copper coins of *Kanishka* (British Museum and Wilson, pl. xi) the god of wind, MAO, is represented standing, his head with rays, and his whole body enveloped by several concentric circles. Later, on the coins of the successors, and on those of the Guptas, it is *Siva* or the Hindu goddess *Lakshmi*, who are represented with the same attribute.

But the most important instance to notice on the reverse [157] of some coins of *Kanishka* is the representation of *Jindras* *Sakyamuni* with the legend BOAAO and HOYAO CAKAMA. The postures (*dharmas*) are interesting to study. The holy personage is facing, sometimes standing sometimes seated. On a well-preserved gold stater, in the British Museum, he is seated, his right hand on his breast, making the gesture of argument (*tarkamudra*), his left hand holding the bottom of his amirasa (*amrita*), he is clothed in a mantle (*uttarāṅga*) which comes up to his neck and in a tunic (*antarāṅga*) which descends to his feet. His head is surmounted by the *ushnisha* or cranial protuberance, characteristic of Buddha, as well as by the *mudra* or excrecence between the eyebrows, which we do not see on the medal because of the smallness of the face. We know that the *ushnisha* and the *arjū* are the marks of the *bodhi*, or sacred knowledge, which belong to Buddha alone and which the other divinities have not.

The whole body is enveloped in a trapezoid aureole (*prahmāṇḍala*) on the gold piece of the British Museum. On other examples Wilson, *loc. cit.* p. xi, *Changanian*, *Nam* (Chron. Vol. XIII pl. viii), Buddha is represented standing with a simple umbel round his head, without the aureole, and with both hands joined upon his breast. This posture is called that of instruction, — (*dharmachakramudra*) the two hands seeming to turn the wheel of the law.

The other posture, in which the Buddha is also represented on the same coins of *Kanishka*, is the [158] seated position, cross-legged, on a sort of throne, his hands sometimes separate, sometimes joined on the breast. This seated attitude (*mahārājāsana*, royal) has different names according as he is seated in the lotus (*padmāsana*), on the diamond (*rajasi*), or on the lion (*simhasana*), sometimes one of his legs hangs down (*maharaja-liṅga*), as was seen above for *Huvishka*, but we have no example of it on the coins, nor have we the attribute of the lotus flower (emblem of divine birth) which probably was only introduced later, like the other attributes (*lakṣaṇa*), which were no distinctive marks of divinity.

There is one important fact in Indian iconography we might say, in the history of Buddha. On none of the most ancient monuments of India, those that are supposed to be before the Christian era, such as those at Sanchi, at Bharhut, the bas-reliefs of the caves of Orissa, the Asoka and the inscriptions at Bikaner-Gaya, do we find an image representative of Buddha. Rudolph

\* For a description of Buddha's costume see A. Foucher *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* 8<sup>e</sup> Paris, 1900. pp. 66 ff.



only represented by symbols, such as the wheel (*dharmachakra*), the *triratna*, the sacred tree (*bôdhî*), the *chaitya*, the *stupa*, &c. On the rocks and pillars which have preserved the famous edicts of Asôka (286-232 B. C.), and which, notably at Bâhira, contain details of the Buddhist propagation, there is found neither figure nor symbols. It is then a most interesting fact, in stating which it may be that numismatics comes to the help of history, and affords it, by illustration, a fixed date. The conclusion to be drawn from the representations, which the medals (or coins) of the Indo-Skythian kings, Kaniška or Turanaka, offer, is that these sovereigns were Buddhists as early as the first century B. C. The Chinese annals tell us, indeed, that in the year 2 B. C. [189] the king of the Yue-shi transmitted Buddhism to a certain King-Hsi sent from China. This king, whose name the historian does not mention — though he names his capital Puskaravati (the *Utsukhavi* of Ptolemy), — was very probably Kadjises I. His coins, it is true, bear only the image of H recules in imitation of the pieces of Harnenâs) without Buddhist symbols — but the epithet *dharmadharma* ("constant in the religious law") — essentially a Buddhist epithet — proves the adoption of the Buddhist worship. Kadphês, successor to Kadphises I. has an analogous epithet *sachadharma-dharmâ*, a Prâkrit form of the Sanskrit *satyadharma-sthita*, "constant in the true law." Hyvira Kadphisa seems to have been a Zoroastrian, for he has his hand extended over the fire altar, and is styled merely "great king of kings, great prince, prince of the whole world" (*mahâdrôja sarvabhôja râjara maharâja*). The reign of Kaniška commences about the year 70 A. D. In spite of the presence on his coins of Greek and Iranian deities, as mentioned above, and in spite of the title of *magdôn* upon his coins, he is really, at least in the second part of his reign, a Buddhist sovereign; he is celebrated in the history of the religion for his zeal and proselytism.

After Kaniška the iconographic representation of Buddha disappeared for some time (about two centuries) either because the faithful were afraid of idolatry, or, as M. Gebert d'Alviella<sup>3</sup> says, that they objected to reproducing, with the appearances of life, the features of a being who had entered *Nirvâna* for ever. But when, in the second century, the Græco-Buddhist art of the Gandhâra school appeared, these scruples vanished under the influence of Greek art, and [160] the classical type of Buddha was created.<sup>4</sup> Further, the nimbus and aureole combined, as seen on the coins of Kaniška, form a three-lobed figure, which became the type of the trilobate niche of ancient Indian architecture.

Before the Indo-Skythians, the Saka kings, who reigned in Arakhsia (*Sakastâne*) in Kophen, and in the valley of the Indus, were very probably Buddhists, having adopted the Buddhist worship at the time of their arrival in these countries, when they were driven from Transoxiana by the Yue-chi. Their coins are numerous, and, thanks to the presence of immigrant Greek artists in this part of Asia, they form a very beautiful series. But on them Buddhist forms and epithets are rarely met with. It is about 100 B. C. that King Maues or Moa appears in monetary history, the founder of the Panjab branch of the Sakas — his coins and those of his successors embody Hindû types, such as the elephant, the Indian ox, river divinities, Poseidon indicating the conquest of the lower Indus and of the sea-coast. There, too, the king is seated in oriental fashion, and on some pieces of Spalakhôrês and of Spalrisês, the wheel, which recalls the wheel of the law (the Buddhist *dharmachakra*), with the legend *dharmaka* for *aharmaka*, "the faithful of the good law, *saka-dharma*," — an expression essentially Buddhist, — which is also on the coins of Spalaglamês and of Azês of the same dynasty. Upon none of their coins do the Saka kings of the Indus put their busts, they are always represented on horseback, recalling their nomadic origin, and when the pieces are well preserved we distinguish in their figures the [161] Tartar type. The empire of the Sakas lasted till about the year 50 A. D., the time of its destruction by the Indo-Skythians.

<sup>1</sup> *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*, P., Paris, 1897, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> On this question, see the memoir of Y. A. Smith in the *J. A. S. B.*, 1889. A. Foucher, *L'Art bouddhique dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1893. *Études sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900. A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, Eng. trans. Lond. 1902.







the sun-god on those of Plata or Phryges, &c. All the Bactrian kings of course knew only Hellenic divinities, they are the same as those on the coins of the Seleucians, except the type of Atol on the Oupiales, which is, as we know, the figure adopted by all the Arsakians, and which is entirely wanting in the Indo-Bactrian coinage. In the 1st century A. D. Roman money penetrated into India, the bust of Kanishka is proof of this, but its type, and with the aureole was a result fixed on the Indo-Skythian coinage.

The conclusion from the preceding is that the nimbus and the aureole, which surround the Greek and Iranian figures on the coins of Kanishka, are of Hellenic origin, that the same applies to the *prahlamangala* of Radha, since there exists no figured representation of this sort before Kanishka.

There remains to be ascertained whether the title 'sons of the gods,' and the nimbus explains that is to say, the apotheosis and the assimilation of the king to the divinity, have the same origin.

[164] With the exception of the anonymous king known under the appellation of *Soter menor*, who belongs to the end of the Greco-Bactrian empire, and whose perhaps contemporary with the first Indo-Skythians we do not find in the whole Bactrian series a single head with nimbus or rays. In the vast series of coins of the Seleucians, Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.) is the only one who has the head surrounded with rays and the divine epithet of *θεός* but this royal image was evidently unknown in the north of India, and notably by Hima Kadphes, the last could not have borrowed the idea of the flaming aureole, which he was the first to figure on his coins, thus, then, is a point which seems well proven.

There remains the expression 'sons of the gods,' peculiar to the Indo-Skythian kings.

In Greek antiquities the idea of divinity applied to kings is found among the first Laquides, successors to the Pharaohs, who from very ancient times, were sons of god (*enmes*) and gods themselves (*anur*) having their lives as after their death. On the coins struck by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (284-247 B. C.), with the legend *ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ* (*theon adelphon*, in the decree of Canopus, the Ptolemies are already deified. In the later Egypt, no monuments, for example in the decree of Rosetta, Ptolemy V is 'born of the gods' Philopator (*hieroteles*), priest of Alexander, born of the gods Serapis, of the gods Adolphus, &c." It is possible that this pretension to divinity has been borrowed from Egypt by the Seleucians. Seleukos I Nikator (312-281 B. C.) indeed took the title of *Theos* in his inscriptions, but this epithet appears only under Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175-164) among the coins of his successors. Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, on a coin of consecration, [165] struck by his son Tiridates I. (264-211 B. C.) is already spoken of as *θεός* a translation of Seleukos, but this was a posthumous homage and a sort of divinisation. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, besides, that Arsakes, first of all monarchs obtained the honours of apotheosis and was placed in the rank of the stars by a consecration in accordance with the rites of the country, *astris ritus sui consecratione permixtus est omnium primus*. On the coins of Bactriana the earliest mention of this divine epithet is found on two consecration coins, the one struck by Agathokles, the other by Antimakhos, in the name of Euthydemus *ΘΕΟΥ* and on the coins of Antimakhos himself, on which he takes the divine title.

It is necessary to come down nearly two centuries to find again the same expression on the coins of Leodaphnes and of Arsakes Eros (about the year 10 A. D.). It would not then serve a type any more than that of *ΘΕΟΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ* which we find in the inscriptions of Agathokles with the signification of *décapotée*, 'sons of the gods,' which seems the basis of the Indo-Skythian titles.

\* See my article *Les drachmes arsakides indiens* in the *Revue Numismatique* (Paris), 1900. M. W. Wroth thinks that this coin in the name of Arsakes *θεός* could not have been struck later, between 171 and 173 B. C. (*Nouv. Revue* 1900, p. 192). The Latin expression *omnis sui primus* seems to indicate, that, before Arsakes, no prince had the honours of apotheosis: this is an error of the Latin historian.



As Sir A. Cunningham, in 1872, was the first to alter the Sanskrit title to no other than that of "sons of heaven" and to fix the Tartar provenance of Upper Asia, — *Tien Tzu* in Chinese, *Tengrakshite*, *shen-ya* among the Hungarians, and *barha u lanna* by the Yueh-chi.<sup>1</sup> It is then really of Aryan origin and is the expression of the high ancestral lineage which the Tartar sovereigns assumed. Further, having under their auspices a material and [188] artistic contact like the Greek coin, these sons of the gods found it quite natural to furnish themselves with the nimbus and the aureole, which were the appurtenance of divinity, in order to give a form to the celestial essence from which they emanated.

Thus we are enabled to explain by two influences — Hellenic and Aryan — the luminous emblem, nimbus, aureole, thunder and clouds, which are the attributes of the Indo-Skythian kings.

Summing up the result of the foregoing considerations: — 1st, the nimbus was unknown in the ancient artistic school of India; no figured representation of Buddhas existing before the first century of our era. 2nd, it is only about the year 70 A. D. that the figure of Buddha, with the luminous circle appeared on the coins of Kanishka. 3rd, the Indo-Skythian kings are themselves represented on their coins with the nimbus, aureole, globe or flower, to indicate their celestial origin. 4th, the use of the royal nimbus was borrowed from Hellenic living, not only in so far as it is a numismatic and iconographical expression of a monarchical principle brought from Upper Asia, hence the double origin which we have stated.

## GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from p. 342.)

### (5) Custom and Belief.

QUANT superstitious about every human action and object in nature are preserved among the imaginative peasantry and handed down in simple faith from sire to son.

One will not start on a journey if he meets as he gets out a beggar, a Buddhist priest, a person carrying firewood or his implements of labour, or if a lizard chirps, a dog sneezes or daps his ears; nor will he turn back after once setting out, and if he has forgotten anything it is sent after him. That the object of his journey may be prosperous he starts with the right foot foremost at an auspicious moment, generally at dawn when the cock crows, his hopes are at their highest if he sees on the way a milk-cow, cattle, a pregnant woman, or one with a pitcher of water flowers or fruits. For fear of goblins, lonely travellers avoid at dawn, noon and night junctions of roads, the shade of large trees, deserted places, river banks and the seashore. Thieves do not set out when there is a halo round the moon (*kanda manna*), as they will be arrested.

The day's luck or ill-luck depends on what one sees the first thing in the morning; if anything unusual be done on a Monday, it will continue the whole week.

It is considered unlucky to lie down when the sun is setting, to sleep with the head towards the west or with the hands between the thighs, to clasp one's hands across the head or to eat with the head resting on a hand, to strike the plate with the fingers after taking a meal, to give into another's hands worthless things like *banam* or charcoal without keeping them on something, and for a female to have hair on her person. But it is thought auspicious to eat facing eastwards, to gaze at the full moon and then at the face of a kind relative or a wealthy friend, to have a girl as the eldest in the family, to have a cavity between the upper front teeth, and if a male, to have a hairy body.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Asiatique*, April, 1893, p. 340.



If a person yawns loudly, the crops of seven of his heads will be destroyed if he bathes on a Tuesday it is bad for his sons, if on a Friday for himself. If he touches immoderate rice with soon have an occasion to cry, if he allows another's leg to be put over him he will be stunted in his growth, if he passes under another's arm, he will cause the latter to get a boil under the armpit which can be averted by his returning the same way, if he eats standing or tramples a jack fruit with one foot only he will get elephantiasis. If the second toe of a female be longer than the big one, she will master her husband, if he gazes at the halo round the moon and finds its reflection round his shadow (*chambara*, *chaydra*), his evil is near, if the left eye of a male throbs, it portends grief, the right pleasure. If a female it is the reverse. If the eyebrows of a woman meet, she will outlive her husband. If of a man he will be a widower; if a man eats burnt rice, he will grow his beard on one side only, if the tongue frequently touches where a tooth has fallen the new one will come at an angle. If an upper tooth be extracted, it will cause blindness. If a child cuts its upper front teeth first it portends evil to its parents, and if a grave be dug and then closed up to dig a second, or if a coffin be larger than a corpse, there will be another funeral in the family.

A sneeze from the right nostril signifies that good is being spoken of the person, from the left ill; when an infant does so, a stander-by says "*Ayibowan*," "long life to you." A child whimpers in its sleep when angels come and tell it that its father is dead because it has never seen him, but incredulously smiles when told its mother is dead, as she has given it milk a little while ago, some attribute the cries to Buddha who frightens the babe with the miseries of this world.

Lightning strikes the graves of cruel men. Everyone's future is stamped on his head. A person who laughs has legs when seated upon his mother's grave. As one with a hairy whorl (*chuliyar*) on his back will meet with a watery death, he avoids the sea and rivers. Flowers in the nails signify illness, the itching sensation in one's palm that he will get money and a child's yawn that it is capable of taking a larger quantity of food. One does not raise his forefinger when eating, as thereby he chides his handful of rice. It is bad to scrape the perspiration from one's body as extreme exhaustion will ensue, and the only cure is to drink the collected sweat. A string of corals shows by its decrease of colour that the wearer is ill. To prevent pimples and eruptions a *chank* is rubbed on the skin when the face is washed. When a person gets a lice-sore he holds up his breath and repeats seven times, "*Ikkaya maha galu gya ikka kitiya man diti*," "Hiccough and I want to Galle, he stayed back and I returned." If one has moles on his body, moles equal in number as them are tied to a piece of rag and thrown where three roads meet the person that picks up the packet and unties it gets the moles and the other becomes free.

A cloth is spread on a chair or table in a room if a patient suffering with small-pox or a kindred disease, and a lamp with seven wicks placed on it. Pork is not brought into the house, and the clothes of the patient are not removed by the *ah-bi* and he is well. Cloth dyed in turmeric and margosa leaves are used in the room, and a coconut palm leaf is placed before the house as a taboo. A small-pox patient is sometimes kept only with the attendants (*attukdraya*), in a separate flat, and before he is bathed after his recovery an infusion of margosa leaves is rubbed on his head and some protective verses recited. When the disease has gone its round, a thank-offering to the Seven Animas takes place.

Dreams that prognosticate a good future are kept secret, but bad ones are published far and wide, when these are dreamt it is also advisable to go to a *ma-tree* early in the morning, repeat the dream and ask it to take to itself all the bad effects. If a person dreams of a dead relative, he gives food to a beggar the next morning.

Every person has, in a more or less degree, on certain days the evil mouth and the evil eye. To avoid the evil eye (*erakala*) black pots with white chonam marks and hideous figures are placed before houses, children are marked between the eyes with a black streak, charms are tied round the forehead of cattle, bunches of fruit are concealed with a covering made of palm-leaves and restive processions are preceded by drummers. No one ever takes his meal in the presence of a stranger as it will disagree with him, unless the looker-on is given a share of it. The number of children in a



family is never mentioned, nor the beauty of another spoken of in his presence. If this be done the one concerned spurs out loud to counteract the evil. The ceremony of raising the bridegroom to the marriage platform is fraught with much to the point and may be said if a person takes up any high office which he is not worthy to fill evil will befall him and serious consequences will follow should he read any ironically satirical verses written by a person possessed of the evil mouth (*kalasha*) when anything clever or smart is said by anyone the listener opens his mouth and closes it with his hand. These effects are dispelled by various means either a packet made of some bad tridged by an evil visitor is taken three times round the head and thrown into a *chhatra* of live coals (*gaur kanda*) or a receptacle containing the ashes of the upper part of a coconut shell and a little rice and a few seeds of earth from the neighbouring garden is carried in the courtyard. When the evil influences on a family are large as on an occupation as healing or agriculture, a great ceremony called *Gara Yakama* is performed by men on the estate a ritual is conducted by a priest or by the washer and on the dancers, soldiers naked, but generally dressed in hideous garments go through a series of antics from evening to morning.

The principle of life (*prana*) that is to say rises with the new moon and travels every month from the feet to the head and down again on the next day its movement is reversed in a woman, where it goes up the right side and comes down the left it renders every day to a particular part an injury to which causes death. The course it takes is the right side of the foot, calf, knee, hip, groin or thigh, stomach, pap, armpit, neck, throat, lip, cheek, eye, part of the head and down the other part of the head, eye, cheek, &c.

Death comes from different directions on different days from the north on Sunday north-west on Monday, west on Tuesday south-west on Wednesday south on Thursday south-east on Friday, south-west on Saturday and east on Sunday.

The south-east is known as the "fire Quarter" (*gaur kanda*) and no houses are built southing on that side for fear of their destruction by fire.

The presence of bats (*gaur*) in a house indicate that it will be deserted. Medicinal virtues are ascribed to the flesh of monkeys (*vanaras*). The slender loris (*vanashapurd*) face denotes ill-luck and is everywhere used for a love potion. The tone *sinhay*, fat corrodes any vessel except one of gold, its roar makes one deaf and it does so three times — one when it starts, the second on its way, and the last as it jumps on the victim, it kills elephants to eat their brains.

A cheetah (*chit*) is the animal of the sun fox-like it takes the warmth of a flame and thus near the farmers (*gaur*) watch him in the field, catch him by snare and devour him. It also frequents where peacocks abound; it does not eat the victim that falls with the right side uppermost; small-pox patients are carried away by this animal who is attracted to them by their offensive smell; when it goes a certain distance or catches the victim it swallows it up and gives it to slay its hunger. The skin and claws are used as amulets, the claws are made of clay to make a terrier or a very high to be young wing to the severe travel. A cat (*balad*) becomes excited by eating the root of the *Asclepias indica* (*ruppi munda*) and its bite makes one lean, its counteracting is plucky.

The grey mongoose (*maur*) bites a plant that has not been identified (*maur umbra*) before and after its fight with a cobra as an antidote when it finds it difficult to combat with a snake it retreats to the jungle and brings on its back the king of the tribe a white animal who easily destroys the victim. A jackal (*maranga*) is very rare, and it gives everything that its possessor wishes for when buried under a threshing floor it gives a hundred fold. If a dog (*chadd*) yelp at a stranger away the earth it presages illness or death if it walks on the roof a house is deserted, and if it sleeps under one's bed it is a sign of the occupant's speedy death. A bear (*chadd*) thrown sand on the eyes of its victim before poisoning on him and it does not attack persons carrying a piece of the rock blue (*gaur pakura*). When a mouse (*maur*) bites one, the wound is burnt with a piece of gill, it boasts after drinking toddy that it can break up the cat into seven pieces. The porcupine



(*stafid*), which is given to a distance to keep off its intruders. The hare (*stafid*) gives birth to its young on full moon days, one of whom has a moon on its forehead and as the first day is seen that point or invariably becomes a prey to the rat-snake.

When a youth falls in love, he throws it on to the rat-snake. *Ihno ihno and data usen* (*hanta ke hanta data*) (the "married" boy and girl) take this rat and give it to a lady friend. (The rat is afraid of cat) (*karak*) with a small hair, a stick of the *Lea alipiya* (*chiralla*) a wet used to drive the rat away from the house, and the rat is put in the *gordhana* (*letha*) which is used for small pots. Wad and the rat (*no karak*) are subject to change. The rat is *muhi* (mush) (rat) is a living man's life.

An elephant (*stafid*) strikes a palm tree before eating it as the rat-snake may be lying there to go up to the trunk, a dead animal is never found, for when it is a rat-snake, the rat is going to a certain secluded spot and lay the rat on the ground to breathe the air. The rat (*kakka*) is turned out of his home by the person, and a person forcibly ejected from his house by another is compared to it. The mythical worm (*kangarand*) is a horn on its forehead with which it pierces the rocks that intercept its path.

If a crow (*kakka*) caws near one's house in the morning it forebodes sickness or death, at noon pleasure or the arrival of a friend, and in the evening much profit. If it drops its dung on the head, shoulders, or on the back of a person it signifies great happiness, but on the knees or instep a speedy death. Crows are divided into two castes which do not mate. The hooded or *gorama* crows, and the angle or *kara* crows. They fast three times at night through hunger, and their insatiable appetite can only be appeased by making them swallow rags dipped in ghee. They hatch their eggs a time to take their young to the *Devalla* festivals in August, and when one eats their flesh they sorrowfully cry, "*kakka*" or "*kakka*" (I eat everybody), a crow never dies a natural death and once in a hundred years a feather drops.

Dark-plumaged birds like the owl (*basad*), the magpie (*sp. th. chid*) and the blackbird (*kuradu pinnakid*) are considered omens, and they are chased away from the vicinity of houses, the cry of the light heron (*kanakakid*) as it flies over a house presages misfortune, and that of the devil-bird (*alamid*) in a house death to an inmate. If pigeons (*avayya*) leave a house it is a sign of impending misfortune, and if a spotted dove (*avayya*) flies through one, it is a sign of impending misfortune. The presence of house sparrows (*sp. karulla*) in a house indicates that male-children will be born, the cries of the cuckoo (*kaku*), at night portend dry weather, the arrival of the pitta (*avayya*) presages rain, and the eggs of the plover (*kévala*), if eaten, produce watchfulness.

Parrots (*parra*) are proverbially ungrateful, the sun-bird (*mittakid*) boasts after a copious draught of toddy that he can overturn Mann Meru with its tiny beak, the great acrobatic and difficulty of the horn-bill (*korakid*) to drink water is referred to for its refusal to give a supply of it to a thirsty person in its last existence. The common babbler (*batteched* or *demulched*) lays as he once was a lettered person, the male red-tailed flycatcher (*gama*) was a fire thief, and its white-tailed mate (*reda*) a chicken-rooster. Thunder bursts upon the eggs of the peacocks (*manera*) and hence their love for rain. They dance in the morning to pay homage to the sun-god, and as girls will not get suitors are not domesticated. A white dove (*avayya*) and prevents a garden from being destroyed by black beetles. When a hen has hatched the shells are not thrown away but threaded together and kept in the loft over the fire-place till the chickens can take care of themselves. The Ceylon jungle fowl (*korakid*) become blind by eating the seeds of a species of *strobilanthes* when they may be knocked down with a stick.

A crocodile (*kumbid*) makes lumps of clay to wipe away the tears, and as it carries away its prey it plays at ball with it when its mouth is open the eyes get shut. The flesh of the *Farnana deacena* (*talagaya*) is nutritious and never disagrees. The *Hytosaurus sautor* (*kubarakoyd*) is made use of to make a deadly and leprous poisoning poison, which is injected into the veins of the betel-nut and given to an enemy to chew. Three of the reptiles are tied to a beach stone (*ayala*),



and each other with a fourth suspended over them, and as they get heated they throw their person into a pot placed to receive it. A lizard (*hama*) can feel the state and so the direction of its chirp observed from its east indicates pleasant news, south sickness or death; north, profit and wealth the arrival of a friend, and if this animal saunters at the deadly snake (*A. kawad*) takes on the right side of a person he will gain riches in the yet great evil will ensue. The blood-sucker (*katana*) draws by the upward motion of its head that pins be unearthed, and by the downward it draws its insatiable enemies be buried. The champion *yakushind* is the incarnation of a man who has died in partition. Marine turtles *keatera*, are held sacred and not killed. The cry of frogs *genda* is a sign that rain is impending, their urine is poisonous. If a frog that enters a house be removed to any great distance without mark — a mark may be made on it to test the truth, a person is made deaf by the *L. apicalatus maculatus* (*gas gendalyu* or *stagemba*) jumping on it.

A python (*pambud*) swallows a whole deer and then goes between the trunks of two trees growing near each other to crush the bones of its prey. Thebras (*nagi*) are held sacred and never killed, some have the wishing gem *adhi madrikaya* in their throats which they keep out to entice insects, and if this be taken from them they kill themselves. They frequent sapling wood trees are fond of the sweet smelling flowers of the wild juncus, and are attracted by music. Their fate is fatal to Samays, and to keep them off the snake-charmers carry the root of the *Martynia diandra* (*ndagadarana*). Of the seven varieties of *Ureca* (*potanga*), the bite of the red *potang* causes a deep sleep and that of the *U. potanga* discharges of blood. The female viper expires when its skin is discoloured with offspring and the young make their escape out of the decomposed body. The green whip-snake (*chaturd*) attacks the eyes of those who touch it, and the shadow of the brown whip-snake (*nakamtoy*) makes one lame and paralytic. A rat-snake (*geranday*) seldom bites, but if it does, it is fatal to trample cow-dung. The *Tropidonotus atala* (*ahdrakukd*) lives in groups of seven, and when one is killed the others come in search of it, and the *Dipsos forsteri* (*ndapud*) reaches its victim on the floor by several of them hanging together and hanging from the roof. The legendary *koko* snake loses a point of its tail every time it expends its poison, and one is left, when it gets wings and a head like that of a owl with the last bite the victim and itself both die. A snake-charmer generally finds out what kind of reptile has bitten a person by a queer method. If the former touches his breast with the right hand it is a viper. If the head, a *ndapud*, if the stomach, a frog. If the right shoulder with the left hand, a *Ranunculus cernuus* (*kerand*), if he be excited, it is a snake. And if the messenger be a weeping female carrying a child, it is a cobra.

Worms (*lamud*) attack flowers in November and are subject to charms, retribution is done on one ruthlessly destroying the clay nest of a wasp — *kumbud*, winged termites (*meen*), which come in swarms in the rainy season, prognosticate a good supply of fish. Spiders (*makun*) are former fishermen who are continuing their old vocation. Snails (*gambud*) used to spit at others, and the *Montes celerosa* (*larakelland*) was guilty of robbing firewood. Bugs infest a house when misfortune is impending, leeches (*kaul*) are engaged in measuring the ground and crickets (*rechey*) stridulate in they burst. It is lucky to have ants carrying their eggs about a house, but if undotered black ants (*yari*) do so, the head of the house will die within a short interval, when a person is in a bad temper, it is sarcastically said that a red ant (*chamud*) has broken wind on him, the *tanisud*, a small red myriapod, causes death by entering the ear. Every new-born child has a house on its head, which is never killed, but thrown away or put on to another's head. As the finger is taken round a *bandud*, a burrowing insect it dances to the couplet "*Bim ara bim ud lbi saidpiyo nli natannan*" (*bidind bandud*, you better dance and I too shall do so).

The presence of fire-flies (*chandududud*) in a house indicates that it will be broken into or deserted. If they alight on a person, a private war will ensue, and whatever be the label for, as they are put out will be obtained. They had formerly refused to give a light to one in want of it; their bite requires the mud of the sea and the stars of the sky to effect a cure — an occult way of expressing man and the gum of the eye. Butterflies (*ramalay*) go on a pilgrimage from November



to February to Adam's Peak, against which they dash themselves and die. Centipedes (*gattiyā*) run away when their name is mentioned and kill themselves when surrounded by a fire; they are as much affected as the person they bite. The black beetle (*karum naya*) is a 3-parted spirit sent by Yama, king of the dead, to find out how many there are in a family—if it comes down on three taps from an upper room, its intentions are evil—it is either killed or wrapped in a piece of white cloth and kept in a corner.

If one approaches the mythical *damba* tree without a charm, he is killed by evil spirits; a twig of the unknown *kilunika* floats against the current and cuts in two the strongest metal, and the fabulous *kapruka* gives everything one wishes for. Betrees are sacred to Beḷiḥa and never cut down—the *margosa* (*kohomba*) is consecrated to Pattini and her seven attendants, and the fruit of the *Sterculia foetida* (*telambu*) are never eaten, as this tree is haunted by Navarata Wali, the patroness of the Rodiya caste. A nut of the coconut-tree never falls on one except he has incurred divine displeasure; it is lucky to possess a female coconut-tree, but bad for one's male children to have a king coconut-tree near a house, and when a child is born or a person dies, a coconut blossom is hung over to keep away the devils.

The flowering of the *Corypha umbraculifera* (*tata*) is auspicious to a village, and to remove the evil influence a *gadyakama* is performed. In drawing toddy from the *Caryota urens* (*katul*), a knife which has already been used is preferred to another. One who plants an areca-tree becomes subject to nervousness, and the woman who chews with betel the slice containing the scar becomes a widow. Before a betel is chewed its apex and sometimes the ribs are removed, either as poison may have been injected, or as a cobra brought this leaf from the lower world with the stalk in its mouth, the petiole also is broken off, as it is beneath one's dignity to eat it.

There are rites and ceremonies before ploughing and sowing rice, for making a threshing-floor, before the threshing takes place, after the first crop of curia is threshed, after the paddy is collected and at the measuring of the grain. In a field things are given strange names, no sad news is told, and a shade over the head is not permitted. When the daily supply of rice is being given out, if the winnowing fan (*phuta*), or the measure (*hundusa*) drops, it denotes that extra mouths will have to be fed—and if a person talks while the grain is put into the pot it will not swell. Paddy is not pounded in a house where one has died, as the spirit is attracted by the noise. Twilight seen on the tops of trees is the light by which the female elf *Rikkala* dries her paddy.

A bite of the *Habenaria macrostachya* (*magā meru alā*) inflames one's passion, the *Trichosanthes cucumerina* (*amun lā*) and the *Habenaria umbellata* (*kohura*) are removed after being named before eating, the Aloeswood yams (*halarala*) give a rasping sensation in the throat whenever they are mentioned with in the ears being, if a married female eats a plantain which is attached to another, she will get twins, when one is hurt by a nettle, Cassia leaves (*tira*) are rubbed on the injured place with the words *tira kōla cīsa nēla kohambitayāca cīsa cīsa* (Cassia leaves are stinging, but prickly is the nettle), and to get a good crop yams are planted in the afternoon and fruit-bearing trees in the forenoon. The Cassia grows on a fertile soil, and when the *Martynia tetraurea* (*daya tanyā*) and the *Terminalia tomentosa* (*lumbuk*) flourish a plentiful supply of water can be obtained—persons taken for execution were formerly decorated with the hibiscus (*radama*), and flowers of different colours are used for devil ceremonies.

It is auspicious to have growing near houses the iron-wood (*adā*), the *Mimusops hexandra* (*pala*), the *Mimusops elengi* (*minamāl*) champak (*sapa*), the pomegranate (*lehm*), the margosa, the areca, the coconut, the parayrah (*tolipha*), the jack (*kerala*), the shoe flower, the *Begonia ceylanica* (*tāla*), the nutmeg (*adikkā*) and the *Conyza* (*mudi*). But the following are unlucky—the cotton tree (*umbal*), the *Myristica horsfieldii* (*rakā*), the mango (*umba*), the *Aegle marmelos* (*bēla*), the *Cassia fistula* (*chēla*), the tamarind (*nyamibā*), the salt wood (*baruta*), the *Acacia catechu* (*kat kura*), the *Murraya exoniata* (*ettāyiga*) and the soapberry plant (*panna*).<sup>12</sup>

(To be continued.)

<sup>12</sup> I am largely indebted for the information about plants to J. R. A. E. (Ceylon), Vol. XII No. 42, p. 135.



## SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

*Translated from German Poets.*

BY PROFESSOR G. CAPPELLER, PH.D., JENA.

*(Continued from p. 409.)*

Transitoriness.

69

Sieh, wir haben, wir streiten, es trennt uns Neigung und Meinung  
Aber es blendet ~~andere~~ dir'sch die La-cke wie hier

SCHILLER

सदा विद्विषहं पश्य वाग्भिध विवदावह्रे ।

जीर्यन्ति शोभयोः केशाः कलहे वर्तमानयोः ॥

sadā vidvishahē pasya vāgbbiḥ che vivadāvahrē ।  
jīryanti śhōbbhayōḥ kēśāḥ kalahē vartamānayōḥ ॥

70

Es ist nicht allein der Wangen Pracht die mit den Jahren flieht,  
Nein, das was was mich traurig macht, dass auch das Herz verbleicht.

GÖTTE

न शोचामि तथा गयैौ नश्यच्छ्रीकौ शनैः शनैः ।

यथा हृदयमन्तःस्थं मूलं गुणं जडीकृतम् ॥

na śhochāmi tatha gayāu nashyashchhrikau śhanaiḥ śhanaiḥ ।  
yatha hṛdayam antaḥ-sthaṁ mūlaṁ guṇaṁ jadīkṛtaṁ ॥

71

Was vergangen, kehrt nicht wieder ;  
Aber ging es leuchtend nieder,  
Leuchtet's lange noch zurück.

K. FÖRSTER.

यदिनाशपथं यातं गतं तदनिवृत्तये ।

वर्तते तु चिरं दृष्टावस्ममेति यदुज्ज्वलम् ॥

yaḥ naśapatham yatam gataṁ tad anivṛttayē ।  
vartate tu chiram dṛṣṭāvastameti yad ujjvalam ॥

72

Was glänzt, ist für den Augenblick geboren ;  
Das Echte bleibt der Nachwelt unverloren.

GÖTTE

यच्छोभि तप्तलेनैव जायते चान्नेरति च ।

अन्तःसारं तु यज्ज्ञास्यं कल्पान्तेऽपि न नश्यति ॥

ya śhōbhī tat taptalenaiḥ jayate channeṛati che ।  
antaḥ-sarāṁ tu yaḥ jñāsyam kalpāntē 'pi na nashyati ॥

73

Was du von der Minute angeschlagen,  
Bringt keine Ewigkeit zurück.

SCHILLER

आनीतं यन्मुहूर्तेन प्रत्याख्यातं स्वया च यत् ।

न तत्कल्पमहत्तेषु प्रतिलब्धासि कश्चिन् ॥

ānītaṁ yaṁ muhūrtena pratyakhyātam svayā che yat ।  
na tat kalpam aḥtēṣu pratilabdhāsi karhicit ॥

Cf. M. B. XII. 3814.



## Youth and Age.

74

In den Ocean schiff't mit tausend Masten der Jüngling;

Denn auf geradem Boot, treibt er den Hafen der Greis. SCHILLER.

पतैः पवनविक्षिप्तैः समुद्रं प्रवते युवा ।

भद्रार्वाशिष्टया वृद्धस्तीरमिच्छति नौकया ॥

pataiḥ pavanavikṣiptaiḥ samudraṁ pravate yuvā ;  
bhadgarvāśiṣṭayā vṛddhas tīram icchhati naukayā ॥

75

Wie gross war diese Welt gestaltet,  
So lang die Knospe sie noch barg ;  
Wie wenig, ach, hat sich entfaltet,  
Denn wenige wie klein und karg !

SCHILLER.

पल्लवेन पिनदं यत्पुगमीमुमहाकृति ।

तस्यैवालोकमुद्रिजं कुच्छ्राद्यापि तदल्पकम् ॥

pallavēna pīnadhaṁ yat puṁgāmīmuṁhākṛtiḥ ।  
tasyaivālokaṁ udrījantīṁ kuṣṣhrādyāpī tad alpakaṁ ॥

76

Weil sie zu leichtlich glaubt, irrt munter Jugend oft ;  
Das Alter quält sich gern, weil es zu wenig hofft.

CRONACK.

विश्रम्भातिप्रमद्वेन भ्रान्तिं गच्छति यौवनम् ।

आशातन्नुविशीर्यत्वाज्जरा दुःखेन पीडयते ॥

vikrambhātīprasādhēna bhṛāntīm gacchhati yauvanam ।  
āśātanṇuviśīryatvājjarā duḥkhēna pīdayatē ॥

77

Früh in blühender Jugend lern, o Jüngling,  
Lebensglück. Sie entfliehn, die holden Jahre !  
Wie die Welle die Welle, trübt die eine  
Stunde die andre.Keine kehret zurück, bis einet dein Haupthaar  
Schneeweisse glanzet, der Purpur deiner Lippen  
Ist entwichen, nur eine Schönheit blieb dir,  
Männliche Tugend

BALDE

पुत्रं ब्राम्ह्यौवनस्थो भज मुखजननं धर्ममार्गं प्रयत्ना-

दब्धार्कर्मिर्यथोर्मि प्रणुदति सततं रे मुदूर्तो मुदूर्तम् ।

यश्चार्तानं व्यतीतं विकृतिमल्लजितं यावदभ्येति कायः

केशा जीर्यन्ति भुज्यस्यभ्रग्निसलयं शिष्यते पुण्यमेकम् ॥

putraṁ brahmīyauvanastho bhaj mukhajananam dharmamārgaṁ prayatna-  
adbhāṛkarmīryathormi praṇudati satataṁ re mudūrtō mudūrtam ।  
yashchārtānaṁ vyatītaṁ vikṛtimallajitam yāvadabhyēti kāyaḥ  
kēśaḥ jīryanti abhṛagṇisalayam śiṣyate puṇyam ekam ॥

Cf. M. Bk. V. 1240.



78

Am Ende deiner Bahn ist gut Zufriedenheit ;

Doch wer am Anfang ist zufrieden, kommt nicht weit. RÜCKERT.

नास्ति वै जीवनस्यान्ते मनस्वोपशमं सुखम् ।

आदौ तु योऽस्ति संतुष्टो न स दूरं गमिष्यति ॥

nāsti vai jīvanasyānte manasvopashamaṁ sukham ।

ādau tu yō 'sti saṁtustho na sa dūraṁ gamiṣyati ॥

Life and Death.

79

Reich sei dir der Tag, doch schätze das Leben nicht höher,  
Als ein anderes Gut, denn alle Güter sind trügerlich.

GOETHE.

मुहुर्तो बहुमन्तव्यो मा तु भावय जीवनम् ।

उत्तमं सर्वविद्यानां सर्वं वित्तं हि भङ्गुरम् ॥

muhūrto bahumantavyo mā tu bhāvaya jīvanam ।

uttamaṁ sarvavidyānāṁ sarvaṁ vittaṁ hi bhāṅguram ॥

80

Des Todes ruhrendes Bild steht

Nicht als Schrecken dem Weissen und nicht als Ende dem Frommen.

Jenen drängt es ins Leben zurück und lehret ihn handeln,

Diesem starkt es, zum künftigen Heil, in Trausa, die Hoffnung,

Beiden wird zum Leben der Tod.

GOETHE.

मूर्खद्विष्टो मनसि विदुषः सज्जते नो करालो

नो भावस्योपरतिरिव च श्रद्धाघानस्य मृत्युः ।

आ प्राणान्तादिनरमनिशं कर्मणे तेजयित्वा

प्रश्नास्यान्यं विपदि मरणं कल्पते जीवनाय ॥

mūrkhadviṣṭo manasi viduṣaḥ sajyate nō karālō

nō bhāvasyōparatir iva cha śraddhāghānasya mṛtyuḥ ।

ā prāṇāntād itaram anaiśaṁ karmaṇē tejayitvā

prāśnāsyānyam vipadi maraṇam kalpatē jīvanāya ॥

81

Wenn die Blätter fallen in des Jahres Kreise,

Wenn zum Grabe wallen entnervte Greise,

Da gehorcht die Natur

Ruhig nur

Ihrem alten Gesetze.

Da ist nichts was den Menschen entsetzt.

SCHILLER.

पतनं म्लानपत्राणां मरणं च गतायुषाम् ।

विहितं विधिनेत्येतन्न प्राज्ञेभ्यो भयंकरम् ॥

patanaṁ mṛānapatrāṇāṁ maraṇam cha gatāyushām ।

vīhitaṁ vidhine'tyan na prājñebhyō bhayaṁkaram ॥

Cf. Bhāg. Pur. VII, 2, 49 ; Subhāṣitāṅg. 176.



82

Und so lang du das nicht hast,  
Dieses Storb und Werde.  
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast  
Auf der dunkeln Erde.

Goethe.

यावज्ज्ञानं न्वया नैतन्मरणप्रतिजीवनम् ।

भूमौ तिमिरभूतायां भवस्यन्ध इवातिथिः ॥

yāvaj jñānaṁ nvyā naitan maraṇāt pratjīvanam ।  
bhūmau timirabhūtāyāṁ bhavasy andha ivātithiḥ ॥

Fortune and Adversity.

83

O Menschenherz, was ist dein Glück ?  
Ein unbewusst geborner,  
Und kaum gegrusst, verlorn,  
Unwiederholter Augenblick.

Lernau.

सखे हृदय पुच्छामि किंभूतं सुखमस्ति ते ।

अज्ञानजाननिर्बन्धः स्वागतापगतः क्षणः ॥

sakhe hṛdaya pucchāmi kiṁbhūtaṁ sukham asti te ।  
ajñātajānanirbandhaḥ svāgatāpagataḥ kṣaṇaḥ ॥

84

Willst du in die Ferne schweifen ?  
Sieh, das Gute liegt so nah !  
Lerne nur das Glück ergreifen,  
Und das Glück ist immer da.

Goethe.

अलं दूरप्रवासेन हस्तप्राप्ये हिते सति ।

श्रीः केशेषु ग्रहीतव्या श्रीश्च संनिहिता सदा ॥

alam dūrpravāsena hastapāpye hitē sati ।  
śrīḥ kēśeṣu grāhītavyā śrīś cha saṁnihitā sadā ॥

85

Alles in der Welt lässt sich ertragen,  
Nur nicht eine Reihe von schönen Tagen.

Goethe.

सर्वं खलु मनुष्येण सहा लोके ब्रवीम्यहम् ।

न तु सदा विमेषानां सुदिनानां परंपरा ॥

sarvaṁ khalu manuṣhyeṇa sahyāṁ lokaḥ brāvimy aham ।  
na tu sahā vimēṣānāṁ sudinānāṁ parāmparā ॥

86

Ein jeder Wechsel schreckt den Glücklichen ;  
Wo kein Gewinn zu hoffen, droht Verlust.

Schiller.

विपर्ययेण सर्वेण भीतिं यानि सुखी जनः ।

वृद्धिर्यत्र न लभ्येत क्षय एवावशिष्यते ॥

vīparīyayeṇa sarveṇa bhītiṁ yāni sukhi janah ।  
vṛddhir yatra na labhyēta kṣaya ēvavaśiṣyate ।



87

Zeigt sich der Gluckliche mir, ich vergesse die Götter des Himmels  
Aber so stehen vor mir, wenn ich den Leidenden seh.

SCHILLER.

मुखिनं यदि पश्यामि विस्मरामि दिवौकसः ।

ने पुरो मे स्थिताः साक्षाद्विष्णुमाणस्य दुःखिनम् ॥

akṣhināṁ yadi paśyāmi viṣṇurāṁ divaukaśaḥ ।

te purō me sthitāḥ saśāḥ viṣṇu-māṇasya duḥkṣiṇam ॥

Fate.

88

Musst nicht widerstehn dem Schicksal  
Aber mußt es auch nicht stoßen;  
Wirst du ihm entgegengehn,  
Wird dich freundlich nach sich ziehen.

GOETHE.

प्रतीकारं विधेर्नास्ति न चाप्यस्ति पलायनम् ।

अनुकूलतरं देवं क्षमया प्रतिगृह्यतः ॥

pratīkāraṁ vidhēṛ nāsti na chāpy asti palāyanam ।

anukūlataraṁ dēvaṁ kṣamayā pratigṛhīyateḥ ॥

89

Kannst dem Schicksal widerstehn,  
Aber manchmal giebt es Schläge;  
Willst nicht aus dem Wege gehn,  
So geh du aus dem Wege.

GOETHE.

दैवं तात प्रतीकुर्वस्ताडनानि सदृश्यसे ।

प्रतिकूलस्य दैवस्य मार्गो देवो मनस्विना ॥

dāvaṁ tāta pratīkurvaṁśe tāḍanāni sadṛśyaśe ।

pratīkūlasya dāvasya mārgō dēvō manasvinā ॥

90

Es fürchte die Götter  
Das Menschengeschlecht!  
Sie halten die Herrschaft  
In ewigen Händen,  
Und können sie brauchen  
Wie ihnen gefällt,  
Der fürchte sie doppelt,  
Den je sie erheben!

GOETHE.

सततममरमन्योरुद्विजन्तां मनुष्या

द्विरपि तु स बिभीयादुच्चमंस्यो नरो यः ।

अचलमुचितहस्तैरीश्वरस्य दधाना

यदभिरुचिर्मया साधयन्त्येव देवाः ॥

satatam amaramanyōr udvijantāṁ manuṣyā

dvir api tu sa bibhīyād uchchamaṁsyo naro yaḥ ।

achalam uchi tanaśtaḥ ivaśatvam dadhāna

yaḥ abhiruchitam śobhām sādhayanty ēva dēvāḥ ॥



91

Mit den Göttern  
Soll sich nicht messen  
Irgend ein Monach.  
Hebt er sich aufwärts und berührt  
Mit dem Scheitel die Sterne,  
Nirgends haften dann  
Die uns-oberen Sohlen,  
Und mit ihm spielen  
Wolken und Winde.

GOETHE.

न खलु न खलु स्पर्धा कार्या सुरैः सह जन्तुना  
नभसि तुल्यज्जाम्मानं चेत्स्युशस्यपि तारकाः ।  
कचन चलनान्यासज्जन्ते न पादतलान्यनो  
जलदपवनाः क्रीडां कुर्वन्त्यनेन निर्गलम् ॥

na khalu na khalu sparḍhā kār्या suraiḥ saha jantunā  
nabhasi tulayann ātmānāṁ chēt syūṣasyapi tārakāḥ ।  
kvaśhana chalanāṅny āsajjantē na pādatalāṅny anō  
jaladapavanāḥ kṛīḍāṁ kurvānty anēna nirgalam ॥

Guilt.

92

Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht ;  
Der Uebel grüestest aber ist die Schuld.

SCHILLER.

जीवनं को हि मन्येत धनानां धनमुत्तमम् ।  
कष्टानां तु भद्राकष्टमघं विद्धि स्वयंकृतम् ॥

jīvanāṁ kō hi manyēta dhanānāṁ dhanam uttamam ।  
kṣaṭṣṭhānam tu mahukṣaṭṣṭham agham viḍḍhi svayamkṛitam ॥

Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,  
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte  
Auf seinem Bette weinend ass,  
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte.  
Ihr führt uns Leben uns hinein  
Und laßt den Armen schuldig werden ;  
Dann überlaßt ihr ihn der Pein,  
Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden.

GOETHE.

यो नागार्ज्ज कदाचिन्नयनजलगलो नापि दुःशर्वरीषु  
भ्रष्टस्त्रयो मुमोष स्वययनममरा नो स जानाति युष्मान् ।  
ये नीत्वा जीवलोकं तदनु बहुविधं कारयित्वाचमन्ते  
क्रुराणां यतनानामुपनयय वयं मर्त्यकीट वराकम् ॥

yō nāgāraṅgam kadāchit nayanajalagalo nāpi duḥśarvarīṣu  
bhraṣṭasṭrayo mumoṣa svayayanaṁ amaraṁ nō sa janāti yuṣhmanāḥ ।  
yō nītvā jīvalōkaṁ tadānu bahuvīdham karayitvāchamāntē  
krurāṇāṁ yatanānām upanayatha vaśam martyakīṣam varakam ॥



94

Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That,  
Dass sie fortzuehend immer Böses muss gebären.

SCHILLER.

एतं महत्तमं मन्ये दोषं दुष्टस्य कर्मणः ।

संश्लेषयदिवाम्नां प्रसूते यदघान्तरम् ॥

Ītad mahattamam manye dōṣhaṁ dūṣṭasya karmṇaḥ ;  
saṁślēpayad ivātmānaṁ prasūte yad aghāntaram ॥

95

Es freut sich die Gottheit der reinen Bänder :  
Unsterbliche haben verlorene Kinder  
Mit faurigen Armen am Himmel empor.

GÖTTER

आगस्कृतो दशदशतार्द्रणस्य

मुच्यन्ति देवाश्चरतोऽनुतापम् ।

विमुक्तदोषं च दिवं प्रसन्ना-

स्तेजस्विभिर्बाहुभिरुद्वहन्ति ॥

Āgaskṛito daśadaśatārḍraṇasya  
mucyanti dēvāḥ ccharatō antapam ;  
vimuktadōṣam cha divam prasannāś  
tejasvībhīr bahubhīr udvalanti ॥

Cf. *Manu* XI. 230.

(To be continued.)

# A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS INDEX TO YULE & HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES FORTBRIDGE, M.A.

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1815: *s. v.* Ghaut (b), 282, i; ann. 1828: *s. v.* Champa, 140, i; ann. 1840: *s. v.* Chatta, 141, ii, *s. v.* Cootub, The, 185, twice, *s. v.* Gwalior, 805, i, 3 times; ann. 1850: *s. v.* Martalan, 428, i; ann. 1870: *s. v.* Jungle, 378, ii; ann. 1890: *s. v.* Giraffe, 289, ii, *s. v.* Machevo, 406, i, *s. v.* Tenasserim, 895, ii; ann. 1843: *s. v.* Kedgeret, 364, i; ann. 1850: *s. v.* Jungle, 359, i; ann. 1898: *s. v.* Paga, 525, *s. v.* Sarana, 601, ii; ann. 1816: *s. v.* Champa, 140, i; ann. 1822: *s. v.* Ocho-de-Mer, 177, ii; ann. 1826: *s. v.* Hatty, 812, ii, 4 times, *s. v.* Gwalior, 805, i, 3 times; ann. 1841: *s. v.* Abada, 1, i; ann. 1845: *s. v.* Proma, 354, i; ann. 1848: *s. v.* Elephanta, 259, ii; ann. 1853: *s. v.* Cosquetir, 202, i, *s. v.* Ganda, 277, ii; ann. 1854: *s. v.* Elephanta (b), 261, i, *s. v.* Rhinoceros, 649, i; ann. 1855: *s. v.* Poshawur, 531, ii; ann. 1860: *s. v.* Laca, 385, ii; ann. 1878: *s. v.* Bal, 533, i; ann. 1885: *s. v.* Abada, 1, ii, *s. v.* Buffalo, 93, ii, 94, i, *s. v.* Dala, 227, i; ann. 1896: *s. v.* Cosquetir, 202, i, *s. v.* Ghoo, 282, ii, *s. v.* Mahout, 409, i and ii, *s. v.* Mata, 480, i, *s. v.* Arama, 758, i, ann. 1898: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, i, twice, *s. v.* Man, 632, ii, ann. 1804: *s. v.* Mugg, 455, ii, ann. 1808: *s. v.* Pannuteen, 703, i; ann. 1810: *s. v.* Rujoe, 586, ii, *s. v.* Gwalior, 805, i; ann. 1812: *s. v.* Dacca, 225, i; ann. 1813: *s. v.* Abada, 2, i; ann. 1816: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, i, twice; ann. 1820: *s. v.* Orankay, 492, i; ann. 1829-30: *s. v.* Payat-ghaut, 522, ii; ann. 1831: *s. v.* Tinnasha, 717, i, ann. 1832: *s. v.* Vankarha, 88, i; ann. 1811: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, i; ann. 1848: *s. v.* Mahout, 409, i; ann. 1859: *s. v.* Elephanta (b), 261, i, ann. 1863: *s. v.* Howdah, 325, i, *s. v.* Lan John, 384, ii, *s. v.* Neelgye, 476, i, *s. v.* Poodit, 561, i; ann. 1864: *s. v.* Cowtala, 210, ii; ann. 1865: *s. v.* Ambaroo, 755, i; ann. 1865: *s. v.* Buffalo, 94, i; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Cornac, 198, i; *s. v.* Corral, 209, ii, *s. v.* Mogul, The Great, 437, ii; ann. 1878: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, i, *s. v.* Snake-stone, 643, ii; ann. 1881: *s. v.* Umbrella, 726, i; ann. 1884: *s. v.* Masulipatam, 822, ii; ann. 1885: *s. v.* Country, 207, i, ann. 1890: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, ii, (b) 794, i; ann. 1712: *s. v.* Cornac, 198, i, twice, *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, ii, 3 times; ann. 1726: *s. v.* Cornac, 198, i, twice; ann. 1727:

*s. v.* Cornac, 198, i, *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, ii; ann. 1757: *s. v.* Mount, 827, i; ann. 1760: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, ii; ann. 1764: *s. v.* Elephanta, 261, i; ann. 1780: *s. v.* Elephanta, 261, i, twice, *s. v.* Muckna, 454, i, twice, *s. v.* Tangun, 688, ii; ann. 1780-90: *s. v.* Penn, 528, i, ann. 1791: *s. v.* Nair, 471, i; ann. 1833: *s. v.* Elephanta, 261, i, twice, ann. 1795: *s. v.* Paga, 525, i, *s. v.* Hwiah, 325, ii, ann. 1789: *s. v.* Hwiah (a), 46, i, ann. 1798 and 1799: *s. v.* Anacore, 11, i, ann. 1800: *s. v.* Carana, 125, ii, *s. v.* Polgar, 814, i, ann. 1803: *s. v.* Anacore, 17, i, *s. v.* Sowary, 650, ii; ann. 1804: *s. v.* Howdah, 325, ii; ann. 1805: *s. v.* Ambaroo, 11, i; ann. 1807: *s. v.* Coomkes (b), 194, i; ann. 1810: *s. v.* Chowry, 185, ii; ann. 1813: *s. v.* Elephanta, 261, i, twice; ann. 1827: *s. v.* Pawl, 842, ii; ann. 1829: *s. v.* To Tiff, 701, ii; ann. 1831: *s. v.* Howdah, 325, ii, ann. 1848: *s. v.* Mahout, 409, i, ann. 1855: *s. v.* Sansparanta, 647, i, twice, ann. 1856: *s. v.* Chuckerbitty, 167, i, twice, ann. 1857: *s. v.* Pandy, 509, ii; ann. 1860: *s. v.* Anacore, 17, i, twice; ann. 1863: *s. v.* Howdah, 325, ii, ann. 1873: *s. v.* Mata, 480, i; ann. 1878: *s. v.* Rogue, 580, i, 3 times, *s. v.* Bal, 533, i, ann. 1885: *s. v.* To Tiff, 701, ii, Elephanta; *s. v.* 250, ii, (b) 794, ii, *s. v.* Howdah, 325, i; ann. 1848: *s. v.* Salotto (a), 594, ii, twice; ann. 1873: *s. v.* Patoa, 519, ii; ann. 1890 and 1712: *s. v.* 260, i, ann. 1754: *s. v.* Veranda, 738, i; ann. 1756 and 1760: *s. v.* (b), 261, ii; ann. 1764 and 1780: *s. v.* 261, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Veranda, 738, i, twice; ann. 1795 and 1813: *s. v.* 261, i; ann. 1819: *s. v.* Conca, 189, ii, Elephant-Creeper; *s. v.* 261, ii, Elephant-driver; ann. 1826: *s. v.* Mahout, 409, ii, Elephanta; ann. 1760: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, ii, Elephanti; *s. v.* Elephant, 795, i, Elephantum; *s. v.* Cochlin Log, 174, ii; ann. 1813: *s. v.* Cochlin Log, 174, ii, Elephanto, ann. 1873: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, i, *s. v.* Hendry Kendry, 314, i; ann. 1737: *s. v.* Elephanta, 260, i, 'Elephantos; *s. v.* Elephant, 794, ii, 795, i, 797, i, Elephant's Teeth; ann. 1727: *s. v.* Loonghee, 396, ii.



- Elephant's tooth, ann 1250 s. r. Poron, 548, n.  
 Elephant, s. r. Queda 567, i.  
 Elephantus, s. r. Elepha 1, 705, i. twice.  
 Elephant, s. r. Elephant 734, n. twice, 795, i, 797, i.  
 Elephant, s. r. Baggy 571, i.  
 Elephant, s. r. Elephant 7, 7, n.  
 Elephant 1298 s. r. Dely, Mount, 235.  
 Elephant, s. r. Dely Mount 235.  
 Elephant, s. r. Dely Mount, 235, i.  
 Elephant, s. r. Dely Mount 235, i.  
 Elephant, ann 1294-5 s. r. Mahatta, 409, i.  
 Elephant, s. r. Dely Mount 235.  
 Elephant, 261, i, 7, i, s. r. Saur, 506, i.  
 Elephant, s. r. Carra, 120, i.  
 Elephant, s. r. A. chahad 8.  
 Elephant; ann. 1644; s. r. Elephanta, 250, i.  
 Eleph, ann 1681 and 1794 s. r. Eleph, 262, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Eleph, 261, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. 261, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Crear, 170, n.  
 Eleph, ann 14, 3 s. r. Gagerly, 801, i.  
 Eleph, ann 1702 s. r. Dely, Mount, 235, i.  
 Eleph, ann 1685 s. r. Eleph, 261, i.  
 Eleph, ann 1700 s. r. Eleph, 262, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Elephant, 702, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Elephant, 797, n.  
 Eleph, s. r. 261, i, 7, i, twice 795, i, s. r.  
 Eleph, s. r. 219, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Dely, Mount, 235, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Eleph, 261, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. A. chahad, 10, n.  
 Eleph, ann 1700 s. r. Dely, Mount, 235, i.  
 Eleph, s. r. Dely Mount, 235, i. twice, see 297, i, footnote.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTE ON LAW OF SUCCESSION IN THE  
NATIVE STATE OF PERAK.

The law of succession in the State of Perak was that on the death of the Sultan the Raja Muda became Sultan, and the Raja Bandahara (Treasurer) became Raja Muda, and one of the new Sultan's sons became Raja Bandahara. Thus, supposing at some particular time, the succession stood as in column I below, then after successive deaths it would stand as in columns II. and III.

	I	II	III
Sultan	A	A's Brother	A's Son
Raja Muda	A's Brother	A's Son	A's Brother
Raja Bandahara	A's Son	A's Brother	A's Son

The Malay Rajas came of a different race from the native Malays. They are believed to have come from India and a considerable number of Sanskrit words are found embedded in the language and notably certain words relating to Royalty. Some of these words I believe are much closer to classical Sanskrit than many words in the modern Indian languages. (Cakravarthi was one I believe, and Singamra another. See Marshall's *Grammar and Dictionary*.)

The above note, by Mr. C. J. Irving, C.M.G., Straits Settlements Civil Service, is of interest in connection with the question of succession in the State of Manipal described in Sir Richard Temple's Note in Vol. XX, p. 42 of the

*Indian Antiquary* for 1901. The principle of succession appears to be that the heir presumptive is the heir apparent, and that having once become heir apparent he must succeed in his turn. The right to succeed reverts to the next heir apparent, whoever it may be.

It is remarkable that the custom in Perak should apparently be of Sanskrit or Indian origin. In the Punjab State of Malerkotla it is, or rather was, followed by an Afghan family which has a quasi-regal standing owing to the fact that its founder was a celebrated Sufi saint. (*Op. the Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 323.)

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.

20th March 1903.

## CORRECTION

Here is an early instance of the old Anglo-Indianism. The earliest instance is 1737.

1694-5 The Queen was delivered of a Daughter and fearing her husband should hate her because it was not a son she changed it for one the wife of a Cornaca had then brought forth. Cornacas are the men that govern the elephants. Some said the child (afterwards the Emperor Akbar), thought to be changed, was got on the queen by the Cornaca. — *Stacens Translation of Faria's* *Seison, Portuguese Asia*, Vol. II, p. 67.



## NOTES ON DRAVIDIAN PHILOLOGY.

BY STEN KONOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY

THE Dravidian verb is not rich in tenses. It possesses a present tense which is commonly also used as a future, a past, and usually also a future.

Tulu and Konda differ from the rest of the Dravidian languages in having developed a more complicated system of conjugational forms. Bishop Calaneo's *Comparative Grammar of the Italian or South Indian Family of Languages*, second edition, London, 1875, p. 340, remarked about these two languages:—

It has a perfect tense as well as an imperfect or indefinite past. It has conditional and potential moods, as well as an imperative. *Tu* has but one verbal participle, which is properly a participle of the past tense, whilst *Tu* has also a present and a future participle. All these moods, tenses, and participles have regularly formed negatives.

It has all the mood, tenor and pathos of a love story. It has all the elements of its imperfect character into two distinct scenes and a third for purely technical (I was going and a last incident I want. It was not a dramatic form of the narrative - that is a tone which when projected by the future, is a self-sufficient but which when standing alone implies a wish.

standing alone implies a transition. The comparing Chinese dated congregational system entered with the exiles and almost naked simplicity in the Tamil I conclude that we have here a proof, not of the superiority of the Chinese, but of the Tamil and simplicity of the greater antiquity of Tamiran literary culture. The development of the congregational system of Tamil seems to have been arrested at a very early period as in the present, but still more remarkable antiquity of the Chinese by the invention of writing, by which the verbs for marking a time were fossilised, whilst the civilised Greeks, and their rulers, about the 4th or 5th century B.C. were still writing with their verbs a luxury words of time and relation, leaving their verbs, as in the present, by rapid and careless pronunciation without allowing any record of the various steps of the process to survive.

Discrep. On Swaid further suggested that these entries of the conjugational system of Gôndî might, to some extent, be made on the pattern of Nûstâl. I would like to acknowledge interest in such an influence could be proved to have been at work, and I have to express thought it worth while to take a closer view of the various facts connected with Gôndî conjugation. I should have wished to extend my investigation to Fars as I am hindered from doing so because I have not here sufficient materials for dealing with that language.

It has often been stated that Obdjid flows from other Dravidian languages in the formation of the passive. In reality however (and in this respect closely agrees with the other forms of the family) Menzies, Leberg and Harriss state that Obdjid has a conjugate passive formed by adding the verb *dydd* to be, to become, to the conjugative participle, thus, *jan dydd ad*, I am struck. Such forms are, however, also used in other Dravidian languages. Thus Bishop Cudjoe gives *manjira dyddu* it is finished, *kari kotti dyddu*, the temple is built, from Tamil, as I remarks that *per dyddu*, it was gone, may generally be used in such phrases instead of *dyddu*, it has become. Similarly we find *istat haddan*, having struck I went, I am struck, in Obdjid.

In Tamil, however, the auxiliary verb is, in such phrases, always used in the third person singular neuter, while all persons and numbers are said to be used in Gaelic. I am not able to check this statement. I have examined the specimens prepared for the use of the Linguistic Survey in the various dialects of Gaelic, and I have not found any such forms. It therefore seems probable that they are simply literal translations of Arrian phrases and do not in reality belong to the language. At all events, there cannot here be any question of influence exercised by Sanskrit.

It has further been stated that Gôñdî differs from other Dravidian languages in possessing a potential mood and an imperative. Thus, *kut paritânâ* I can do *kutai* . . ., I beg u to do In *kid*



*parāṇḍ*, I can do, *kīḍ* is simply the verbal noun, and the whole phrase exactly corresponds to forms such as *nēnu pāda galenu* I can say in Telugu. *Kiḍāṇḍ* I begin to do, is apparently formed from the infinitive *iḍi*, to do, by adding *āṇḍ* I become, or, I have become. We can therefore compare Telugu phrases such as *āṇḍu dā pāṇḍu chagadanaku āṇḍu chichināḍu* he has begun to do this work. In such forms, *G* and *w* do not agree with the usage of other Dravidian languages.

We shall now turn to an examination of the various tenses of the indicative mood in *ōḍḍ*. Bishop Caldwell has drawn attention to the fact that while Tamil has only three tenses, it has a present or imperfect, an aorist or past, a perfect, a future, and a conditional. The table which follows will show how all these tenses are formed from *kīḍ*, to make.

	Present.	Imperfect.	Imperfective	Perfect	Future.	Conditional.
Sing. 1	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍ</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	.. <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	<i>kīḍā</i>	<i>kīḍāḍ(n)</i>	<i>kīḍāḍ(n)</i>
2	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	<i>kīḍi</i>	.. <i>kīḍā</i>	<i>kīḍāṇ</i>
3 masc.	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇ</i>	<i>kīḍu</i>	<i>kīḍāṇ</i>	<i>kīḍāṇ</i>
3 fem. & n.	<i>kīḍāḍ</i>	.. <i>kīḍāḍ(u)</i>	... <i>kīḍāḍ</i>	<i>kīḍ(u)</i>	<i>kīḍā</i>	<i>kīḍā</i>
Plur. 1	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>
2	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>
3 masc.	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>
3 fem. & n.	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	<i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	.. <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>	... <i>kīḍāṇḍam</i>

It will be seen that the so-called conditional only differs from the future in the third person. It seems necessary to infer that near the third person contains the original suffix of the conditional, and it is perhaps allowed to compare the Kanarese suffix *ee*. For such as *kīḍ*, *kīḍā* and *kīḍāṇ* are apparently due to analogy. I am not, however, able to judge about these forms, because they seem to be very rarely used, and scarcely occur in the materials at my disposal.

If we compare the other tenses in the table, it will be seen that they can be divided into two classes. The first comprises the present and the imperfect, the second the perfect, the future, and the conditional.

The two classes use different suffixes in order to distinguish the person of the subject. Bishop Caldwell has already drawn attention to this fact and also pointed out how it should be explained. He says, *J. A. S.* p. 282—

The personal terminations of the first and second persons singular in *ōḍḍ* require a little consideration. In both persons the initial *n* of the so-called personal seems to hold its ground in some of the tenses in a manner which is not observed in any other dialect—e.g., *āyāṇḍ*, I am becoming, *āyāṇḍ*, thou art becoming. In some other tenses (e.g., imperfect *āyāṇḍ*, I become

\* Compare Tamil *nēnu*, I, *nū*, thou, — *J. A. S.*



perfect *attān* I have become) the termination of the first person resembles that in use in most of the other dialects. In the second person *attā*, the *n* whatever its origin disappears altogether, and is replaced by the primary *Paḍar* &c. I prefer therefore to regard the *n* of the first and second persons in these tenses, as the *n* the position of the third person singular, *ōn*, he, forming, when added to the root, a participial noun. *Ayḍen-d* would then mean, I am one who becomes, *ayḍen-i*, thou art one who becomes. If this view is correct, nothing can be observed in these forms differing in reality from those in the other dialects."

It is evident that Bishop Caldwell has here found the true explanation of such forms, and, at the same time, of the apparent richness of various tenses in the *Paḍi*. Forms such as *kāṭṭēd*, I do, *kēṭṭēd*, I wish to do, &c. are simply nouns of agency used as verbs.

Similar forms are frequently used in other Dravidian forms of speech.

It is a well known fact that nouns of agency or composite nouns are freely formed in the Dravidian languages by adding the terminations of the full forms of the demonstrative pronouns to the bases of nouns, adjectives, and relative participles.

In Tamil we find words such as *mapp-aṇ* an elder, from *mappu*, age. *Tam-aṇ* a Tamilian, from *Tami*, Tamil. *maṭṭa-y-aṇ* a mountaineer, from *maṭṭ*, mountain. *paṭṭaṭṭ-aṇ*, a citizen, from *paṭṭanam* city. *viṭṭ-aṇ*, *viṭṭ-aṇ*, *viṭṭ-aṇ* a bowman, from *viṭ*, bow. *ōḍaṇ*, one who read, from *ōḍu*, who read.

It will be seen that the pronominal suffix is sometimes added to the base (thus, *viṭṭ-aṇ*, a bowman), and sometimes to the oblique base (thus, *paṭṭaṭṭ-aṇ*, a citizen). They are sometimes even added to the genitive, thus *kaṇṇ-aṇ*, he who is the king's.

Similar forms occur in all Dravidian languages. Compare Kanarese *māḍu-aṇṇu* one who does, from *māḍu*, who is doing. *māḍu-aṇṇu*, the warrior, from *māḍu*, who has done. Telugu *maḡ-aṇḍu*, a husband; *chinnu-aṇḍu*, a boy, &c.

Like our inflexions, such composite nouns are frequently used as verbs, and the personal terminations of ordinary verbs are then added. Thus a special case in Telugu, the old dialects of Tamil and Kanarese, and the minor languages such as Kuruch-Malio, and (Gond). Thus we find Tamil *āṇ-aṇ*, I am king. *āṇ-aṇ*, we are kings. Telugu *śrīkūḷu* I am a servant, *śrīkūḷu-aṇ*, thou art a brother. *brāhminu-aṇṇu* we are Brahmins. Kanarese *urāṇ*, I am a master, *urāṇ*, you are masters. *Malloḍu-aṇḍu* I am your daughter; *Kuḍu-aṇḍu*, I am your sister. *kaṇṇ-aṇ*, he is a Kai, and so forth.

Such composite nouns are very frequently formed from the relative participle. Compare Tamil *āṇṇ-aṇṇu*, he who does, *āṇṇ-aṇṇu*, he who did. *āṇṇ-aṇṇu* he who will do. Kanarese *māḍu-aṇṇu*, he who does, *māḍu-aṇṇu* he who did. Telugu *chinnu-aṇḍu*, he who does. *chinnu-aṇḍu* he who did, *chinnu-aṇḍu*, he who does, or, will do. In poetical Tamil such forms are often used as ordinary tenses. Thus *nāḍu-aṇṇu* he walked, *nāḍu-aṇṇu*, we walked &c. This is quite common in Telugu. Thus, *nāḍu-aṇṇu* I am an accountant in his house, or *nāḍu-aṇṇu* I am an accountant in his house, *nāḍu-aṇṇu* what work do you do, and so forth.

It will be seen from the instances given above that such composite nouns are sometimes formed by adding the full demonstrative pronoun and sometimes by simply adding the termination. Compare Tamil *kaṇṇ-aṇṇu* and *kaṇṇ-aṇṇu* a bowman. It seems probable that forms such as *kaṇṇ-aṇṇu* represent a more ancient stage or development than *kaṇṇ-aṇṇu*. It will therefore be seen that, for instance, Telugu *chinnu-aṇḍu*, he who is essentially the same form as *chinnu-aṇḍu*, one who did. Bishop Caldwell justly remarked that a form such as *nāḍu-aṇṇu*, it walked, literally means a thing



which walked.\* In the same way *ayyāḍān*, he does, seems to be identical with *ayyāḍān*, one who does, a doer. Compare *ritān* and *ritāḍān*, a Bowman. We shall have to return to this question below.

We are now in a position to better understand Gōṇḍī forms such as *kīḍāṇā*, I do.

Gōṇḍī has, to a great extent, imitated the neighbouring Aryan languages in using a relative pronoun. The interrogative *tor*, tamara, and neuter *bat*, has been adopted for that purpose. Besides, however, we frequently also find relative clauses expressed in the usual Dravidian way by means of relative particles. Thus, I have noted *kalla kige mīṇṇāḍi*, that thing man, a man who usually comes as that, from Bāṇḍara. Gōṇḍī possesses at least three such relative particles. Thus, from *kāṇā*, to do, we find a present participle *kāṇā*, a past *kāḍ* and an indefinite *kāḍ*. Compare Tulu *chestanna dong*, *chēṇna*, who did, *āṇ chēṇā*, who usually does, *wōṇ wēṇā*, &c. These particles are the bases of different tenses which are not inflected in exactly the same way. Thus *kāṇā* I do, *kāṇā*, I did, *kāḍ*, I might do, I will do. In addition to *kāṇā*, I did, we also find *kāḍāḍ* formed from the conjunctive participle *kāḍ* having done.

The personal terminations added in all these tenses are as follows —

Sing 1 <i>kaḍ</i> ,	Plu 1 <i>ōṇ-am</i> , <i>ōṇ-am</i> .
2 <i>ōṇi</i> ,	2 <i>ōṇ-i</i> <i>ōṇ-i</i>
3 masc. <i>ōṇ</i> , <i>ōṇ</i>	3 masc. <i>rā</i> , <i>rā</i> .
3 fem. and n. <i>āḍ</i> , <i>rāḍ</i> .	3 fem and n. <i>āṇṇ</i> , <i>rāṇṇ</i>

It will be seen that the terminations of the third persons plural are simply formed from the corresponding third persons singular, by adding the usual plural suffixes. I am not, however, able to satisfactorily explain the suffix *rā* of the third person singular feminine and neuter of the indefinite tense. The same termination is also used in the future.

The terminations of the first and second persons plural are clearly formed from the third person singular, masculine, by adding the suffixes *am* in the first, and *i* in the second person. *Am* is identical with the suffix *ōm* added in other tenses, and *i* is the ordinary suffix of the first person, with the addition of the plural suffix *t*. Compare *kim t*, do ye, *kim*, do, *imma*, thou, *imma*, you.

It might seem curious that the first and second persons plural should be formed from the third person singular. A comparison of *kāṇ-āṇ*, we do, *kāḍ-āṇ*, we will do, with *kāḍ* he does, *kāḍ*, he will do, is, however, sufficient to show that this is in reality the case. The explanation is that such forms as *kāḍ* + *kāḍ*, &c. are originally plurals, and they are still often used as such.

The demonstrative pronoun in Gōṇḍī is now *ōṇ*, plural *ōṇ* and *ōṇk*. The form *ōṇ*, however, corresponds to Tamil *arar* or *ar*, they which is very commonly used as an honorific singular. The old Gōṇḍī singular must have been *ōṇ*, and the third person singular masculine of the present tense of *kāḍ* must originally have been *kāḍ-ōṇ*, a doer, or, he does. The existence of such a form must necessarily be inferred from the first and second persons singular, *kāḍ-ōṇ ā*, I do, *kāḍ-ōṇ t*, thou doest, which are regularly formed from *kāḍ-ōṇ* by adding the personal suffixes of the first and second persons singular, respectively.

The same personal suffixes are in Gōṇḍī also added to the interrogative pronoun when it is used as the predicate. Thus we find *immaḍ bōṇ-i* (not *bōṇ*) *āṇṇ*, who art thou?, *amāḍ bōṇ-am āṇṇam*, who are we? &c.

It will thus be seen that the richly developed system of conjugational forms in Gōṇḍī is only apparent, and that the language in this respect well agrees with other Dravidian forms of speech, especially Tulu.



On the other hand, there are several compound tenses, as is also the case in other connected languages. Thus, the imperfect *hūdan*, I was doing, is formed from the participle *hūda*, by adding *anda* I was. Another form of the same tense is *hūda mātand*, I was doing. The pluperfect *hūda mātand* I had done, literally means 'having done I was, and so forth.

We have thus seen that the formation of *terracotta* Gudi is essentially the same as in other Dravidian languages, so that there can not, therefore, in that respect be any question about an influence exercised by Santali.

It has often been stated that the negative verb in Gônd is formed by inserting *hite* or *hulle* between the pronoun and the verb. This use of *hite* or *hulle* does not, however, appear to be more than a redundancy and I have never at I ever seen, in any form, such as *soôô*, he did not give, without the addition of any separate negative particle. It is, then, to be seen that Gônd is in all such essential points agrees with other Chadic languages and there is no historical reason for separating it as a northern group of Dravidian languages, as has sometimes been done.

It has already been pointed out in the preceding pages that the third person singular of most Dravidian tenses in form does not differ from a composite noun or noun of agency. Thus *taṇi* is *taṇi*, he is, I seem to be formed from *ta*, corresponding to Tamil *taṇḍu*, having come, or abiding as suffix of the den or substantive pronoun. Compare Tamil *taṇḍu*, he is, I seem. The other persons of primary tenses are not, however, formed in the same way as in the use of the third person, but by adding the personal suffixes to the end of the third person, not by substituting the suffixes of the first and second persons for that of the third. Thus *taṇi* *taṇi* *taṇi*, I did, art, thou dost. The forms of those suffixes vary in the different Dravidian languages. The reason for this state of affairs seems to be that the full forms of the personal pronouns have been changed in various ways, and the suffixes have not always undergone the same changes. Thus the personal pronoun in Teranga is *taṇi* but the personal suffix of the same person is simply *taṇi* or *ta* where all traces of the original pronoun base have disappeared. On the other hand in Grōṇḍi *taṇi* is *taṇi*, but the corresponding suffix is, the second person is *ta*, probably the oldest form of the Dravidian pronoun for 'thou'. It is quite natural that the same suffix can, under such circumstances, come to be used for more than one person. Compare Telugu *taṇi* *taṇi* *taṇi*, I am, thou art, we are, or they do, where the same suffix *taṇi* is equally used for the first as well as for the third person. Prof. A. Ludwig has mentioned several similar instances from Teranga, Tamil, and Kanarese and has drawn the conclusion that the personal terminations of the Dravidian verb are not originally personal pronouns, but that they signify, at the utmost, an intended assumption of the mind of the terminant of the verbal senses to the sound of the personal pronouns. See his paper *Über die Verbalendungen der Dravidasprachen* *Sitzungsberichte der k. k. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Classe für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie*, 1900, No. VI.

Professor Ludwig is certainly right in assuming an assimilation in sound between verb and pronoun. Compare Tengu *nun ch'indān*, I did, *nun ch'indān*, thou hast, *eddū ch'indān*, he did, Tama *nūn ng'ān*, I led, *nūn ng'ān*, thou hast, *avān ng'ān*, he led. Ka *funu qetān* he did. If we compare Tengu *idān ch'indān*, Tama *van ng'ān* Ka *imū g'etān*, it is evident that the third person singular masculine of the verb has vocal cases undergo the same phonetical changes as the corresponding pronoun. In such cases as Tengu *nūn ng'ān*, thou hast, where the base of the pronoun is *nū*, *nū*, the corresponding verbal suffix only is a secondary termination; it is evident that the assimilation in sound has been intended.

There are, on the other hand, many cases in which the verbal forms have not been changed in the same way as the pronouns. A good instance is furnished by *Grand*. Compare *nannd káton-á*, I do, *nannd káta(-a)*, I did, *imnd káti*, thou didst, *munndát ká m*, we do, *imndát káti*, you did. It will be seen that the *Grand* pronouns have undergone great changes, while the corresponding suffixes have retained an older form.



It is well known that the personal pronouns of the first and second person, and the reflexive pronoun, in many languages are formed in the same way. The suffix of the reflexive is usually *sa, se, s, sh*, that of the personal. Compare the following table.

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.	Self.	Selves.
Tamil	... <i>nān, yān</i> ...	<i>nām</i> ...	<i>nī</i> ...	<i>nīr</i> ...	<i>tān</i> ...	<i>tān</i>
Malayalam	... <i>ān</i> ...	<i>nām</i> ...	<i>nī</i> ...	<i>nīkāṭ</i> ...	<i>tān</i> ...	<i>tāṅkāṭ</i>
Kannarō	<i>ān, yān</i> ...	<i>nān, nān</i> ...	<i>nī, nī</i> ...	<i>nīr, nīr</i> ...	<i>tān</i> ...	<i>tān</i>
Kurukh	... <i>ān</i> ...	<i>ām, nām</i> ...	<i>nī</i> ...	<i>nīm</i> ...	<i>tān</i> ...	<i>tām</i>
Tulu	... <i>yān</i> ...	<i>nam, yāṅkaṇi</i> ...	...	<i>īr</i> ...	...	...
Kul	... <i>ān</i> ...	<i>ām</i> ...	<i>nī</i> ...	<i>nī</i> ...	<i>tān</i> ...	<i>tān</i>
Gōndī	... <i>namā</i> ...	<i>namāṭ</i> ...	<i>tānā</i> ...	<i>namāṭ</i> ...	...	...
Telugu	<i>nā, nān</i> ...	<i>nā, nāṅka</i> ...	<i>nī, nī</i> ...	<i>nī, nīr</i> ...	<i>tān</i> ...	<i>tān</i>

It will be seen from the table that the usual termination of the plural *s* has replaced the old *n* in many cases. That is, *nān* has taken the place of *nā* in the 1st person plural. Compare *kāṇ* in the 2nd singular with *kāṇā* in the 2nd plural. Compare *kāṇ* in the 2nd singular with *kāṇā* in the 2nd plural. Thus, *kāṇ* and *kāṇā*, we do.

The table seems to point to the conclusion that the oldest form for 'I' is *ān* or *ēn*, and that for 'thou' is *nī* or *nīr*. The final *n* in *nām* is a secondary suffix, and is perhaps originally identical with the final *n* in *nām*. Illustrative of this is the form *nām* in the 1st person plural. The forms *nām* and *nām* for 'I' and *nī* for 'thou' are the oldest forms, and are therefore apparently the oldest personal pronouns, while the forms *nām* and *nām* are the latest forms, and are therefore the latest forms.

The case is similar in the plural. The personal suffix of the first person is *ām* or *ēn*. For *ām* we often find *ām* which directly corresponds to the form for 'we' in Old Kannarō and Kul. The suffix of the second person is *nī* or *nīr*. The suffix of the third person is *tān* or *tān*. It may be noted that the suffix *nī* or *nīr* is the same as the suffix *nī* or *nīr* in the 1st person plural. In Old Tamil, however, we find only in the 1st person plural the form *nām*. Thus *nām*, we, you, or they. Similarly we find in Old Malayalam the form *nām* for 'we, you, or they'. In Old Malayalam, however, the suffix *nām* is used for 'we, you, or they', and even the 1st person plural does not seem to have been necessary. Thus Malayalam no more adds the personal terminations to verbs. It uses the infinitive particle *cheyyanu*, I do & *cheydu*, I did & *chey*, I am & *chey*, I am. The corresponding *chey* is used for all the persons of the singular in Old Tamil. The suffix *nām* is added to the plural. The oldest Malayalam texts make use of personal terminations in the plural. It is not, however, probable that they have ever been so commonly used in that dialect as in most other Dravidian dialects of speech. There are even indications that a singular







The Indo-European family of languages possesses an *r*, as well as an *l*. The same is the case in Sanskrit, but both sounds are there distributed in a way which is quite different and apparently quite useless. The sister language of the oldest Indo-Aryan dialects, the old Iranian form of speech, has changed every *l* into *r*. The same has apparently also been the case in old Aryan dialects. In India itself we can see how the use of *l* is gradually spreading. In the oldest Vedic texts it is a comparatively rare sound. It is more frequently used in later Vedic books, and still more so in post-Vedic literature. There must be a reason for this increasing tendency to change *r* into *l*, and the only satisfactory explanation seems to be that it is due to Dravidian influence. Bishop Caldwell has pointed out that *r* and *l* in Dravidian languages are constantly interchanged, usually so that an *l* is substituted for an *r*.

There are traces of Dravidian influence in other points of the pronunciation of the oldest Indo-Aryan language. The common softening of hard single consonants after vowels in the Prakrits seems to correspond to the similar change in Dravidian. The modern pronunciation of the palatal in modern Marathi is probably due to the influence of Telugu, and so on. But we have no right to assume that such tendencies have been at work in the oldest stage of Indo-Aryan languages.

The Dravidian languages have on the other hand very early exercised an important influence on Aryan grammar. I do not think that this influence has been a direct one, if one language is another. It seems to have taken place in such a way that the Dravidians who were in the course of time absorbed by the Aryans and adopted their speech, did not abandon their linguistic tendencies, but were, on the contrary, to a certain extent able to convert the Aryan grammar after Dravidian principles. The most important point in this connection is the increasing use in Aryan languages of participles instead of ordinary tenses.

It is a well-known fact that the verbal in the Vedic dialects possesses a rich system of various tenses just as is the case in other Indo-European languages. It is also well known how the various tenses early began to be disused and were gradually replaced by participles. According to Prof. Whitney, the number of verbal forms in Sanskrit and the Bhagavadgītā is only one-tenth of that in the Rigveda. In later Sanskrit literature the same tendency was carried still further and almost every tense was replaced by a participle. The same state of affairs prevails in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. They have, broadly speaking, only traces of the old tenses, but have instead developed new ones from the old participles. At the same time, the verb of subordinate sentences is commonly replaced by conjunctive participles.

This double tendency, to use conjunctive participles in subordinate sentences and to substitute participles for all finite tenses, is distinctly Dravidian, and not Indo-European. When we remember that the Aryan population of India was absorbed an important Dravidian element, it seems necessary to conclude that the said grammatical tendency is due to the influence of that element.

It is perhaps allowed to go a little farther. The present tense in modern dialects very commonly conjugated in present. We have seen that the same is the case in Dravidian. It seems probable that we have here, again, to do with the influence of the Dravidian element. It is of no importance for this question, whether the personal terminations of the modern Aryan dialects are originally pronominal suffixes or borrowed from the verb substantive. The present tense in Dravidian languages is apparently formed by adding the verb substantive to a present participle. Compare Telugu *cheṭṭu unnaḍu*, I do, *it*, I am doing. Tamil *ey-yen*, I do, and so on. The Tamil suffix of the present is *ken* and should be compared with *ken* I am, in the Kankadi dialect of Marathi. The personal terminations are, however, now used in other tenses just as is the case in some Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and it is of no importance for the present question how we explain the Dravidian present.



It has been mentioned above that the Dravidian tenses can also be considered as nouns of agency. And we have seen that a tripled several tenses are formed by adding the personal suffixes to the ordinary noun of agency. Compare *kāṭōṇ* I do, where the personal suffix is added to the old noun of agency *kāṭōṇ*, a doer. Similar forms have also been advanced from Telugu, and it is clear that we have here to do with a deeply-rooted tendency in the Dravidian languages.

It is now of interest that an exactly analogous form is already met with in Sanskrit, in the so-called participial future. This form begins to be used in the Brāhmaṇas, but is then very infrequent (about thirty instances). In the later literature it is more common.

It is formed exactly in the same way as tripled tenses such as *kāṭōṇ*. The verb-adjective is added to the noun of agency in the first and second persons, where Gondi uses the personal suffixes, while the noun of agency is used alone in the third person. It is difficult to explain this tense from the principles prevailing in Sanskrit. On the other hand, it is easily understood when we remember how the present participle and the noun of agency formed from it is commonly used with a future sense in Dravidian languages.

There is still another form in Sanskrit which seems to be due to Dravidian influence, viz., the participle ending in *bhavāt*. Such forms are very rare in the old literature, but later on they become quite usual. There is nothing corresponding in other Indo-European languages, but similar forms are not uncommon in Dravidian. Compare, for instance, Tamil *eyvārān* Sanskrit *kṛtārān* one who has done. The suffix *bhavāt* is, of course, Aryan, but the close analogy between forms such as *ayvārān* and *kṛtārān* is too striking to be accidental.

There are still two points in which the Aryan vernaculars of India seem to have adopted Dravidian principles, viz., in the fixed order of words and in the different treatment of the object of transitive verbs, according as it is a rational or an irrational being.

The order of words in old Sanskrit was free. In modern vernaculars, on the other hand, it follows fixed rules. It seems probable that this state of affairs is due to the influence of other linguistic families. It is not, however, possible to decide whether this influence has been exercised by the Dravidian element in the Aryan population, and I must therefore be contented to draw attention to the fact that, for instance the position of the governed before the governing word, and the necessity of putting the verb at the end of the sentence, is in full agreement with Dravidian principles.

The use of a double form for the objective case in Indo-Aryan vernaculars is, on the other hand, certainly Dravidian. The common rule in Hindi is that the suffix *kō* is added to nouns denoting rational beings, while the base alone is used as the objective case of other nouns. This distinction between nouns denoting rational beings and such as signify irrationals is a peculiarity of the Dravidian languages. It is true that the use of the base in order to denote the object in Telugu is restricted to nouns denoting things without life. But this seems to be a new departure of Telugu, where it is perhaps due to Kolarian influence. In Tamil and Malayalam, on the other hand, the practice is exactly the same as in Hindi.

Some of the characteristic points mentioned in the preceding pages have already been drawn attention to by Bishop Caldwell. He says (l.c. *Introd.* p. 59):—

"The principal particulars in which the grammar of the North-Indian forms agrees with that of the Dravidian languages are as follows:—(1) the inflexion of nouns by means of separate post-fixed particles added to the oblique form of the noun. (2) the inflexion of the plural by annexing to the nominating sign of plurality the same suffixes of case as those by which the singular is inflected. (3) the use in several of the northern idioms of two pronouns of the first person plural, the one



including the other existing, the party addressed, (3) the use of postpositions, instead of prepositions, (4) the formation of verbal tenses by means of participles, (5) the similarity of the relative to tense before the relative, 7, the situation of the governing word after the word governed. In the particulars above mentioned the grammar of the North-Indian groups undoubtedly resembles that of the Dravidian family, but the argument is weakened upon this general agreement of structure, inasmuch as it is neutralised by the circumstance that these groups occur in the same particular, and to the same extent, with several other families of the Seythian group.

I think Bishop Caldwell was quite right in not concluding that all such points of agreement are due to Dravidian influence on the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. And, more especially, it may reasonably be held that the use of two different forms of the plural in the personal pronoun of the first person is an originally Dravidian feature. We do not find it in Kannarese, (2), in Brahui, and several minor dialects. And the other languages use quite different sets of forms. Compare the table which follows:—

	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannak	Kul	Telugu
We, exclusive ...	manga	... māṅga	... ām ...	... āmu ...	... mēmu
We, inclusive ...	nām, yām	... nām ...	... nām ...	... āmu ...	... māṁmu

The table shows that the inclusive plural *yām, nām*, in Tamil and Malayalam, corresponds to the exclusive plural *ām* in Kani and *mām* (old *ām*) in Telugu. The two different forms of the plural must therefore have been independently developed in the various languages of the Dravidian family. This seems to point to the conclusion that the old language from which all the Dravidian forms of speech have been derived, did not originally possess more than one form for 'we'. It almost seems as if the tendency to distinguish between a 'we' which includes and another which excludes the party addressed, has been introduced into the Dravidian languages from without. It may be due to the influence of the Kul languages—and it would not be safe to attach any importance to this point.

I hope, however, to have shown that there remain several features in which we are apparently obliged to assume an influence on the Aryan vernaculars exerted by the Dravidian family. I therefore fully agree with Bishop Caldwell when he says (p. 17)—

"As the pre-Aryan tribes, who were probably more numerous than the Aryans, were not annihilated, but only reduced to a dependent position and very largely assimilated, incorporated in the Aryan community, it would seem almost necessarily to follow that they would naturally transmit to the language of the conquerors, and that this contribution would consist, partly in the adoption of new words, and partly also in the introduction of a new spirit and tendency."

\* The name *Seythian* should not any more be used to denote a family of languages. It was introduced by the eminent Danish philologist Rask as a general denomination of those languages of Europe and Asia which do not belong to the Indo-European or Semitic families. We now know that those languages belong to widely different families, and that they cannot be classed together. Moreover, the few Seythian words which have been preserved by Greek writers are distinctly Iranian, i.e. they belong to the Indo-European family. — S. K.



## DIGAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

BY JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.

RESEARCH during the last half century has perhaps been less directed to the study of Jainism than to any other branch of Indian study. Still much has been done even here by such scholars as Weber, Bühler, Jacquet-Lundmann, Hoernle and others, whose investigations have been directed more especially to the literature of the Svetāmbara sect.

Whilst engaged in the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the libraries of Rājputāna, Dr. Bühler learnt much respecting both the sects. Of the Digambara Jains, — who are largely found in Māharāṣṭra and Kānara, though also very numerous in the North-Western Provinces, Eastern Rājputāna, and the Panjab — we know less than of the Śvētāmbaras who are so numerous in Gajarat and Western Rājputāna and all over Northern and Central India. In Rājputāna, Dr. Bühler found the Digambara Jains divided into three *patas* — Khāndarwāl, Agrawāl, and Bāndarwāl — who eat with each other, but marry only within their own *pat* or class. Both sects agreed in their esteem for the *Pañcāṅga* or twelve *dāśas*, and some of the *Amgas* at least are common to both — whether all are so, he was unable to ascertain for the Digambaras declare that many of the Śvētāmbara works are spurious and that of some they possess different versions.

The Digambaras divide their literature into four 'Vēdas,' viz. — (1) The *Peṭhamūṇḍanīya*, comprising all their works on *Jihva* or legends and history — among which are the twenty-four *Purāṇas* giving the legends of the Tīrthakaras. (2) The *Karandīyāyoga*, embracing works on cosmogony. (3) The *Uvārīyāyoga*, treating of their doctrine and philosophy, and (4) the *Charaṇīyāyoga*, treating of the *śikṣā* customs, worship, &c.

The Jayar Khāndarwāl Dr. Bühler found subdivided into *Vīṣṇupanthis* and *Thērapanthis*, — a division common, perhaps, to the whole Digambara community, as indicated in 1820 by Col. Colin Mackenzie's Jainia pandit. The *Vīṣṇupantis* worship standing, and present lemons, fruits, flowers and sweetmeats of various sorts, but the *Thērapantis* sit down whilst worshipping, and offer no flowers or green fruits but present sacred rice (*akṣato*), sandal, cloves, nutmeg, cardamoms, dates, mangoes, dry cocoanuts, sweetmeats, &c. They are much more scrupulous than the *Vīṣṇupantis*, carry their conduct, and refuse respect to their priests. They object to bathing themselves or the images, and worship with water, coconut-water, or *pañcāmrita*. Their abstinence of flowers and green fruits is based on their teaching that all plants, trees, &c., are endued with life.

From Mysore I learn that the following classification into eleven grades of Jains is made it must however be, to a large extent, theoretical. —

1. The lowest grade consists of those who simply confess their belief in Jainism without the performance of any of its ceremonies.

2. Those who perform some of the Jainia ceremonies but neglect others.

3. Those who observe all the religious ceremonies.

4. Śravakas who observe all the other Jainia precepts but are guilty of adultery.

5. Śravakas who may be dishonest while observant of all other Jainia principles.

6. Those who may abet crimes but do not commit them personally.

7. Śravakas who carefully examine all they eat, lest there should be any insects

in it.

1 Bombay Administration Report for 1875-76; Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 28.

2 Or. Ind. Mus. and Oriental Series, Vol. VII, or Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXI. p. 66.



8. Those who abstain from eating any green fruits or vegetables, but only such as are dried.

9. The Śrāvaka of the ninth class is the Brāhmancharī who wears white clothes and leads a celibate life.

10. The Śrāvaka who does not leave his house, but otherwise follows the practices of the eleventh class.

11. The highest grade of all is that of the Śrāvaka who leaves his house, family and all possessions, and — provided with a *kanamphala* or water-vessel, a *paśu* or broom made of peacock's feathers and used for removing insects out of his way, and a *kashda* curtain or reddish coloured cloth — avoids all crimes, re-inquires and tithes, maintains honesty, and possesses implicit faith in his priest.

The Vidyāsthānas or seats of learning of the Digambaras mentioned by Dr. Bühler are,— (1) Jaypur, (2) Deoli, (3) Gwalior, (4) Ajmir, (5) Nagaur, (6) Rajputana, (7) Kanpur-Bharatpur near Indur, (8) Karauli, and (9) Surat. These the Master Jinas and Kṣāpaka Jina Kanchi-puram, perhaps Chittaur in South Ararat district and Perukunan in Arantapur district. These, with Dhu, are known as *Chatuh sthānāni*. There are *mathas* at these four places. They also claim to have a seat at Shōlāpur.

The Digambaras profess to differ from the Svētāmbaras on the following points —

1. Their statues of the Tīrthankaras are always represented as nude (*nirasthra*) whereas the Svētāmbaras represent theirs as clothed and decorate them with crowns and ornaments.

2. As stated by Col Colin Mackenzie (*Asiat. Res.* Vol. IX, pp. 247 f.) the Digambaras observe sixteen ceremonials — *śāntakarman*, which are enumerated as — (1) *Ārghya* or consecration of marriage, (2) *Pūṣṭakāra*, — the rite in the third month of pregnancy, for male progeny, (3) *Simantakarman*, defined by Mackenzie as adorning a married woman's head with flowers when she is six months gone with child or in the seventh month: the Brāhmanical *Simantōnayanam*, — the parting or dividing of the hair is observed by women in the fourth, sixth or eighth month, (4) *Jalakarmān* or horoscope and birth ceremony, (5) *Nāmakarana*, — the naming of a new born child, (6) *Ānnaprasāda*, — when, at six months of age, or over a child is first fed with other sustenance than milk, (7) *Chantakarman* or *Ārdhpanayanam*, — the ceremony of tonsure, (8) *Upanayanam* or initiation between five and nine years of age, when the sacred thread is assumed. Of the next five, I have failed to find any explanation, and must leave them for further investigation by those who have opportunity. They are — (9) *Prājāpatya*, (10) *Saunhya*, (11) *Ānāyā*, (12) *Ānāyā*, and (13) *Gītana*, — the giving of a cow in charity (?). Mackenzie gives *Śāntāhṛtā* — the ceremony observed by young boys at the age of 5 years 5 months and 5 days, when they begin to read the sacred books — possibly this is one of these rites under a different name. The remaining three are — (14) *Samāvartana*, the reception of a student on the completion of his studies under a teacher, (15) *Urat* or marriage; and (16) *Antyakarman* or *Pitrukarman*, — the funeral rites. These rites, it may be observed, agree generally with the twelve *samskāras* or *karmas* of the Brāhmanas, but among them the *Prājāpatya* ceremony does not seem to be included, whilst they enumerate others.<sup>2</sup>

3. The Digambaras bathe their images with abundance of water, but the Svētāmbaras use very little.

4. The Svētāmbaras are extremely careful of all animal life, whilst the Digambaras are only moderately so.

<sup>2</sup> *Conf. Asiat. Researches*, Vol. IX, pp. 247 f.



5. The Digambaras bathe and worship their images during the night, but the Svētāmbaras do not even light lamps in their temples, much less do they bathe or worship the images, lest in so doing they might thereby kill, or indirectly cause the death of, any living thing, for to do so during the night they regard as a great sin.

6. The Digambaras wash their images with the *pañcāmṛita*, but the others do not.

7. The Digambaras make their prayers after the usual Hindu fashion, the members of the other sect close their mouths or tie a cloth over their lips.

8. The Digambaras paint on their foreheads their caste-marks, but the Svētāmbaras do not.

#### Yakshas and Yakshinis.

Among the Digambara Jains in the Kanarese districts in Southern India, there appear to be differences in the iconography, especially of the attendant Yakshas and goddesses (Yakshinis) compared with that of the Svētāmbaras as detailed by Hemacandra.

Through the kindness of Mr. Alexander Rea, of the Archaeological Survey in Southern India, I have obtained the following details regarding these *dharmas*, with careful representations of them which are reproduced on the accompanying plates and form a fresh addition to our knowledge of Digambara iconography.<sup>4</sup>

The Yakshas and Yakshinis as well as the Jinas have each a *dhādhana* or *chihna* they are as follows:—

1. Rishabha (Pl. I. 1) has for Yaksha Gōmukha, with the head of an ox, four-armed, and having a bull as his *dhādhana* or cognizance and for Yakshini Chakrēsvari, with sixteen arms, and Garuda as cognizance. The Svētāmbaras call Rishabha's second son Bahubali, the Digambaras call him Gōmatēsvara-Svami, and worship him equally with the Tīrtṥakaras (Plate I, fig. 1).

2. Ajita has Mahiyaksha, eight-armed, with weapons, and an elephant as cognizance, and Rōhini as Yakshini, four-armed with a seat or stool as emblem (fig. 2). With the Svētāmbaras the Yakshini is Ajitabālā.

3. Sambhava's Yaksha is Trimukha, — six-armed, with weapons, and a peacock as symbol, his Yakshini is Prayāpti, also six-armed, and having the *hansa* or duck for *dhādhana* (fig. 3). Svētāmbaras Durvuti is the Yakshini.

4. Abhinandana has Yakshēsvara, — four-armed, with an elephant as cognizance and Vajrēśvara as Yakshini, — four-armed, and also with the *hansa* as her characteristic.

5. Samati (Pl. I. 5) who is represented with a wheel or circle as *chihna*, instead of the red goose or the curlew, as with the Svētāmbaras, has Tumbura, four-armed and holding up two snakes, with Garuda as his cognizance, and Parushadatta as Yakshini, — four-armed, with elephant as symbol.

6. Padmaprabha (Pl. I. 6)<sup>5</sup> has a lotus-bud as characteristic; Kṛatva as Yaksha, — four-handed and having a bull as sign, and Manovēga or Manogupti, also four-handed with sword and shako, and a horse as cognizance, with the Svētāmbaras, it is Syama.

7. Supāriva's image (Pl. II. 7) differs from other Tīrtṥakaras in having five snake-hoods over his head and under the usual triple crown. His Yaksha is Varānana with *trishula* and red, having a lion as his characteristic, and the Śasanadēvi is Kṛati, four-armed, with *trishula* and bell (?), her *chihna* or cognizance being the Nandi or bull. The Svētāmbaras name them Mātāṅga and Sāntā.

\* Plates I. & II. The figures of the Jinas themselves, being all alike, are omitted to economize space.

† Erratum on the plate, for Samatī the read Padmaprabha.



8. **Chandraprabha** has *Syama* or *Vijaya* as *Yaksha*, four armed, with the *hamsa* as attribute, and *Jyotsnā* as *Yakshini*, with eight arms bearing weapons and two snakes and flames issuing from her *mukhāntar* (*lūchhāntar* in the bud). The other sect call her *Bhupatī*.

9. **Pushpadanta**, among the *Digambaras*, has a crab (*kirkita*) as cognizance. Instead of the *mahārati*. His attendant *Yaksha* is *Ajita*, — four-armed, with rosary, spear and fruit, having a tortoise as *anubhāna*, and *Māmakā* (or *Ajita*) as *Yakshini*, four-armed, with conch and a fruit, but without cognizance. The *Svêtāmbaras* name her *Dutakā*.

10. **Sitala** has a tree (*Svetrikāka*) as emblem of the *śraddhā* figure as the *lūchhāna* *Indrasvara* in his *Yaksha*, with four heads and eight arms — six bearing symbols and with the two hands held for cognizance, and *Manav* (Svet. *Asoka*), as his *Yakshini* — four-armed holding rosary and fish, but without characteristic.

11. **Brôhmar** has a deer as *lūchhāna* in place of the *Svêtāmbara* *śraddhā* figure, — four armed with *trishula* and rod, and the *Nakula* as his *Yaksha*, and *Gaur* — also four armed, having a rod and rod, with the *Nakula* at her feet. Each of these attendants has a crescent attached to the outer side of the crown. The *Svêtāmbaras* name them *Yakshat* and *Mānvi*.

12. **Vâsupajya** has for his own attribute a snake, instead of a cow as with the *Svêtāmbaras*. His *Yaksha* is *Kāman*, with three heads and six hands holding a spear and disc, and the front left hand open with the palm presented and with the peacock as attribute, *Gaurī* (Svet. *Chāpa*) is his *Yakshini* with four hands, holding a rod and two objects like mirrors, with a snake as her cognizance.

13. **Vimala** has *Shānmukha* or *Kuṭṭikēya* for *Yaksha* (P. 11, 12), with six pairs of hands, as a long snake — four objects (two on the hip, the front right hand, as in almost every case in the *Śraddhā* figure) and the left as usual closed. He is eight of hands to have only six heads, but in the draftsmen has (perhaps by mistake) given him seven. His attribute is a cock. The *Yakshini* is *Vāratyā* or *Vāratī* with four hands holding two snakes, and with a spear placed at the hip and passing behind the head to the *parada* attitude. Her cognizance is a serpent.

14. **Ananta** has *Pāvan* as *Yaksha* (P. 13, 14), — three-headed and with six arms — four holding a staff and two weapons passing behind the two front arms which are in the usual *mudrā*. His attribute is a crocodile. The *Yakshini* is *Anantamati*, with four heads, holding dart and crook and with the *hamsa* as cognizance, the *Svêtāmbara* *Yakshini* is *Asoka*.

15. **Dharma** has *Kāman* as attendant, with three heads and six hands with rosary, spear, rod, *mukhāntar* &c., — his attribute is a lion. The *Yaksha* is *Mānvi* — four armed, with ink or spear, hook &c., and a lion as *lūchhāna*. *Svêtāmbara* — *Kāndarpa*.

16. **Santi** has a tortoise for his symbol, instead of the antelope as with the *Svêtāmbaras*. His attendants are *Kāmpurashā*, figure of a man with four heads two holding symbols and the other two in the usual attitude. His *lūchhāna* is a bull. The *Yakshini* is *Mānvi* also four-armed, — holding a dart in the upper right hand. Her attribute is a peacock. The *Svêtāmbaras* name them *Gaurā* and *Nirvāl*.

17. **Kunthu** is attended by *Gaurāharva*, — four-armed, with two snakes, spear and crook and a deer as attribute, with *Vijaya* or *Jyoti* as *Yakshini* a sword and two discuses (&c.) with a peacock as *anubhāna*. The *Svêtāmbara* *Yakshini* is named *Bān*.

18. **Ara** is represented as having a deer for his attribute. With the other sect it is the *Nāgavarta* diagram. His *Yaksha* is *Kāman* having six heads and as many pairs of hands, — one pair lying on his hip, and his attribute is a peacock. The female attendant is *Ajita*, — four-armed holding up two snakes and another object, with the *hamsa* as symbol. With the *Svêtāmbaras* these are *Yakshat* and *Dhātī*.

19. **Malī** has as symbol a *kalasa* or water-pot. His *Yaksha* is *Kulēra*, with four heads and eight arms, holding sword, dart, &c., with an elephant as cognizance, and *Apārā*, *tā* is



the Yakshini, with four hands holding a sword and a shield, and she again has the *Amrita* as cognizance; with the Svētāmbaras she is called *Damranapriyā*.

20. *Munisuvrata* has for attendants — *Vasana*, with seven heads and four hands, but without cognizance, and *Balaraspa*, with four arms, holding sword and shield and with a serpent as her *dhundhana* or cognizance. Svētāmbara — *Naradatta*.

21. *Nimi* or *Nami* has a lotus bud (*ullasa*) as symbol, *Barikuti*, his Yaksha, has four heads and as many pairs of hands holding weapons, and the bud as *dhundhana* and (*harsa*), his Yakshini, has four hands having rosary, rod and sword, and the *orecedha* as cognizance (Pl. III. 21). Svētāmbara — *Gandhārī*.

22. *Nāmi* has *Sarvāhva*, with a torret or small temple for symbol (Pl. IV. 22) — he has three heads and as many pairs of hands, the Yakshini or *Kushtamāli*, — four-armed, with two children in her lap and a lion as cognizance. She is the only attendant who has not the front right hand in the *paradehanta* attitude. The Svētāmbaras name two as *Gomedha* and *Ambedhā*.

23. *Pārsva* is represented (Pl. IV. 23) with seven snake-hoods over his head, and has 17 attendants — *Parvanyaksha* as his Yaksha, — four-headed, with a snake in each upper hand and a tortoise as symbol, and *Padmavati* is the Yakshini, also with four hands, and the *Amrita* cognizance. Both attendants have five snake-hoods (*śaṅkhā*) over their heads.

24. *Vardhamāna* is attended by *Mātanga* as Yaksha (Pl. V. 24), whose two upper (or back) hands are applied to the sides of his *mukuta* or crown, and his *dhundhana* is an elephant, the Yakshini is *Siddhaviśālā* (or *Siddhaviśā*) with only two hands, and her cognizance is the *Amrita*.

All the figures of Tirthankaras have a triple umbrella or turn over their heads, and are adorned by yakṣas (Pl. I. 1-3), with the exception of the *Amrita* over *Siddhaviśālā* and *Parvatasana* (Pl. I. 1 and IV. 24) — all being naked and the right hand and over the left in the *Amrita* with the *Amrita* naked. All the Yakshas and Yakshinis have similar high tapering head-dresses. The Yakshas are naked to the waist, the Yakshinis are more fully clothed and all sit in the *Padmasana*, or with one foot lower than the right of the Yaksha and the left of the female — the other tucked up in front — all hold the front right hand up before the breast open with the palm outward (*paradehanta*), the corresponding left is also held up, bowed, erect, in the last pair, where the hands are open and the fingers hang down. *Siddhaviśālā* alone has only two hands.

It may be noted that eighteen out of the twenty-four Yakshas are the same with the Digambara and Svētāmbara sects — and the 4th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 18th and 22nd may have different names for the same attendants. In the case of the Yakshinis, however, the agreements are few, and whilst the Digambara series embraces most of the sixteen Yakshinis, the Svētāmbara set of Yakshinis reaches only about half-a-dozen of them, and about the same number in each series of Yakshinis have the same names. According to the Svētāmbaras the names of the Yakshinis as given by H. M. are *Amrita*, *Amrita*, etc. 23-40 are —

Revati, (2) Prajñā, (3) Vajrasakha, (4) Kāśyapa, (5) *Amrita*, (6) *Naradatta*, (7) Kāśyapa, (8) *Mānasa*, (9) *Gandhārī* or *Gandhārī*, (10) *Sarvāramahavali*, (11) *Munavati*, (12) *Vardhāna*, (13) *Amrita*, (14) *Munavati*, and (15) *Munavati* ka.

#### Brahmanical divinities.

The Jaina pantheon however whether Digambara or Svētāmbara, includes many of the favourite Brahmanical divinities among which *Sarasvatī* is most prominent — she is regarded as a *śikha* or messenger of all the Tirthankaras and is frequently figured in temples and private houses. *Brahmayaksha*, though the special attendant of Śīlā the tenth Jaina, is also represented separately as mounted on horseback, with four hands holding whip, sword and a shield.



Indra is as prominent in Jaina as in Buddhist mythology, if not more so, and with his consort Indrani is frequently figured on the lower portions of the doorways of temples, whilst larger figures of Yakshas and Yakshinis are represented as guards at the entrances of the shrines. The Navagraha or nine planets are frequently represented at the feet of the deities of Jaina images, and Dikpatis, Khetavams, Lokapalas, Yoginis, Jñanadevatas, Hanuman, Vasirava, &c., are also represented about their great temples.

#### Om̐kāra, Hrit̐kāra, &c.

In Śvetāmbara temples as well as in those of the other sect, certain symbolical figures are employed, of which two of the more frequent in Śvetāmbara shrines are represented on Plate IV.

The symbolical *om̐*, as is well known, is regarded by Brāhmins as symbolical of their Trīad, and is analysed into *a* (vishva) + *u* (bhuvā) + *m̐* (brahman). The Jains separate it into five elements, viz. *a* + *i* + *e* + *o* + *m̐*, which form the initials of their five sacred orders, (1) *śekh*, (2) *Aharya*, (3) *Siddha*, *Asarira* or *Aparakhyata*, (4) *Upādhyaya*, and (5) *Muni*. This symbol is often represented in coloured marbles, inserted in panels on the inner walls of the temple mandapas and is known as *Om̐kāra*. The figure (Pl. IV, fig. 1) is not very like the modern written form of the syllable *oh*—it consists of a small circular piece of black marble, representing the *anuvāda*, under which is a crescent of red stone and the letter *o* is represented by a broad vertical line turning to the left into a bar of black marble, with two horizontal lines, the upper red and the lower yellow, running the vertical from the top. In a vertical line, upon these elements are placed five small figures of seated Jains, namely made of rock crystal, to represent the five grades of attainment. Thus on the crescent at the foot of the vertical stroke is the *Muni* (on the red or yellow horizontal bar is the *Upādhyaya*, on the red bar is the *Siddha*, on the yellow bar is a *śekh*, and on the black *anuvāda* is the highest or *Arhat*.

The *Hrit̐kāra* is a similar carved and polished representation of the syllable *hrit̐* in coloured stones (Pl. IV, fig. 2). The *anuvāda* is black, the lunule under it is white, the upper horizontal bar is red, the middle red stroke on the right side is blue, and the rest of the symbol is yellow. On this is represented the twenty-four *Jinas* by very small figures. The two black ones, *Munisvāra* and *Nandi* are placed in the black *anuvāda*, the two white, *Chandrapāda* and *Jñānabala*, on the white crescent, the two red, *Parasara* and *Parasara* are placed on the red upper horizontal bar, the blue *Muni* and *Parasara* are placed on the blue red stroke—one on each side the end of the red upper bar and the other opposite the lower return of the *h*. The rest of the *Jinas* were all golden or yellow coloured and their figures are disposed thus: six on the upper horizontal, one of the left or *h*, one at the turn downwards, six on the lower horizontal, one on the down-turned point of the *o* on the vertical stroke of the *h*, and one on the horizontal part of the same. Thus the twenty-four *Tirthakaras* are represented by the colours of the materials to which they are respectively affixed.

The *Siddhachakra* is a square brass plate found in the shrines. It has a sort of spout in front to allow water to run off; the centre is carved as a *padma*—flower-shaped, with a central *padma*. In the centre and in four of the alternate petals are small images as in the *Om̐kāra*: the centre is occupied by the *Arhat*, the back petal by the *Siddha* image, the right hand by the *Upādhyaya*, the left by the *Siddha* *Muni*, and the front, next to the spout, by the *Upādhyaya*. The other four places in the circle are filled thus: on the left of the *Siddha* is *Tapas* (ascetic practice), on the right *Sevaka* (worship), on the left of the *Upādhyaya* is *haritra* (conduct), and on the right *Jñāna* (knowledge).

The *Pañchatirtha* is a plate of metal or stone with five images upon it, as on the *Om̐kāra*; and the *Chaturvarga* is a slab, usually of marble carved with representations of the twenty-four *Tirthakaras*.

\* Conf. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 274.

\* In the two figures on Plate IV the colours are represented as in heraldry.





Gaurikha

1. Disambhadra

Chakrasen



2. Mahalakshmi

Koti

3. Tirthankara

Prasanna



4. Vajraputra

Vajrasambhava

5. Tirthankara

6. Shakti



Kusuma

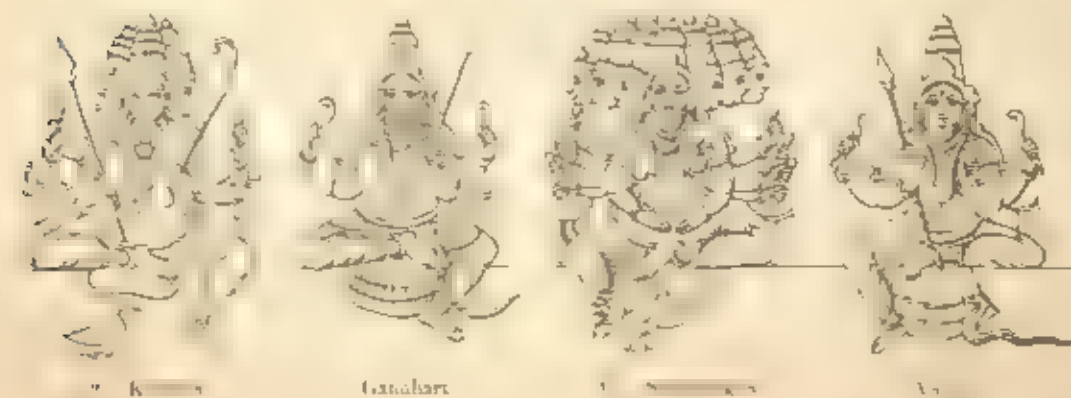
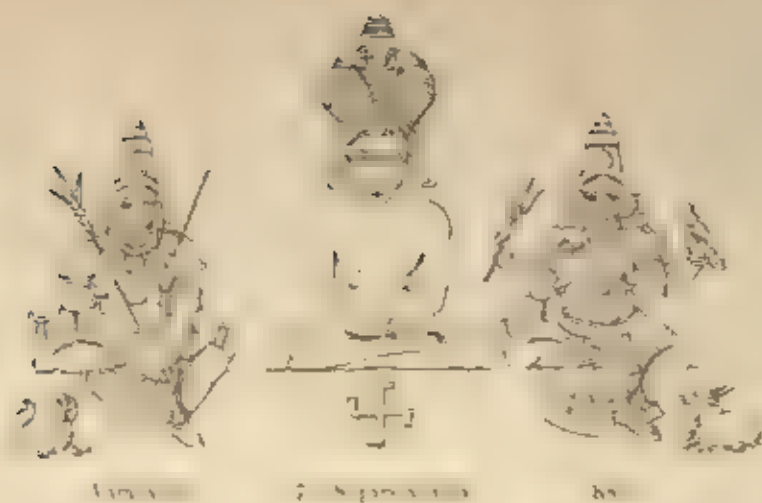
7. Samantabhadra

Mahavijaya

















14. Palsia



15. Vantimati



16. Kumbhara



17. Mraas



18. Karpuresa



19. Mahama



20. Gandarva



21. Vajra



22. Kunda



23. Vata



24. K. born



25. Aparita



26. Vajra



27. Harita



28. Borha

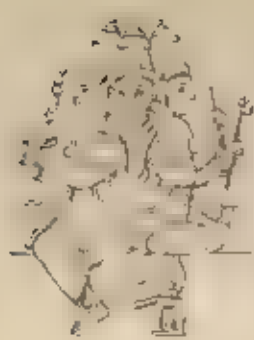


29. Chaitra









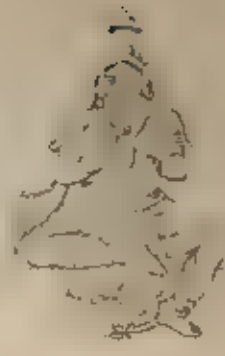
22. Varada



23. Varada



24. Varada



25. Varada



26. Varada



27. Varada



28. Varada



29. Varada



30. Varada



31. Varada



32. Varada







SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART

*(Continued from p. 375.)*

## DUNGAREE.

Fol. 86. The Sick party is carried downe to y<sup>e</sup> River Side in a hammaker, or course piece of Dungaree Cloth.

See Yule, *s. v.* Dungaree, a coarse cotton cloth. *N. and E.* p. 22 has for 3rd June 1680. "Dungarees and Market Cloths every 16 patna [pay 1 salam'] ]

## DURIAN.

Fol. 150. They have Severall Sorts of very good fruit in the Countrey (Queda) . . . . Duryana.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achen] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites Namely Duryana.

See Yule, *s. v.* Durian. [A large fruit with an offensive odour reported from all time by travellers to Indo-China.]

## EAGLE WOOD.

Fol. 146. never faileth to returne y<sup>e</sup> full Value (of what he received) in Agala wood . . . . they have the retaliation put to theire choice whether Agala or Elephants.

See Yule, *s. v.* Eagle wood. The quotation in the text is a good one. *Vide ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 196; Vol. XXIX. p. 235.

## ELACHES.

Fol. 158. from Bengala . . . . Elaches.

A silk cloth. See Yule, *s. v.* Piece-goods. See, also, Yule, *s. v.* Alleja probably the same stuff is meant, the term in the text representing the vernacular *elacha*.

## ENNORE.

Fol. 27. One of these Mallabars (an inhabitant of Enore) about 11 English miles North ward of fort St George.

Not in Yule. [*N. and E.* p. 17 for 10th May 1680 "The Agent, &c., went to take the air at Enoor."] ]

## EUROPE.

Fol. 49. when laid w<sup>th</sup> Europe tarra prove most Serviceable.

See Yule, *s. v.* Europe, for European. [The quotation is earlier than any of Yule's. *N. and E.* p. 6 quotes Streynsham Master's Commission to Joan Pereira de Faria as Envoy to the King of Barma and Pegu, 23rd February 1680, and has "Italyast for our Europe shops." ]

## FAKEER.

Fol. 13. His retinue were as followeth . . . . 6000 naked fackcers.

Fol. 14. As for y<sup>e</sup> before mentioned people called fackcers, they are pilgrims but very Strange Ones.

Fol. 40. Sent y<sup>e</sup> fackceere out of dores . . . . The fackceere Sat without y<sup>e</sup> Street dore.

See Yule, *s. v.* Fakcer [The writer uses it in the sense of a *Hindu* ascetic.] ]



## PANAM.

Fol. 73. Fort St George . . . Panam of gold at 94 to 100 . . . Per unit  
 24 ~~panama~~ ~~make~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~pay~~ ~~er~~ ~~in~~ ~~to~~ ~~06~~ . . . ~~to~~ ~~1~~ ~~panam~~ . . . The panam  
 100 1 0 . . . ~~to~~ ~~to~~ ~~N~~ ~~ve~~ ~~d~~ ~~and~~ ~~receder~~ . . . There Panam is worth 10 to 100  
 See Yac. & c. Panam. (A small gold and also silver coin in S India. The text is  
 valuable for values.)

## FIRINGHER.

Fol. 11. A Story of a frangues.

Fol. 64. The Ankar Kuge Mada a parcell of (zylyara viz) Gallya, well mannd w<sup>th</sup>  
 Amokaners and Frangues.

Fol. 83. I go to an well Substanc<sup>e</sup> . . . there are 100 less than 20000 Frangues  
 of all Sorts . . . King . . . of ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . of them is about near 100000.

See Yac. & c. Frangues. . . valuable, as the Portugues or Portu-  
 gues in ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . by the ~~text~~ . . . Vol. XXX p. 508.

## FIRMAN.

Fol. 61. ~~Emir~~ ~~John~~ . . . hath now y<sup>e</sup> Governmt of Bengala Orissa and Patana firm y<sup>e</sup> by  
 Phyrmand Setted Upon him.

Fol. 65. ~~Emir~~ ~~John~~ . . . Succeeded his Father (according to Phyrmand)

Fol. 66. For now ~~Emir~~ ~~John~~ they are now y<sup>e</sup> Prince and Court Vicer whom, and our fac-  
 tories in Bengala and Patana hold their Fhirmano.

Fol. 71. ~~Emir~~ ~~John~~ they got their Phyrmano renewed and signed . . . granted  
 his Phyrmano to be renewed

Fol. 72. they request their Phyrmano . . . would have a Considerable reward in  
 ready Cash before he would renew there Old Phyrmano.

Fol. 73. what his ancestors first, gave by Phyrmano . . . And hath given  
 y<sup>e</sup> English and Dutch large Phyrmanos

Fol. 112. y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup> was for ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . that he readily granted w<sup>th</sup> Phyrmanos . . . y<sup>e</sup>  
 Person . . . ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . but I ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . please  
 to have ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . and many Other rewards I directly bestowed Upon the  
 Doctor (Gathered P. ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ . . . One ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ [Emir John] very rare amongst y<sup>e</sup>  
 Mahometans).

Fol. 112. [He] [Emir] now as yet none are stopped off by any Merchant that hath not y<sup>e</sup>  
 King of ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ Phyrmano granted him . . . if not they are customs free.

Fol. 135. y<sup>e</sup> most important of w<sup>th</sup> is whether we have y<sup>e</sup> King of ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~where~~ Phyrmano  
 to trade there or no.

See Yac. & c. Firman. (The quotations are valuable as showing the use of the word  
 for Royal Letters Patent or Charters.)

## FORT St GEORGE.

Fol. 2. The ~~beginning~~ of my residence or first Part of my Arrival in India Oriental  
 was at Fort St George an English Garrison Upon y<sup>e</sup> Coast of Uloromnach.

Fol. 8. men Women and Children that live under St George's flaggs [at Madras]

Fol. 31. Our Fort (and towne) of St George's, hath been often Molested, by Some of  
 y<sup>e</sup> Inland Native Forces.



Fol. 32. Anna Dom 1672 I stroke downe to Kettapolee in a journey I tooke Overland from S<sup>t</sup> Georg's to Metchlipatam.

Not a Yale [It means the town and fort of Madras. Madras is still in official documents "Fort S<sup>t</sup> George."]

## GALLE, POINT DE.

Fol. 33. Such as they in Point de Gala or Quela doe bringe them on board On

Fol. 77. They are bought [from Ceylone] from y<sup>e</sup> Dutch . . . in Gala.

See Yale, s. v. Galle, Point de. [The quotations are valuable for the history of this obscure word.]

## GALLEYAT.

Fol. 64. the Arackan Kings sende a parcel of Gyllyars viz<sup>t</sup> Gallys well fitted and manned w<sup>th</sup> Arackaners and frangues.

Fol. 91. y<sup>e</sup> Natives much dresange to dwell there beinge numerous of the Arackaners w<sup>th</sup> theire Gyllyars.

See Yale, s. v. Galient. The text is exceedingly interesting for the history of the word and proves its identity with the galley and also with the Bengali form *galia*. See ante Vol. XXIX. p. 408.]

## GANGOS.

Fol. 61. first for y<sup>e</sup> great Riuer of Gangos and y<sup>e</sup> many large and faire arms thereof

Fol. 64. Ilee flow to a small Vnidge Seated upon the banks of Gangos.

Fol. 68. y<sup>e</sup> water of y<sup>e</sup> Riuer [of Dacca] beinge an arme of the Gangos is Extraordinary good.

Fol. 72. up y<sup>e</sup> Riuer of Gangos as high as Dacca.

Fol. 74. The Kingdome of Bengala . . . is replenished with many faire and pleasant Riuers, the most famous and much renowned of w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> great Riuer Gangos.

Fol. 75. the great riuer . . . as high as South Tartaria, w<sup>ch</sup> is mountainous and raineth there for a quarter of a yeare together and runneth downe y<sup>e</sup> Gangos and arms thereof

Fol. 76. But most of the trouble might easily have been avoided if our Gangos Pilot had been any way ingenious.

Fol. 80. many of them [Orissas] resort to the Creeks and Rivulets at or about y<sup>e</sup> Entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Gangos.

Fol. 87. theire Soules Shall enter into the bodies of good creatures (in Paradise) that dye with theire houses well filled w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> holy water of the Gangos or a y of y<sup>e</sup> arms thereof, or y<sup>e</sup> dye upon the banks thereof, for they accept y<sup>e</sup> muddie to be Sanctified as well as y<sup>e</sup> Water.

Fol. 87. The Riuer Gangos (and it's branches) is held in sue great adoration by these ignorant heathens, that they make many Sacrifices thereto.

Fol. 91. certain it is y<sup>e</sup> th is y<sup>e</sup> great Riuer Gangos y<sup>e</sup> Alexander y<sup>e</sup> great Sailed downe in time of his great conquests in Asia &c :

Fol. 92. formerly, yes not many years agoe. y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants on y<sup>e</sup> Northerne parts of Bengala, trained up their Children . . . Sent them upon trauals to discover y<sup>e</sup> great Gangos : to find out the garden of Eden (by order of theire Kings)



Fol. 93. y<sup>e</sup> water and mudon of y<sup>e</sup> Ganges Sent from them [Brachmans] w<sup>th</sup> their Choppe or Sea v<sup>th</sup>pon it is accounted Sacred. Even soe farre as Persia . . . wee had Several Mortuarian Jars on board, some full of water Others of Madde of y<sup>e</sup> River Ganges, sent as presents to y<sup>e</sup> great Merchants of y<sup>e</sup> Bayne Coast (in this Kingdome [Bengalia, y.])

Not a Yule. [The quotations give the several uses of the word in the 17th century, viz., for the Hugli River, any large mouth of the Ganges in the Gangetic Delta, the Ganges Proper.]

## GANTON.

Fol. 152. [In Qanda] The re Weigl to and measures are . . . y<sup>e</sup> Gantange One Gantange cont<sup>ns</sup> Exactly 2 Ashin Bamboos.

See Yule, s. v. Ganton.

## GANZA.

Fol. 84. [Gong] made of fine Gana of Pegu. viz<sup>t</sup> a very good Sort of bell metal.

Fol. 158. From Pegu . . . Gana.

See Yule, s. v. Gansa: bell-metal.

## GARCO.

Fol. 56. they transport [from the Coast of Langkat] above 10000 Gorse of grain yearly.

See Yule, s. v. Garco. [A large grain measure in the Madras Presidency anything up to 4 tons and more. See *Asia* Vol. XXX p. 408, article on 'Tamb.' *N and A.* has p. 40 for 2nd Dec 1684. 'Upon application from Langapa for a garco of wheat upon payment, it is resolved to supply it gratis.']

## GENTILE—GENTOO.

Fol. 3. The Nation inhabits [at Fort St George's] are for y<sup>e</sup> most part Gentiles (commonly called Gentues).

Fol. 18. The Gentues account themselves a very antient people . . . They are indeed y<sup>e</sup> Antient Gentiles as I imagine of the Seed of those who revolted from Moses, forgetting God to worship a Molten Calf. . . . There is another Sort of these Idolaters who are accounted to be of a higher Cast (then y<sup>e</sup> Gentues be)

Fol. 24. gave me some white and yellow flowers she took from her haire of her head that was beautifully adorned after y<sup>e</sup> Gentue fashion.

Fol. 26. but these Naturall Malabars y<sup>e</sup> inhabit Upon y<sup>e</sup> Malabar Coast . . . of noe gentile Occupat<sup>ns</sup>, neither are they admitted into y<sup>e</sup> Society of y<sup>e</sup> Banjans or Gentues Either in their houses or Pagods.

Fol. 69. y<sup>e</sup> richest of Gentues and Banjan Merchants, of w<sup>th</sup> this Part of y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome hath great numbers.

Fol. 70. he sent for most rich Merchants of Gentues and Banjans.

See Yule, s. v. Gentoo. [The quotations are valuable for showing that Gentile meant a Gentoo and Gentoo a low-caste Hindu. *N and A* p. 39 for 2nd Nov 1684 has "the Mutineers threaten to kill the Gentue Oxmen if they bring goods or provisions into the Town, whereupon the merchants undertake to obtain supplies by means of the left handed Oxmen" Here again we seem to have Gentue as a low-caste (Parian, Hindu) in contradistinction to the left-handed or arizan castes. The curious sectarian division in Hinduism known as the right and left hand castes of South India should certainly have found a place in Yule, as these terms are constantly mentioned in old books. They include a great number of castes following some the Vaishnava and some the Saiva faith in their



**SHAKTI or Female deities.** Roughly the right-hand castes are agriculturists and the left-hand are artisans. Laxeters and small traders are found sprinkled about both classes.]

## GHURRY

*Fol. 83.* And wher Sinketh againe he Striketh 1 Vize One **groo** and soe Onward 2 v z 3 groo . . . then 3 v z 3 groo . . . one Sleepeth wher y<sup>e</sup> Other waketh and tendeth y<sup>e</sup> **Groo**.

See Yule, *supra*, s. v. Gherry. [Originally there was a water-clock, then the gong on which the tube was struck, then the unit of time itself, i. e., an hour of 24 minutes or one sixtieth of a week day, then the European hour of 60 minutes, then the clock or watch indicating European time. Here it means the Indian hour of 24 minutes or also the water-clock and its gong.]

## GINGERLY.

*Fol. 8.* y<sup>e</sup> Coast of Gingalee.

*Fol. 47.* Many English Merchants and Others have yearly Shippes at 1 Vessels must here [Narapatt], beinge y<sup>e</sup> many Commodities Port on this or y<sup>e</sup> next Coast adjoyninge thereto vizt **Gingalee**.

*Fol. 56.* The Coast called **Gingalee** is Certainly y<sup>e</sup> most pleasant and Commodious Sea Coast that India affordeth, pleasant in many respects, beinge a most excellent champion [Narapatt] land . . . . It beginneth at Point or Cape Goodawares, the Entrance or South Side of y<sup>e</sup> Bay Coromandel y<sup>e</sup> Cape lyeth in Latit<sup>ude</sup> 10 and reacheth or Extendeth it Selfe Soe farre as to y<sup>e</sup> Pagod Jett Gerant.

*Fol. 134.* yett butter and Oyle from **Gingalee** or **Bengala**.

See Yule, *supra*, s. v. Gingerly with very inadequate note. [The text shows clearly that the term meant the Coast between the "Coromandel" and "Orissa" Coasts, i. e., between the Godavari estuary and the great Pagoda. It was also more commonly known to mariners as the Coromandel Coast. The above are the only quotations known to me illustrating the term. See *ante*, Vol. XXX, p. 245.]

## GINGHAM.

*Fol. 101.* from Hugly and Ballasore . . . **Ginghams**.

See Yule, *supra*, s. v. Gingham an Indian cotton cloth. [N and E. p. 18 for 13th April 1880 has "ginghams"; and p. 24 for 19th June 1880 "ginghams, white; gingham brown." See *ante*, Vol. XXIX, p. 389.]

## GOA.

*Fol. 144.* A Portuguese Shipp bound from **Goa** to Macao in China.

See Yule *supra*, s. v. Goa.

## GODAVERY.

*Fol. 2.* It [the Choromandel Coast] Extendeth it Selfe to point **Goodawares** on y<sup>e</sup> South Side of y<sup>e</sup> bay **Corango**.

*Fol. 56.* Point or Cape **Goodawares** the Entrance or South Side of y<sup>e</sup> bay **Corango**.

See Yule, *supra*, s. v. Godavery. See also *ante*, Vol. XXX, p. 351 l. 1, p. 392.

## GOLCONDAH.

*Fol. 50.* I shall Speake Something of the Metropolitane City **Golcondah** . . . . The faire and beautifull City **Golcondah** is an inland one and the Metropolitane of y<sup>e</sup> Kingdom . . . . y<sup>e</sup> Whole is called y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of **Golcondah**.

*Fol. 51.* This Kingdome . . . hath y<sup>e</sup> Exportment of y<sup>e</sup> most plenty of rich Diamonds in y<sup>e</sup> Universe about 100 miles from **Golcondah** y<sup>e</sup> Earth doth most abound the new th



Fol. 57. As for the idolatrous way of worship, they Follow it as fully as in any Other place in y<sup>e</sup> Empire of the Grand Mogul (or territories of Golcondah).

Not in Yule but also it have been, as the Jannons did not come from Golcondah, as above correctly explained.

## GOMBRON.

Fol. 93. At our arrivall in Gombroons.

See Yule, s. v. Gombroon the old name of Bandar Abbas in the Persian Gulf.

## GONG.

Fol. 84. They Strike net w<sup>th</sup> or w<sup>th</sup> a net (or the Mahometans Vase name) but it is a round flat of one foot and a half or two foot over (Sides are very much larger) . . . . It is large . . . . a Swinge through a hole in one Side thereof See as to take it a free Swinge and is called a Gongo: they stretch it out w<sup>th</sup> a small Mount of wood and so hath a most excellent Sound and Echo.

Fol. 134. Heav y<sup>e</sup> Gungo for all people (that please) to buy our goods, before w<sup>ch</sup> they dare not buy any.

Fol. 155. to See y<sup>e</sup> Gungo beaten round the City, w<sup>th</sup> a loud and Severe Proclamation.

Fol. 158. from China . . . . Gungo.

See Yule, s. v. Gong.

## GOOZERAT

Fol. 63. Hee Sent . . . . his youngest Son Morat Bakche into Gussaratt.

Fol. 94. rupees . . . . . Oyned in y<sup>e</sup> Mint at Decca: & are of y<sup>e</sup> Same Value of those in Gussaratt or Golcondah.

See Yule, s. v. Gozerat, but his quotation is stop at 1534.

## GRAM.

Fol. 56. Very delicate good Lard [Gragale Coast] afford us y<sup>e</sup> greatest plenty of Gram (v<sup>s</sup>) . . . . . Several Sorts of gramme.

Fol. 61. [Bengala] affordingo great plenty of . . . . gramme.

Fol. 103. If wee have a quantitie of coarse goods On board vs: . . . . gramme.

See Yule, s. v. Gram, whose earliest quotation is 1702.

## GUALA.

Fol. 43. they are called Gualas and will carry one 40 m<sup>l</sup> apt them w<sup>th</sup> not great difficulty

Not in Yule [The word in the text does not mean the well known gwalla (garala, or cow keeper of India) domestic economy but the *karavan* or dandy-bearer, of the old days in Madras]

## GUDDORAH.

Fol. 85. This towne [Metchipatam] is famous also for a bridge . . . . w<sup>ch</sup> he lge reacheth from y<sup>e</sup> great gate of Metchipatam over to Guddorah w<sup>ch</sup> is one English mile in length and of a Considerable breadth. and is called by the Name of Guddorah bridge.

Fol. 39. Most Eminent Men that inhabit Metchipatam and Guddorah are Mahometans.

Fol. 42. a more memorable fight St Edward Winter had w<sup>th</sup> above 300 of them [Rebut s. v. Guddorah bridge when he and his Trumpeter saved y<sup>e</sup> way and arose Several of them over y<sup>e</sup> bridge to y<sup>e</sup> Great Astonishment of all y<sup>e</sup> Natives and some of that worthy Knight.

Not in Yule but see Yule's quotation from Erber 1674, s. v. Patna, where the place turns upon Guddore. It is precisely part of the town of Masnupatam. Sir Edward Winter's exploit is pictured on his monument in Battersea Church.

(To be continued.)



## SUBHASHITAMALIKA.

*Translated from German Poets.*

BY PROFESSOR O. CAPPELLER, Ph.D., JENA.

*(Concluded from p. 444.)*

## Error and Truth

96

O glücklich wer noch hoffen kann  
Aus diesem Meer des Irrthums aufzutauchen !  
Was man nicht hat, das eben brauchte man,  
Und was man hat, kann man nicht brauchen.

GOETHE.

धन्यो यमाशा न जहाति देहिनं  
प्रनारणे मोहजलस्य वारिधेः ।  
तत्त्वेन यदर्थकरं न वेत्ति त-  
ज्ज्ञानमि यत्तस्य न लभ्यते फलम् ॥

dhanyo yam āśā na jahati dēhinam  
pratāraṇē mōhajalasya vāritūḥ !  
tattvēm yad dhy arthakaram na vēdmi taj  
ānām yat tasya na labhyatē phalam ॥

97

Gefährlich ist den Len zu wecken,  
Vorderlich ist des Tigers Zahn,  
Jedoch das schreckphate der Schrecken  
Das ist der Mensch in seinem Wohn.

SCHILLER.

सुप्तस्य सिंहस्य भयाय बोधनं  
विपन्नये व्याघ्रमुखं विदारितम् ।  
महाभयानां तु भयं महत्तमं  
नगे मतिभ्रान्तिमदेन मोहितः ॥

suptasya sīṅhasya bhayāya bōdhanam  
vipannayē vyāghramukhaṁ vidāritam !  
mahābhayanām tu bhayam mahattamaṁ  
nagē matibhrāntimadēna mōhitaḥ ॥

98

Schlaf - he Wahrheit, ich wecke sie vor dem nützlichen Irrthum.

Wahrheit heilet den Schmerz, den sie vielleicht uns erregt. GOETHE.

वरं नाशकरं सत्यं मोहादर्थकरादपि ।  
सत्याज्ज्ञानं हि यदुःखं तन्प्रायः शाम्यति स्वयम् ॥

varaṁ nāśakaram satyam mōhād arthakarād api !  
satyāj jñānam hi yad duḥkham tat prāyaḥ śāmyati evayam ॥



99

Wenn ich konnte den Weg des Horro,  
Ich ging ihn wahrhaftig gar zu gern;  
Führte man mich in der Wahrheit Haus,  
Bei Gott, ich ging nicht wieder hernus.

GOETHE.

सत्यं यदि जानीयां प्रपद्येय सुखेन तम् ।

न च सत्यगृहे प्राप्य निर्गच्छेय कदाचन ॥

satpatham yadi jāniyāṁ prapadyeya sukhēna tam |  
na cha satyagṛhaṁ prāpya nirgacchēyam kadāchana ||

100

Irthum verlässt uns nie, doch ziehet ein höher Bedürfniss  
Immer den strebenden Geist leis zur Wahrheit hinan.

GOETHE.

मोहान्धकारसंवीतमीहा काचिन्महत्तरा ।

उत्पतन्तं मनोदंसं सत्यं प्रत्युपकर्षति ॥

mōhāndhakārasamvītam ihā kāchīn mahattarā |  
utpatantam manōdamsam satyam praty upakarsati ||

Inner Life.

101

Zierlich Denken und süß Erinnern  
Ist das Leben im tiefsten Innern.

GOETHE.

भावानां वर्तमानानां चिन्तनं च सुपेशलम् ।

स्मृतिसौख्यं च वृत्तानां तदन्तर्हृदि जीवनम् ॥

b. āvanām vartamanānām chintanam cha supēśalam |  
smṛtisaukhyam cha vṛttānām tad antarbṛdī jīvanam ||

102

Das Spec. des Lebens sieht sich heitler an:  
Wenn man den s. wert. Schatz im Herzen tragt.

SCHILLER.

संसारोऽयमसौ अपि रम्यव्यातिभाति मे ।

निधनस्तमहर्तव्यमन्तरात्मनि शेवधिम् ॥

samsārō 'yam asāu | 'pi ramyavāti bhāti me |  
nidhantaṁ tam ahartavyam antarātmāni śevadhīm ||

103

Ich besass es doch einmal,  
Was so köstlich ist ;  
Dass man doch zu seiner Qual  
Nimmer es vergisst !

GOETHE.

ममाप्यासीदसौ पूर्वं निधीनां परमो निधिः ।

तस्य यन्नास्ति विस्मर्तुं संतापः परिजायते ॥

mamāpy āsīd asau pūrvam nidhīnām paramō nidhīḥ |  
tasya yan nāsti vismārtum saṁtāpah parijāyate ||



104

Ist die Zeit auch hingeflogen,  
Die Erinnerung weicht nie;  
Als ein lechter Regenbogen  
Steht auf trüben Wolken sie.

UHLAND.

श्याममेघावलीलीनमिन्द्रायुधमिवोज्ज्वलम् ।  
विषयाणामतीतानां स्मरणं चेतसि स्थितम् ॥  
śyāmaṁēghāvalīlīnaṁ indrayudham ivājjvalam ।  
viśhayāṇāṁ atītānāṁ smaraṇam cētasi sthitam ॥

105

Ihr glücklichen Augen,  
Was je ihr gesehn:  
Es sei wie es wolle,  
Es war doch so schön.

GOETHE.

हे सखायौ विरौम्येष चक्षुषी सफलीकृते ।  
प्रियं स्यादप्रियं वा स्यात्पागभूद्भवतोः सुखम् ॥  
he sakhāyau viraumy eṣha chakṣuṣhī saphalīkṛitē ।  
priyam syād apriyam vā syat pāgabhūdbhavatoḥ sukham ॥

Tranquillity.

106

Die Ruh ist doch das beste  
Auf dieser Erdenwelt,  
Was bleibt uns denn auf Erden,  
Wird uns die Ruh vergällt?  
Die Rose welkt in Schauern,  
Die uns der Frühling giebt;  
Wer haast, ist zu bedauern,  
Und mehr noch fast wer heht.

FONTANE.

शान्तिं मन्ये धनमनुपमं जीविते मानुषाणां  
नाशे तस्याः सकलभुवने शिष्यते नः किमन्यत् ।  
पुष्पं वातैरभिहतमिव म्लायमानं वसन्ते  
यो द्वेषस्थः स सुखविकलः किं पुनर्यः सकामः ॥  
śāntiṁ manye dhanam anupamaṁ jīvitē mānuṣhāṇāṁ  
nāśē tasyāḥ sakalabhuvane śiṣyate naḥ kim anyat ।  
puṣhpam vātair abhihatam iva mlayamānaṁ vasaṁtē  
yō dvēṣasthah sa sukhavikalah kim punar yah sakāmah ॥

107

Die Menschen die nach Ruhe suchen, die finden Ruhe nimmermehr,  
Weil sie die Ruhe, die sie suchen, beständig jagen vor sich her. W. ALT LEE.



ये शान्तिं मृगयन्ते तां न ते विन्दन्ति कर्हिचित् ।

यस्माद्यां मृगयन्ते तां प्रणुदन्ति पदे पदे ॥

ye śāntiṁ mṛgayāntē tāṁ na te vindanti karchicit  
yasmādyāṁ mṛgayāntē tāṁ praṇudanti padē padē ॥

108

Der du von dem Himmel bist,  
Allen Schmerz und Leiden stillest,  
Du, der doppelt elend ist,  
Doppelt mit Erquickung füllest,  
Ach ich bin des Trübens müde,  
Was soll all der Schmerz und Lust ?  
Süßer, heiliger Friede,  
Komm, ach komm in meine Brust !

GOETHE.

दिव्योद्भवे सकलदुःखविनाशयिनि  
द्विस्तापितं द्विरपि या शिशिरिकरोषि ।  
शान्ते प्रिये विश मनो मम दूयमानं  
संसारचक्रपरिवृत्तिमुखासुखेन ॥

divyōdbhavē sakaladuḥkhaṭināśayinī  
dvistāpitaṁ dvirapi yā śiśirīkaroṣi ।  
śāntē priyē viśaṁ mano mama dūyamānaṁ  
saṁsāraśakraparivṛttisukhāśukhēna ॥

Of. Bhartṛī. III. 39.

109

Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh,  
In allen Wipfeln spürest du  
Keinen Hauch,  
Die Vögeln schweigen im Walde.  
Warte nur, balde  
Ruhest du auch.

GOETHE.

अये गिरीणां वितता प्रसन्नता  
शाखासु मन्दो ज्यनिलो न वेपने ।  
कृतं च मौनं विपिने पत्रत्रिभि-  
र्मनः शनैस्त्वामपि शान्तिरेष्यति ॥

ayē girīṇāṁ vitatā prasannatā  
śākhāsu mandō 'py anilō na vēpanē ।  
kṛtāṁ ca maunāṁ vipinē patratribhiḥ  
manaḥ śanaish tvaṁ api śāntir īśhyat. ॥



## Various Objects.

110

Edel sei der Mensch,  
Hilffreich und gut !  
Denn das allein unterscheidet ihn  
Von allen Wesen, die wir kennen.

Goethe.

उदारान्मा मनुष्यः स्यात्परेषां चोपकारकः ।

तावन्नैव हि सर्वेभ्यः प्राणिभ्यो घ्यतिरिच्यते ॥

ndārānmā manushyah syāt parēṣhām chōpakārakah ।

tāvataiva hi sarvēbhyaḥ prāṇibhyō ghyatirichyatē ॥

Cf. Bhāg. Pur. X. 22, 35.

111

Die Stätte, die ein guter Mensch betrat,  
Die ist geweiht für alle Zeiten.

Goethe.

सज्जनस्य सकृत्पूतं पादस्पर्शेन यन्स्थलम् ।

अन्येषां सर्वकालेषु तन्मुखायोपजायते ॥

sajjanasya sakṛt pūtam pādaspārśhena yat sthalaṁ ।

anyēṣhām sarvakālēṣhu tat tannūkhāyōpajāyate ॥

112

Was schänders! du zurück vor Gift ? wie selten stirbt ein Mensch daran  
Und lachst der Wollust sehnlich zu die st und ich mordet was sie kann. W. MILLER.

किं विभेषि विद्यालात इत्यन्ते येन पञ्चपाः ।

भ्यसनानि तु पुण्यानि मारयन्ति सङ्ख्यशः ॥

kiṁ vibhēṣhi vidyālaat ityannte yēna pañchashāḥ ।

byasanāni tu puṇyāni mārayatī saṅkhyashāḥ ॥

113

Wenn gestraucht ist ein Mann,  
Mag er wieder sich erheben ;  
Dem gefallen Weibe kann  
Nichts die Reinheit wiedergeben.

RUCKERT.

स्खलितः पुनरुत्थानुं गन्तुं चेत्सहने पुमान् ।

पतिनां तु स्त्रियं कश्चिन्नोन्थापयितुमस्यलम् ॥

skhalitah punar utthātum gantum chētsahane pumān ।

patinām tu striyaṁ kaśchin nōthāpayitum asy alam ॥

Cf. Chāṇ. 99.

114

Mann mit zugeknöpften Taschen,  
Der thut niemand was so lieb :  
Hand wird nur von Hand gewaschen  
Wenn du nehmen willst, so gieb !

Goethe



हे कदर्य तवादातुर्न कश्चिकुरुते प्रियम् ।  
लिप्समानः स्वयं देहि फलेन फलमादिश ॥

he kadarya tavādātur na kaśchit kurutē priyam ।  
lipsamānaḥ svayaṁ dēhi phalēna phalam ādiśa ॥

115

Von des Lebens Güttern allen  
Ist der Ruhm das Höchste doch;  
Wenn der Leib in Staub zerfallen,  
Lebt der grosse Name noch.

SCHILLER.

सर्वेष्टिह धनेष्वाहुर्यशो धनमनुत्तमम् ।  
भस्मीभूते शरीरेऽपि पुण्या कीर्तिर्न नश्यति ॥

sarvēṣṭiḥ dhanēṣhv āhur yaśō dhanam anuttamam ।  
bhaasmbhūte śarīrē 'pi puṇyā kīrtir na naśyati ॥

Cf. *Kathās*, XXII. 36 ; *Kām. Nīti*, 6.

116

Es soll der Dichter mit dem König gehen,  
Denn beide wandeln auf der Menschheit Höhen.

SCHILLER.

कवी रसिककाव्यस्य राज्ञा संगममर्हति ।  
ब्रजितौ यदुभावस्य लोकस्येवावलम्बताम् ॥

kaṇi rasikakāvyaśya rājñā saṅgamam arhati ।  
brajitaṇ yaḍ ubhāv aśya lōkasyevāvalambatām ॥

Cf. *Subhāṣitāraṇi* 160.

117

Ueber ein Ding wird viel geplaudert,  
Viel berathen und lange geseudert,  
Und endlich giebt ein böses Muan  
Der Sache wider den Beschlus.

GOETHE.

चिरं वस्तुनि कस्मिंश्चिद्वाङ्मयां विलम्ब्यते ।  
इतिकर्तव्यता यावत्कुरुते नात्र निश्चयम् ॥

chiram vataṇi kasmiṇśchid vāṅmantrābhyāṁ vilambyatē ।  
itikitartavyatā yavat kurutē nātra niśchayam ॥

Cf. *M. B.*, V. 112.

118

Wäre nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,  
Die Sonne könnt' es nicht erblicken ;  
Läg' nicht in uns das Gottes eigne Kraft,  
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken ?

GOETHE.



भवेन्न चेदक्षि निसर्गसौरं  
किं सूर्यमालोकितुमुत्सहेत ।  
भवेत् दिव्यो यदि नो ममात्मा  
दिव्येषु मे र्धेषु कथं रतिः स्यात् ॥

bhavadn na chēdē akṣhi nisargasaṁsaram  
kiṁ sūryam ālokitum utsahēta ।  
bhavēta divyō yadi nō mamātmā  
divyēṣhu mē 'rthēṣhu katham ratiḥ syāt ॥

110

Ein jeglicher versucht sein Glück,  
Doch schmal nar ist die Bahn zum Rennen :  
Der Wagen rollt, die Achsen brennen ,  
Der Held drogt kühn voran, der Schwächling bleibt zurück,  
Der Stolz fällt mit lächerlichem Falle,  
Der Kluge überholt sie alle.

SCHILLER.

चर्याभूमिः परिमितपदा यत्र धावन्ति सर्वे  
चक्राणां च प्रसरणत्रुपामौघयमक्षा भजन्ते ।  
शूरस्याविर्भवति जवनं मन्दता चाबलस्य  
मौढाचारः पतति धरणीं लक्षमाप्नोति दक्षः ॥

charyābhūmih parimitapada yatra dhavanti sarvā  
chakrāṇāṁ cha prasaraṇatruṣāmāuḡhayam akṣhā bhajantē ।  
śūrasyaāvibhavati javanam mandatā chābalaśya  
mauḍhacharah patati dharanīṁ lakṣham āpnōti dakṣhaḥ ॥

111

Wie in den Lüften der Sturmwind saust,  
Man weise nicht von wannen er kommt und braust,  
Wie der Quell aus verborgenen Tiefen,  
So des Sängers Lied aus dem Innern schallt  
Und wecket der dunkeln Gefühle Gewalt,  
Die im Herzen wunderbar schliefen.

SCHILLER.

अशातस्वनजन्मभूमिरनिलः प्रोद्वाति दिग्भ्यो यथा  
गूढाग्निःसरति क्षरन्स्फुटजलैस्तो यथा गह्वरात् ।  
गीतं रम्यमिदंप्रकारमुरसो गातुर्वहिः प्रोचर-  
द्वावानां स्वपनां मनःसु नितरां धत्ते समुज्जुम्भणम् ॥

aśātasvanajannabhūmīr anilāḥ prōdvāti digbhyō yathā  
gūḍhaḥniḥsarati kṣharan sphoṭajalair utsō yathā gahvarāt ।  
gītam ramyam idamprakāram urasō gatur bahiḥ prōcchared  
dāvānām svapatām manāḥsu nitarām dhātē samujjumbhaṇam ॥

Ox. Bsk. v. 99.







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(To be continued.)

## MISCELLANEA.

# OBITUARY NOTICE OF SIR JAMES MACNABB CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E.

A LARGE circle of friends, both in Europe and in India, will have heard, with more than ordinary sorrow, of the death of Sir James Macnabb Campbell, K.C.I.E., on the 28th May last, at his residence, Achnashe, Rosneath, N. B.

Sir James Campbell was a son of the late Rev. J. M. Campbell, D.D. He was educated at Glasgow, at the Academy and the University; and his attainments as a scholar were, in the course of time, duly recognised by his University, in conferring upon him the degree of D.C.L. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1863, and was posted to the Bombay Presidency. He served, in the ordinary course, as an Assistant Collector and Magistrate, in the Khairabad and Kolaba districts and at Bombay, from 1870 to 1873. For some months in 1877, he was on furlough duty in the Bombay District, and the Kanara district, as it was then called. In 1881 he acted for a time as Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, and as Under-Secretary to Government in the Political, Judicial, and Educational Departments. In 1881, he attained the rank of Collector and District Magistrate, in which capacity, for the most part, he served until 1897, excepting during three periods of absence from India on furlough, at Bombay itself, and in the Pooné Mahals with the additional duties of Political Agent for the Bawa-Kantha State. In 1886 and 1897, he officiated as Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Akkari. And finally, in July, 1897, in succession to Major-General Sir William Gatacre, K.C.B., he became Chairman of the Bombay Plague Committee. He left India on

furlough in April, 1898. He received his promotion to be substantive Second Grade Commissioner in February, 1900, while he was still on furlough. And, without returning to India, he retired from the Service very shortly afterwards. He was appointed a Companion of the Indian Empire in January, 1895, and a Knight Commander of the same Order in June, 1897.

Such, in brief outline, were the chief features of his ordinary official career. The great work of his life, however, was done in connection with the official Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency. He was appointed Compiler of the Gazetteer in June, 1873. And he held that office until August, 1894, discharging during part of that period the duties of some additional offices also, as indicated above. His formal appointment as Compiler of the Gazetteer then came to an end. But he continued the general superintendence of the compilation. And, with the exception of Vol. VII., Baroda, and Vol. VIII., Kathiawar, all the volumes of the series were written and issued, between 1877 and 1901, and for the most part before the end of 1886, under his direction and auspices, as shown by his signature below the introductory note to each of them. It is difficult to know which to admire most, the monumental character of the work, which consists of twenty-six large volumes, comprising altogether thirty-four parts, of which each is a separate book by itself, containing an enormous amount of information of the most varied and useful kind, or the unremitting energy, and the great tact, with which Sir James Campbell played his part in connection with it. Great tact was necessary, because much of the matter included in these volumes had necessarily to be prepared, subject



to direction and revision by the Compiler, by, for the most part, district officials, already sufficiently tasked by their ordinary duties, whose hearty co-operation in this additional labour was largely ensured by the knowledge that they were working for a personal friend who would fully appreciate their results and would not exercise any unnecessary editorial interference with them. And unremitting energy was necessary, because, in addition to checking and, when necessary, recasting the many contributions obtained in the manner indicated above, Sir James Campbell had to write in person a great deal of the matter included in most of the volumes, particularly in the ethnological divisions. It was the happy combination of the two qualities that enabled Sir James Campbell to carry his task to so successful an end, and to leave behind him a work which reflects honour both upon him and upon all the others, whether official or non-official, who took part in it: for a full list of those others, and for Sir James Campbell's cordial recognition of the value of the work done by them and by the members of his own official establishment, with an account of the whole scheme from its inception to its completion, may be made to the introduction to Vol. I., Part I., the completion of that volume, which contains the special historical contributions, was wisely deferred as long as possible, and the two parts of which it consists were issued in 1895.

It is in connection with the *Gazetteer* of the Bombay Presidency that the literary achievement of Sir James Macnabb Campbell will be best remembered. It may be added, however, that he found leisure to write an interesting account of the history, from A.D. 1400, of Mandu or Mandogah, a large deserted town on a hill of the Vindhya range, in the Dhar State, Central India, which was formerly the capital of the Muhammadan kingdom of Malwa; that article was published in Vol. XIX. (1893-1897), pp. 161 to 201, of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. And it is further to be remarked that, in 1892 or 1893, his attention became greatly attracted to the subject of Indian demonology; with the result that the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* from 1894 to 1901 contain a succession of interesting contributions by him entitled "Notes on the Spirit Names of Belief and Custom." It would appear that some of the notes of this series are still on hand, unpublished. And it is to be hoped that they have been received in a sufficiently far advanced state for the issue of them to be completed satisfactorily.

It is a pleasure to look back to long and friendly intercourse with Sir James Macnabb Campbell; and to recall the kindly hospitality that used to be dispensed by the three brothers, John, James, and Robert, at their residence at Breach Candy, Bombay. It is sad to have to realise that excessive work, acting upon a constitution which was never very strong, hastened in the death, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, of one whose personal qualities had endeared him to so many people, and whose scholarship would, if he had been spared for a longer time and with health and strength, have undoubtedly given us still more matter worthy of perpetuation.

J. F. FLEET.

July, 1903

NOTE ON THE USE OF THE "VASE-ORNAIMENT" IN A RUINED TEMPLE AT KHERĀLU IN MALANI, RAJPUTANA.

This temple is situated in the desert near the village of Kherālu, about 30 miles from Barmer, the chief town of Malani, in Rajputana.

From the photograph it will be seen that the temple must, in its best days, have been remarkable for its beauty. The only point, however, to which I wish to draw attention is the extraordinary beauty of the "vase-ornament."

Fergusson<sup>1</sup> notes the use of this ornament in converting circular shafts so as to enable them to carry square architrave-bearing capitals—a device common enough in Jain temples in Central India.

The position and use of the vase in this case is somewhat different. In all the examples of this device with which I am familiar in Central India, the foliage lies close to the vase, whereas here it stands out freely and boldly, by itself. Fergusson does indeed give one instance<sup>2</sup> in which the foliage stands out separately, but it cannot compare with this example in beauty.

There is an inscription in the temple, of which I have only seen a copy, and not a rubbing, and I am doubtful as to the accuracy of the transcription. It states that the temple was built by Mahārāja Dhīraj Parmara Parmat (Parmat?) Dhyarak on Kartik Sudi 18th: Samvat 1235.

Possibly some of your readers may know of other instances of this use of the vase device.

I regret that I have not personally visited this temple, the photograph and information having been kindly supplied by B. Todd, Esq., of the Jodhpur-Bikanir Railway.<sup>3</sup>

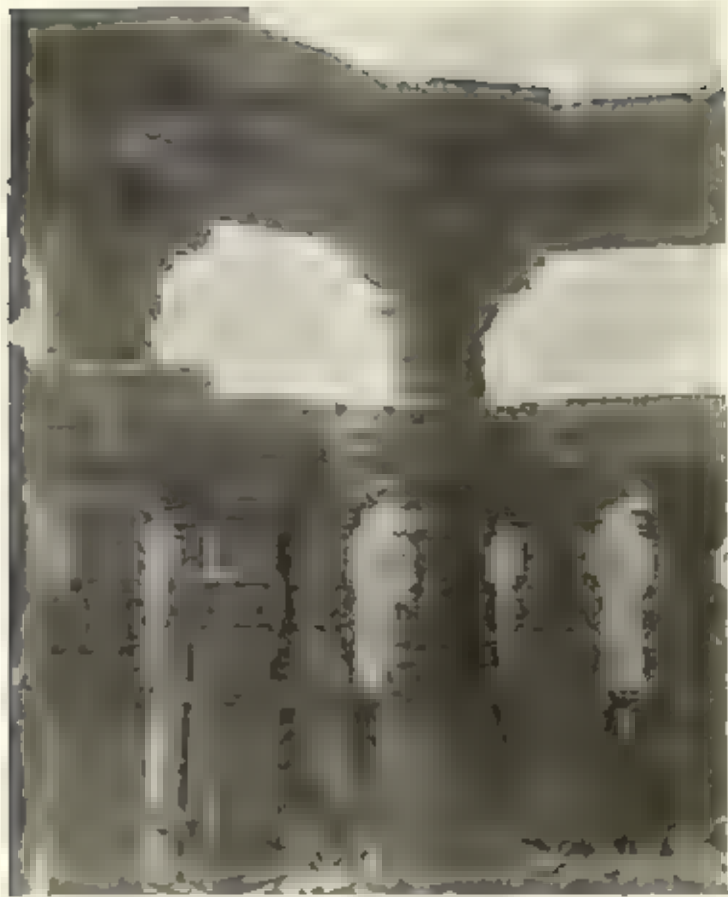
O. E. LUSARD, Captain,  
Supt. of *Gazetteer* in Central India.

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern and Indian Architecture*, p. 313 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately in the plate attached the original photograph is attributed by an error to Capt. Leard. Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 317, fig. 80.





Temple at Kuerālu in Malāni, Rājasthāna  
*use of the "Vase Ornament"*







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SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BART. C.B.,

BRIGADE-MAJOR, INDIAN ARMY

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~~OF THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY~~

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Edited by

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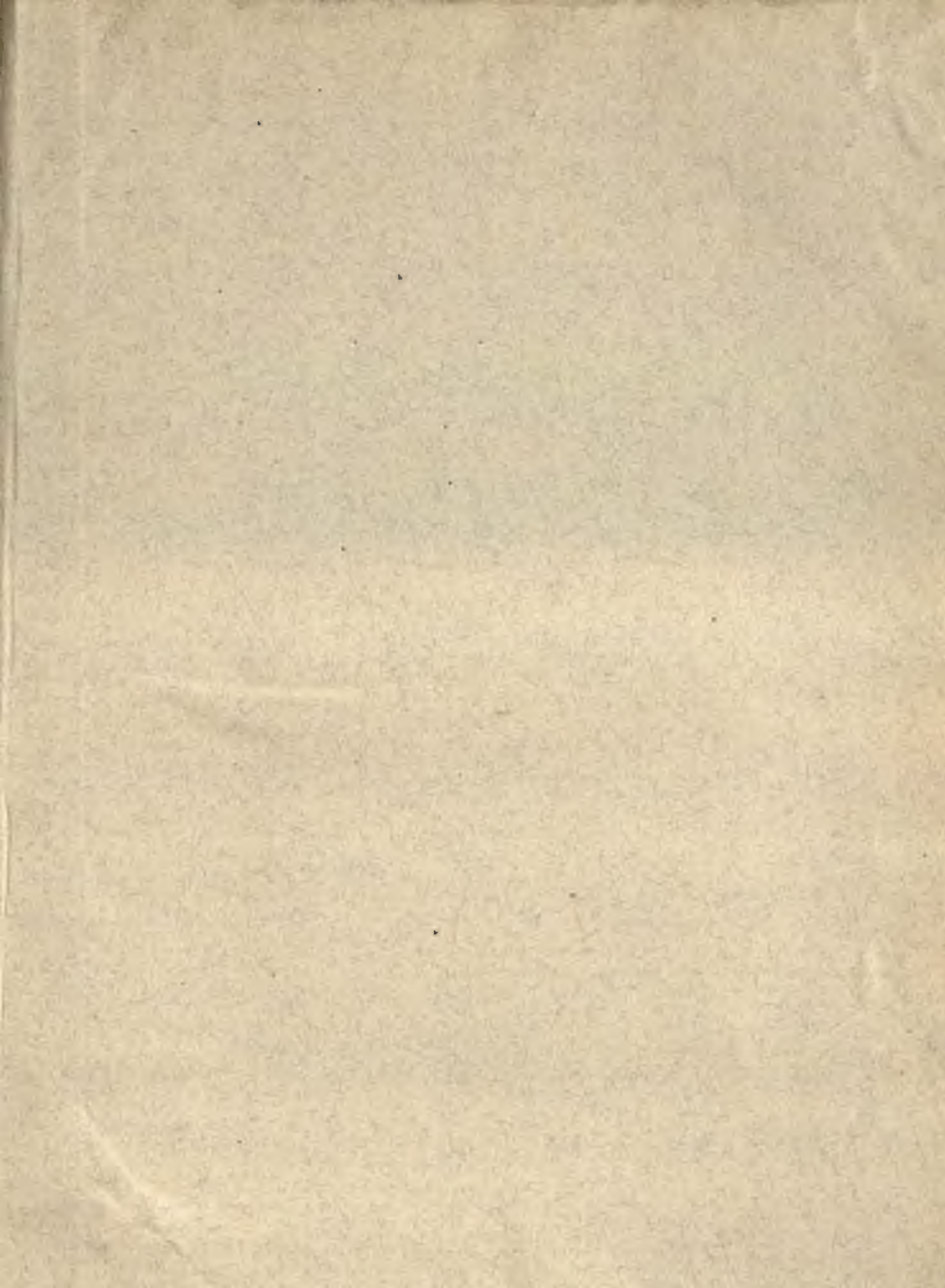


















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